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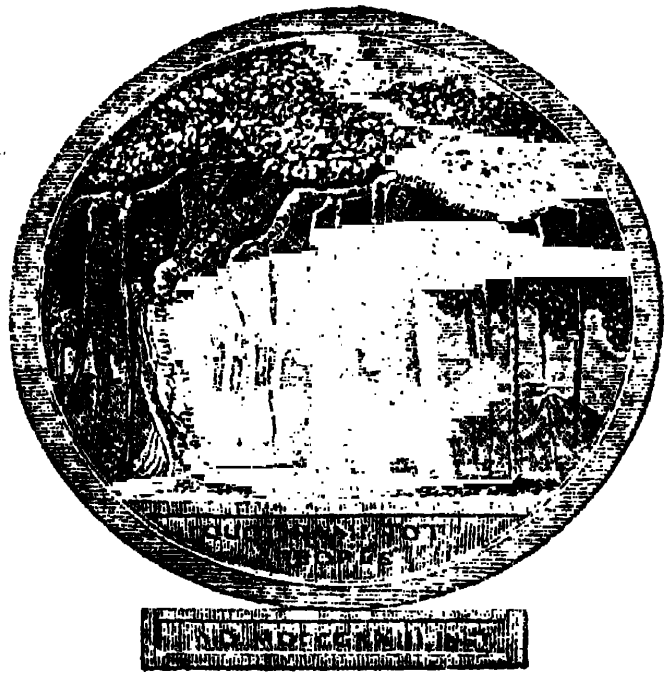
THE JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.



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JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. I.—*Observations with a view to an Inquiry into the Music of the East.* *By* WILLIAM DAUNEY, ESQ., F.S.A., Scot.

IT is well known that the style and character of *melody*, with the tonalities and scales upon which it is composed, differ in different ages and countries to a great extent; and it is obvious that a more perfect acquaintance with these than that which we possess, would be of great consequence to the art of music in various ways. Those forms of melody which are solely recognised as legitimate, according to the modern European system, may possibly be the best which can be adopted; but this can only be known for certain by an extensive comparison with other systems. The furtherance of such inquiries, therefore, may lead to a direct improvement in the cultivation of music, while there can be no doubt that the resources of that art would be immensely enriched by a more complete knowledge of the different styles of melody which prevail in foreign countries, and copious and authentic collections of the airs themselves.

Hitherto it has happened that almost all the persons who have attempted to give us any idea of the scales and melodies of remotely foreign nations, have been quite unqualified by musical knowledge to write down accurately what they have heard[1]. The public, generally,

[1] As to those travellers who have confined themselves to general descriptions, there are no bounds to the extravagances into which they have sometimes fallen. Mr. Bowdich, in his mission to Ashantee, speaks of a negro whom he met, from the interior, who had a harp, "the tone of which was full, harmonious, and deep." He concludes the account of his performance as follows;—"Sometimes he became more collected, and a mournful air succeeded the recitative, without the least connexion, and he would again burst out, with the whole force of his powerful voice, *in the notes of the Hallelujah Chorus of Handel!* To meet with this chorus in the wilds of Africa, and from such a being, had an effect I can scarcely describe; *I was lost in astonishment at the coincidence; there could not be a stronger proof of the nature of Handel, or the powers of the negro!*"

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have no idea of the difficulty of putting into correct notation airs that are sung or played by people of various countries, who not only use musical instruments different from ours, but musical intervals to which we are not accustomed. As this is a truth which will be more forcibly impressed by illustration, I will here take the liberty of relating a circumstance which occurred to a French professional musician, one of the suite of Napoleon during his Egyptian expedition. This person had hired an Arabian music-master at Cairo. The lessons consisted in the Arabian's singing the airs which his pupil was to get by heart. The Frenchman began to write to the Arab's dictation; but while so engaged, he observed that his teacher occasionally sang out of tune, and he accordingly took care to correct all his apparent errors, in the notation. When he had finished, he proceeded to sing the air which he had been taught, but the Arab stopped him, and remarked that "he was singing out of tune." Here a dispute arose between the scholar and the master, each maintaining that *his* intonation was quite correct, although neither of them could tolerate the intonation of the other. At last the Frenchman thought that there might be something in this matter deserving further inquiry, and he sent for an Arabian lute. The finger-board of this instrument being divided according to the rules of the Arabian musical scale, showed the Frenchman, to his great surprise, that the elements or tonality of European and Arabian music were quite different; so different, indeed, to what the Frenchman had been accustomed to, that he could not at first catch or execute them, but we are told that at last he was able to do both. A person less skilled in the art would have carried off no true record of the Arabian music.

It would seem, therefore, that in instituting inquiries with respect to the state of music in the East, and in forming collections of foreign music in any quarter of the globe, the very first requisite, without which nothing can be done, is to obtain the assistance of persons properly qualified for the task of taking down in European notation, the notes and passages which they hear sung and played. And these persons must not only be possessed of a good ear, and some practical skill in the noting of music, but their minds should be opened to several considerations which do not occur in the ordinary routine of a musical education.

From the best information that we can collect, it is most likely that the science of harmony or counterpoint is a modern European invention; that it was unknown to the ancients, and that it is equally unknown even in the present day, in all countries to which

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European instruction has not extended. The native music of the East, therefore, must be considered as purely melodic, and not intended to be adapted to harmony, in our sense of the term[1]. The Hindu scales given by Sir William Jones, any specimens of Chinese music which have reached us, and the descriptions which have been given of the Arabian and Egyptian scales (though, for reasons above alluded to, not to be implicitly relied upon) bear out this supposition. The music of these countries, therefore, must be treated with reference to its capabilities for *melody* only; and this is the more necessary to be kept in view, as many excellent practical musicians are apt to suppose (although there cannot be a greater mistake) that where a foreign melody will not yield to the application of modern European harmony, it must be defective—that there must be something wrong in the manner in which it is performed; and for this reason intractable airs of this kind are often thrown into a modern shape, in order to be adapted to our major and minor scales, with their diatonic and chromatic intervals[2].

It is of some consequence, therefore, that the minds of the persons employed be divested of all such preconceived notions, and that they be instructed to take down the music with the strictest fidelity, and at all times, when the requisite information can be obtained, with due regard to the peculiar scales, modes, or *Ragas*, in which it happens to be composed. Upon these points, the finger-boards of the stringed instruments, the ventages of the wind instruments, and the *Accordatura*, or mode of tuning, adopted, are calculated to throw light.

It would appear that a great deal of the music of Eastern countries, especially of Arabia and Egypt, consists of *tremolos*, groups of rapid notes, passages of minute intervals, and shades of expression for which we have no signs in our musical notation. This will occasion a difficulty only to be got over by distinct written explanations of the peculiarities when they occur.

[1] With respect to India, Sir William Ouseley has observed, in his *Oriental Collections*, that "Counterpoint seems not to have entered at any time into the system of Indian music. It is not alluded to in the MS. treatises which I have hitherto perused; nor have I discovered that any of our ingenious Orientalists speak of it as being known in Hindustan."

[2] In No. VII. of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, there are some interesting specimens of Indian airs, some of which bear an extraordinary resemblance to well-known Scottish tunes, such as "The Mill, Mill O," and "Jenny's Bawbie;" whether the above remarks apply to them I cannot say, but my belief in their fidelity is somewhat shaken by a note of the Editor, in which he speaks of their having been *set to music* by one person, and *arranged* by another.

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The different kinds of instruments, whether wind, stringed, or pulsatile, should be subjected to a rigid examination, and accurately described. Where specimens of these instruments cannot be had,—indeed in all cases whatever,—it would be desirable to procure drawings, representing with accuracy the number of their strings, holes, &c., and diagrams, showing in European notation their scales and compass. Where there are frets on the finger-boards they should be distinctly marked, and even their relative distances from each other mathematically measured and assigned. The *accordatura*, or mode of tuning, should also be specified.

A full examination of the musical instruments of the East might lead to some interesting results. The peculiar scale and various properties of the *Vina* or *Been*, which is said to be one of the most ancient of Indian instruments, when compared with the present state of the art has been thought to afford something very like evidence of the superiority of the ancient over the modern musicians of India. It has been considered, also, that in Persia music was much more cultivated before the conquest by the Mahometans, in the seventh century; and the harp, though now disused in that country, is mentioned in their poems, and, what is more to the point, distinct representations of it have been found in some of their ancient sculpture. Such circumstances as these, and Bruce's discovery of the Theban harp, show how important it is that representations of musical instruments should be diligently traced out in the ancient sculpture, coins, and monuments, of the East, wherever they can be found.

Discoveries of this nature are often of the greatest utility in determining the early civilization of nations, and their proficiency in other arts besides that of music. The subject of the harp, in particular, has frequently formed the ground of ingenious speculation. It has been even supposed that if the ancient part of its history were fully revealed, it might throw additional glimmerings of light upon that obscure and difficult historical question,—the early migrations and oriental extraction of a large portion of the ancient inhabitants of Europe. At the end of Mr. Gunn's *Inquiry into the Performance on the Harp in the Highlands of Scotland*, p. 107, there will be found the germ of a somewhat fanciful theory, based chiefly upon the progress of this instrument from East to West. The author speaks of a hope which he entertained of tracing a connexion between our harps of Caledonia and those of Egypt and Palestine, and proposes to give a view of "the oriental extraction and ancient history of the Caledonian Scots; demonstrating, from their language, ancient

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religion, superstitious rites, their kalendar and festivals, their remarkable traditions, manners and customs, and from other documents and monuments still existing in Asia, France, Great Britain, and Ireland, that they brought the harp, together with the other arts of civilized life, from Armenia, the western coast of Asia, into the southern parts of England, prior to the æra at which our writers commence the history of Great Britain," &c.

In the same prospectus, Mr. Gunn undertakes to prove a connexion between the harp and the ancient religious establishments of Asia, and between the lyre (as contra-distinguished from the harp,) and the bards of ancient Greece. But the work, the outline of which is here chalked out, was never (so far as I have heard) completed, or given to the world; a circumstance the less to be regretted, as the author could not have possessed the requisite *substratum* of facts to bear it out; and it is here only alluded to in order to show the importance which has sometimes been attached to such investigations as relate to musical instruments, the harp in particular; which, in one respect, stands in a peculiar situation.

While it does not clearly appear that an instrument exactly of this nature was in use among the Greeks and Romans, it does appear to have existed in the British isles from the earliest period to which our historical notices extend. The oldest specimen of a British instrument of this construction is perhaps to be found in *Gerbertus de Cantu et Musica Sacra*, where it is given as delineated in a MS. as old as the sixth century, under the name of the *Cithara Anglica*. It is much the same in form with the British and Irish harps of former times, and not unlike the representations which have been given of the ancient harps of Asia and Egypt.

Stringed instruments of another class, which do not seem to have been known to the two great classical nations of antiquity, may very possibly have been derived from the East, where they appear, in our day at least, to be very common. These are such as have necks and finger-boards, and are played with a bow, similar to the crwth and viol, the origin of which in Europe is involved in great obscurity.

With respect to ancient MSS., if it be true, as has been asserted by Orientalists, that the sacred books of the Hindús contain a full exposition of their ancient system of music, with which it is said that the learned natives are acquainted, although its practice is lost, all such treatises should be translated, and made accessible to the English reader.

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Burney, in his *History of Music*, vol. ii., pp. 50, 51, and 52, presents us with certain remarkable characters employed at an early period in the Oriental Greek churches for the notation of music. It has been recently stated by Continental writers that these characters belong to the demotic or enchorial writing of the ancient Egyptians, and to their system of musical notation. This is a matter which ought to be elucidated by those who are versed in Egyptian antiquities.

Wherever ancient MSS. of *noted* music can be found, they ought to be procured, and translated, or forwarded to Great Britain for that purpose, along with the necessary keys of interpretation. It is always useful to obtain authentic written evidence of the state of music in former times; for, although the music of a country may not be much intermingled with that of other nations, experience has shown that, in European countries at least, it is apt to undergo certain gradual changes when carried down by tradition, which materially affect its original character.

The translation of such ancient MSS. as treat of the old musical system of India and Persia appears to be the more necessary, as it may lead to the disclosure of some points of interest which have not been hitherto ascertained.

Although a great deal has been written on the subject, the precise nature of the modes or *ragas* has not yet been cleared up, and so vague are the different accounts that have been given of them, more especially with respect to the music of Persia, that we have no means of determining whether they consist of scales, or in other words, of formulæ or successions of intervals, each bearing a fixed relation to a leading or principal note, like the modes of the Roman Church, or of separate and individual melodies. We are told that the Indian *ragas* and *raginis* are appropriated to particular seasons of the year, and times of the night and day, and that they were formerly dedicated to the service of particular deities,—that the term *raga* signifies an affection of the mind,—that each of them is intended to move some particular passion,—that different provinces of India have their peculiar styles of melody,—and that in Persia the modes are denominated, like those of the ancient Greeks, by the names of the different countries and cities where they prevail;—circumstances not only curious in themselves, but which, if distinctly ascertained, may furnish much useful information with respect to the general nature of music and its effects, and explain in he only way in which we can ever expect satisfactorily even to

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approximate to the truth, many things connected with the analogous system of the Greek modes,—a problem which musical historians have hitherto been unable to solve.

It is possible, also, that these investigations will be of service in illustrating the early history of the music of Scotland and Ireland, along with that of the Roman Catholic Church, all of which are in some degree connected with each other.

By a comparison lately instituted between the Scottish vocal music and the *Canto fermo*[1], it not only appears that a striking resemblance exists between the two in the succession of their intervals, their closes, cadences, &c., but that the one has been composed as nearly as possible in conformity with the laws by which the other is regulated. Now, although it has been truly said that nothing has a greater influence on the music of a nation than the music of its church, the use of the Catholic Ritual in Scotland cannot altogether account for the predilection which the Scots have never ceased to entertain for their peculiar style of melody; for if such an argument were to be admitted, it might naturally be asked, why the same results have not taken place in Italy, Spain, France, and other countries which were subject to the same regulations, and under the influence of the Roman Church to a greater extent than either Scotland or Ireland. Indeed, the same marked similitude is not to be traced even in the ancient music of England. Another view militates strongly against the adoption of any theory which would ascribe the invention of the Scottish music to the See of Rome, and trace its pedigree to no other source than the Ambrosian Chant, established towards the end of the fourth century, or the Gregorian Chant, introduced about the year 600. A national music is not one of those things which a people is much disposed to receive at second hand, or to put off or on at the bidding, either of their spiritual or their temporal masters. It is among the oldest and the most lasting of their relics. Carried down from father to son, like an heir-loom in a family, it is not likely either to be lost or bartered even for articles of higher quality or value. It bears a *pretium affectionis*, and is prized more because it is our own, and associated with ties of kindred and home, than from any intrinsic excellence in the music itself. It is probable, therefore, that it was *original destination*, rather than *choice*, which assigned to this and

[1] See "Ancient Scottish Melodies, from a manuscript of the reign of King James VI., with an Introductory Inquiry, illustrative of the Music of Scotland." 1838. And particularly An Analysis of Scottish Music, by Mr. Finlay Dun, of Edinburgh, contained in that volume.

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other countries their particular style of national music; and if so, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the peculiar vein of Scottish melody, the origin of which it is so difficult to trace, may have existed amongst the inhabitants of that country previous to the introduction of Christianity, or even the Christian era itself: neither would it be unreasonable to expect, that collections of well-authenticated foreign melodies, showing that in pagan countries where the light of Christianity has never penetrated, and the music of the Catholic Church has never been heard, the very same system of modulation has been adoped, would go a considerable way to support such a conclusion.

What effect such information would have in determining the ancient affinity and intercourse of the different nations among whom the same description of music was found to prevail, would depend upon the nature of the coincidences, which upon a careful analysis might be found to exist, whether they were systematic and regular, or whether they were merely occasional and fortuitous, and other circumstances. This is the view of the subject of too much consequence to be overlooked. The history of music and of musical instruments has been too often regarded as little better than a topic of idle amusement, unbefitting the gravity of the philosopher and the historian; and yet, from their universality throughout the world, the relation in which they stand to the other arts and sciences, and their immediate connexion with the poetry, literature, manners and customs of nations, it may safely be affirmed that there are no researches which are capable of eliciting a larger body of facts and observations, which may be turned to account in the illustration of periods of history, even the most remote and obscure; and the more so, as they embrace a field which has been comparatively neglected. Attention has already been drawn to the supposed oriental extraction of the harp which was anciently used in Great Britain and Ireland; and as, for reasons above adverted to, we cannot very readily suppose that the music of any people would reach our shores without an immigration of the people themselves, we are urged to the prosecution of such inquiries by considerations of more than ordinary importance.

With respect to the music itself, in the very limited state of our actual knowledge, we can only say that the resemblance already known to exist between many of the Chinese and Hindu airs and those of Scotland is such as to render it highly expedient that no time should be lost in entering upon future researches connected with this subject, which, it is hoped, will be conducted upon some

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well-organized plan by which accurate data may be obtained. One circumstance should be mentioned to show the remarkable nature of this coincidence, and the reasonableness of such a course of inquiry. The same resemblance to the Scottish melody does not exist in the national music of the neighbouring European nations, neither in that of France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Russia, nor, generally speaking, of the nations which inhabit the north of Europe, the scales and character of which are very different.

It is not for me, in a few cursory observations like the present, to attempt to convey any idea of the mass of materials for the general history of music which might accrue from an extensive and scientific inquiry such as that here proposed. If the chain which connects the music of different ages and nations has (to use an expression of M. Fetis) remained invisible to Martini, Burney, Hawkins, and other writers, this has been, in great measure, owing to the imperfect and desultory manner in which the music of Eastern countries has been hitherto treated. One great and important link we unquestionably possess,—the *Canto fermo* of the Catholic Church, or, to speak more definitely, the Gregorian Chant, and some fragments, real or supposed, of that of St. Ambrose. These, owing to the uniform Liturgy so long kept up by that hierarchy, have retained their original form, unaltered, from the fourth and the sixth century. An intimate relation clearly subsists between them and the music of Scotland. This has been pointed out in the work above referred to (p. 19), and it only remains to analyse and develope those resemblances between the Scottish music and that of the East which, as yet, have been vaguely hinted at by travellers and Orientalists rather than explained, in order to carry that style and system of music back to a period the most remote. Though sometimes described as simply of Greek origin, there is reason to believe that the ancient chants of the Romish Church partake much more of the Oriental than of the Grecian character. They appear to have been first adopted by St. Ambrose, at Milan, from the practice of the church at Antioch, and I find them alluded to by St. Basil, Bishop of Cæsarea[1], as having been in use in Egypt, Lybia, Palestine, Arabia, Phœnicia, and Syria, &c. It is little to be wondered at, therefore, if their tones should remind us of the chants of the Jewish synagogues,—that these, again, should correspond with the singing of the Persian dervishes,—and that even the priests of China should, in the performance of their sacred rites, make use of a species of modulation not unlike that of the Church of Rome. But

[1] HAWKINS' *Hist.*, vol. i., p. 285.

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why should we remain satisfied with mere scraps of intelligence such as these, often proceeding from persons who are not competent to form a correct judgment of such matters, and too scanty to be of any value to the musical historian, when it would be so easy to make ourselves acquainted with the real state of the fact in all its bearings? Now that the means of communication are so rapid and certain, why should we not immediately be furnished with such an exposition of the musical systems of the East as would admit of our entering into a regular comparison between them, the scales and modes of the *Canto fermo*, and those of modern Europe?

Much good might result from a series of systematic inquiries into this subject, properly arranged, and conducted under the auspices of the Royal Asiatic Society; and if any additional inducement were wanting as an incentive to such an undertaking, it might be found in the circumstance, that its utility would not be bounded by the art of music alone, but extend to the illustration of some of the most interesting and important questions that relate to the ancient inhabitants of Asia and Europe, their civilization and manners, and, generally speaking, the history and the literature of former ages and nations.

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ART. II.—*Letters to the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, by* W. MORLEY, Esq., *and* PROFESSOR DUNCAN FORBES, *on the Discovery of part of the Second Volume of the "Jámi al Tawárikh," supposed to be lost.*

LETTER OF MR. MORLEY.

Read June 15, 1839.

MY DEAR SIR,

Whilst I was engaged last year in making a catalogue of the Oriental MSS. comprised in the libraries of the Society and the Oriental Translation Committee, I met with the historical MS. which is the subject of the following letter[1]. I, at that time, applied to the Council of the Society for permission to forward a description of the MS. to M. Quatremère, who is employed in editing the only portion of the work hitherto known, in the hope that he would represent the matter to the French Government, and cause our MS. to be published in the "*Collection Orientale*," as a sequel to his "*Histoire des Mongols*." The council acceded to my request, and I accordingly wrote to M. Quatremère on the subject, but whether on account of my letter not having reached its destination or from the press of business, he has not as yet returned any answer to my communication. In the mean time, I think it desirable that the existence of this important volume should be made known to the public, and I have accordingly drawn up the following account of the MS. for insertion in the Journal of the Society.

Before describing the work, it may not be uninteresting to devote a few lines to the life of the author, one of the most extraordinary men of his age, and one who is surpassed by few Asiatics, either in his literary or political talents. I have taken most of my materials from the admirable preface to Quatremère's work; the costliness of the "*Collection Orientale*," and the scarcity of the copies that have as yet reached this country, render it inaccessible to a large class of the reading public, and I think will make the following account acceptable to the readers of the Journal.

FADHL ALLAH RASHÍD, or Rashíd al Dín Ibn Imád al Daulah Abú al Khair Ibn Mowaffik al Daulah, was born at Hamadán, about the year of the Flight 645 (A. D. 1247). He was by profession a physician, and it was probably from his skill in the science of medicine, that he procured office under the Mongol Sultáns of Persia. We

[1] It is numbered 13 in my catalogue.

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learn from his own testimony that he passed a portion of his life in the service of Abáká Khán and his successors, who all treated him with great distinction, but it does not appear tha the held any important situation until the reign of Gházán Khán, who came to the throne in the 694th year of the Flight. This monarch duly appreciated Rashíd al Dín's great knowledge of science and literature, and in the course of the year of the Flight 697, raised him to the office of Vazír, in conjunction with Saad al Dín, in the place of Sadr al Dín Zinjání, otherwise called Sadr Jahán, who had incurred the Sultán's displeasure. In the year 700, a conspiracy was formed against the two Vazírs by several of the most powerful Amírs, but they failed in their object of prejudicing the mind of Gházán Khán against them, and two of their calumniators were put to death. On the death of Gházán Khán, his brother, Oljáítú, ascended the throne, and continued the office of the Vazárat to Rashíd al Dín and his companion. Oljáítú having founded the city of Sultániah, Rashíd al Dín built a suburb there, containing about one thousand houses, and comprising a mosque, a college, an hospital, and a monastery, all of which he endowed with considerable revenues.

Under the dynasty of the Mongols in Persia, Tabríz was one of the cities at which the court usually resided. Gházán Khán had surrounded it with walls, and had constructed without these a small town, and a splendid edifice which he designed as the place of his burial; Rashíd al Dín, in imitation of his royal master, built a suburb to the eastward of the city, and named it the Raba Rashídí', after himself. This suburb, according to all accounts, was built with the greatest magnificence, and was completed in the 710th year of the Flight, when Rashíd al Dín, at an enormous expense, caused a canal to be cut through the rock, in order to supply the inhabitants with water from the river Sarvrúd. It seems almost incredible that such costly works could have been constructed at the expense of a private individual, but Rashíd al Dín had passed fifty years at the Mongol court, and during that period had amassed immense wealth, which certainly could not have been better bestowed, or more liberally and usefully expended. In addition to the enormous sums that Rashíd al Dín had devoted to the construction of these great works, we learn from the author of the Táríkhi Wassaf, and Mírkhond says, that he had laid out no less a sum than 60,000 dínárs in the transcription, binding, &c., of his own writings.

In the year 711, Saad al Dín, our author's colleague, being jealous of the favour shown by the Sultán to Rashíd al Dín and Alí Sháh Jabalán (a person of low origin, but who, by his intrigues and

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talents, had contrived to raise himself into consideration), quarrelled with his co-vazír, who subsequently denounced him, and caused him to be put to death. Alí Sháh was thereupon, at Rashíd al Dín's request, chosen as the successor of the late vazír.

In the year 715, Rashíd al Dín and Alí Sháh quarrelled with regard to the supplies of money required by Abú Sand, the son of Oljáítú, and the Sultán, in order to put an end to their dispute, commanded that for the future, the provinces which composed the empire should be divided into two portions. Irák Ajam, Khúzistán, Greater and Lesser Lór, Fárs and Kirmán were united under the jurisdiction of Rashíd al Dín, whilst Irák Arab, Díárbakir, Arran and Rúm (Asia Minor), fell to the lot of Alí Sháh. Notwithstanding this arrangement, the two vazírs were still at enmity with each other, and shortly afterwards, a commission of inquiry, headed by the famous Amír Chúbán, was instituted, in which Alí Sháh and his deputies were declared defaulters to the amount of 300 tómáns, or three millions of pieces of gold; he proceeded to Oljáítú, and managed to appease him, together with Amír Chúbán; he then represented to the Sultán that Rashíd al Dín was using all his endeavours to degrade him in the eyes of his master and to cause his disgrace, as he had done with his former colleague, Saad al Dín. Rashíd al Dín hearing of this, employed counter intrigues, and succeeded in establishing his innocence.

Oljáítú dying at this interval, was succeeded by his son Abú Saíd; the Amír Chúbán was appointed Amír al Omrá, and the two vazírs were continued in office. The Amir Chúbán was, at this time, greatly attached to Rashíd al Dín, and Alí Sháh, fearing the consequences, lost no time in endeavouring to obtain his deposition; having united with several others of the nobles, particularly Abú Bakr Aká, the principal officer of Chúbán, they succeeded in prejudicing the Amír's mind against the old Vazír, who was accordingly removed from the office to which he had been for so many years an ornament, in the month Rajab, in the 717th year of the Flight.

The loss of his services was soon felt, and not long afterwards, Chúbán wrote to him with his own hand, begging him to return to the court from Tabríz, to which city he had retired when deprived of office. After much difficulty, he was prevailed upon to accept the Amír's offers, and was again reinstated in the vazárat.

Alí Sháh and his adherents no sooner learned this than they once more commenced their machinations against him, and Abú Bakr Aká was again the principal agent in the plot. They accordingly made an accusation to Abú Saíd, declaring that Rashíd al

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Dín, immediately before Oljáítú's death, had prepared a poisoned beverage, which was administered to the late monarch by his orders, and by the hands of Ibráhím, the vazír's son, who was the cheif butler of Oljáítú; Abú Saíd instantly ordered Rashíd al Dín and his son to be brought to Sultániah, where they were interrogated before the Amír Chúbán. Jalál al Dín Ibn Harran, one of the physicans of the deceased Sultán, declared that he considered Oljáítú's death to have been caused by a purgative medicine administered to him by the order of Rashíd al Dín against his, Jalál al Dín's, express opinion and advice; this was conclusive, and the Amír Chúbán ordered the father and son to be immediately executed. Ibráhím, who was but sixteen years old, and who is described as having been endowed with every excellence, both of body and mind, first underwent the sentence, and the unhappy Rashíd al Dín, after having witnessed the death of his son, was cloven in twain by Hajjí Dilkandí; this man had accepted the office of executioner, in order to gratify his revenge for some persecutions of the Alides attributed to Rashíd al Dín, Hajjí Dilkandí being himself a descendant of Alí. This tragical event took place on the 17th of Jumáda al Awwal, in the year of the Flight 718. The head of Rashíd al Dín was separated from his body and borne through the streets of Tabríz; his children and relations were despoiled of all their property, and the Raba Rashídí was given up to pillage.

The body of the murdered vazír was buried near the mosque which he had constructed in Tabríz, but by a strange fatality, it was not destined to repose quietly in this its last asylum, which his enemies had not dared to deny him. Nearly a century after his death, the government of Tabríz, together with that of the whole province of Azarbáíján, was given by Tímúr Lang to his son Mírán Sháh. This young prince, naturally of a mild disposition, had become partially deranged, in consequence of an injury of the head occasioned by a fall from his horse, and one day, during a temporary access of madness, he caused the bones of Rashíd al Dín to be exhumed, and they were finally deposited in the cemetery of the Jews[1].

Almost all those who had conspired to ruin Rashíd al Dín, perished in the course of the following year, and many of them by violent deaths; Alí Sháh, the one most deserving of punishment,

[1] Rashíd al Dín's enemies asserted, during his lifetime, that he was of Jewish extraction and religion, in order to render him odious to the Musulmáns; this calumny was probably grounded upon the particular attention he had paid to the history and customs of the Jews, and accounts for the indignities practised towards his remains by Mírán Sháh.

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alone survived to enjoy the fruits of his crime; he continued to preserve his honours and the favour of his master, for the space of six years, when he died; Alí Sháh was the only vazír, since the establishment of the Mongol monarchy, who died a natural death.

Hitherto we have seen Rashíd al Dín only as the vazír and the politician; it remains to give some account of him as a man of letters, and here he shines no less pre-eminent than in his political career. Few men, even of those who have given up their whole lives to reading and research, could hope to attain the knowledge acquired by this extraordinary individual, and how much more is this to be admired when we recollect, that from his youth upwards, he was mixed up with the intrigues of courts, and that he bore the principal weight of the administration of an immense empire under three successive Sultáns. Besides medicine, to which he had applied himself when young, together with those sciences which are in immediate relation to it, he had cultivated with success, agriculture, architecture, and metaphysics, and had rendered himself conversant with the most abstruse points of Musulmán controversy and doctrine; he was also an accomplished linguist, being acquainted with the Persian, Arabic, Mongolian, Turkish, and Hebrew languages, and, as it seems from his works, with the Chinese also. Amongst his great natural powers, we may reckon as the most important, the talent of writing with extreme facility; this is attested by the voluminousness of his works, and by a passage in one of his writings, in which he asserts that he composed three of his greatest works, viz.:—the Kitáb al Tawdhíhat[1], the Miftah al Tafásír[2], and the Risálat al Sultánísat[3], in the short space of eleven months, and this not by giving up his whole time to his literary labours, but in the midst of the cares of government, and without reckoning numerous other treatises on various intricate subjects, which were written by him during the same period.

It was not till somewhat late in life that Rashíd al Dín turned his thoughts to authorship, and until his master, Gházán Khán, ordered him to compose a history of the Mongols, he had not ventured to commit the results of his learning and meditations to the judgment of the world. Up to the time when our author commenced his task, no one had given a satisfactory account of the rise and progress of this extraordinary nation; it is true that several writers had, with more or less success, endeavoured to supply this desideratum, but a full and connected history was still wanting. The archives of the Mongolian empire were fully adequate to furnish

[1] كتاب التوضيحات [2] مفتاح التفاسير [3] الرسالة السلطانية

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materials with regard to history, and the principal families of the Mongols possessed genealogies and documents well calculated to supply any deficiencies; Gházán Khán accordingly chose Rashíd al Dín as the most fit person for this great work, and we have before us, in the first volume of the Jámi al Tawáríkh, the result of his labours.

The work was on the point of completion when Gházán Khán died, in the year of the Flight 703; Oljáítú Muhammad Khodábandah, the brother and successor of that monarch, not only approved of the plan which our author had followed and the manner in which he had executed his task, but enjoined him to complete it, and to add thereto a general account of all the people known to the Mongols, and a description of all the countries of the globe; in short, to write the history of the world. Rashíd al Dín undertook this laborious work, and a few years sufficed for its accomplishment, for we find that in the year of the Flight 710, the entire history was written, bound, and deposited in the mosque, constructed by the author at Tabríz. It is true that Abd Allah Ibn Fadhl Allah, the author of the Táríkhi Wassaf, affirms, that Rashíd al Dín continued his work till the year 712, but this, probably, only applies to that portion of it which gives the history of Oljáítú. Haidar Rázi says, that the history of India was completed in the year 703, the period when our author received orders to commence his researches.

The entire work when completed, received from its author the the title of *Jámi al Tawáríkh*[1], and the first volume, which may be considered as a history by itself, continued to be called the *Táríkhi Gházáni*[2], after the prince by whose orders it was composed and to whom it was dedicated.

The following account of the contents of the *Jámi al Tawáríkh*, is taken from a notice in Arabic, by Rashíd al Dín himself, prefixed to a MS. of his theological works, in the Royal Library at Paris, and quoted by M. Quatremère in the preface to his edition of the *Táríkhi Gházáni*.

"The book called the *Jámi al Tawáríkh*, comprises four volumes, the first of which contains a preface, an account of the origin of the nations of the Turks, the number of their tribes, and an account of the kings, kháns, amírs, and great men who have sprung from each tribe; also of the ancestors of Changíz Khán, the history of that monarch's actions, and of his children and descendants, who have occupied the throne down to the time of Oljáítú Sultán. To the life of each prince is added his genealogy, an account of his character

[1] جامع التواريخ [2] تاريخ غازاني

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and of his wives and children, a notice of the khalífahs, kings, sultáns, and atábaks, who were contemporary with him, and a history of the remarkable events that occurred during his reign.

"The second volume contains an introduction and a history of the life of Oljáítú from the time of his birth to the present day; to this portion of the second volume will be added a supplement, comprising an account of the daily actions of this prince, written by us, and afterwards continued by the court historians. This second volume also contains a concise history of the prophets, sultáns, and kings of the universe, from the days of Adam to the present time, together with a detailed account of many people, of whom historians have, till now, given little or no description. All that I have said respecting them, I have taken from their own books and from the mouths of the learned men of each nation, it also gives the history of the people of the book, viz., the Jews and the Christians, and the histories of the sultáns and most celebrated princes of each country; also an account of the Ismaílís, and many other curious and instructive particulars.

"The third volume gives, after the preface, a detailed account of the descent of the prophets, kings, khalífahs, the Arab tribes, the companions of the prophet Muhammad, &c., from the time of Adam to the end of the dynasty of the Baní Abbás; the genealogy of the ancestors of Muhammad, and of the tribes descended from them; the series of prophets who have appeared amongst the Baní Isráíl, the kings of the latter, and an enumeration of their different tribes; the genealogies of the Kísars and others of the Christian princes, with their names and the number of years of their respective reigns. All these details have been faithfully extracted from the chronicles of these people, and arranged in a systematic order.

"The fourth volume comprises a preface and a circumstantial account of the limits of each of the seven climates, the division and extent of the vast countries of the globe, the geographical position and description of the greater part of the cities, seas, lakes, valleys, and mountains, with their longitudes and latitudes. In writing this portion of our work, we have not been satisfied merely in extracting from the most esteemed geographical works, but we have, besides, made inquiries from the most learned men and those who have themselves visited the countries described; we have inserted in our relation, particulars obtained from the learned men of Hind, Chín, Máchín, the countries of the Franks, &c., and others which have been faithfully extracted from works written in the languages of those different countries."

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This is the account given by our author himself of his work; it must, however, be remarked, that in the preface to the *Táríkhi Gházání*, and in many other passages, he speaks of three volumes only, writing under the head of the second, the matters which here form the contents of the second and third; it is most likely that he subsequently divided this second volume into two portions, on account of its great bulk and disproportion in size to the others.

In the preface to the *Táríkhi Gházání*, the work is divided as follows. The contents of the first volume is the same as given in the preceding description, and it is dedicated to Gházán Kháu.

The second volume contains the history of Oljáítú Sultán, (to whom it was dedicated,) from his birth to the time when our author wrote; this forms the first division of the volume; the second division comprises two parts, the first of which is again subdivided into two sections. The first section contains an abridged history of all the prophets, khalífahs, and of the different races of men, to the year of the Flight 700. The second section comprises a detailed chronicle of all the inhabitants of the earth, according to their races, extracted from their various writings, and from the mouths of natives of the different countries. The second part is filled with the remaining portion of the history of Oljáítú, and was destined to be continued to the time of his death.

The third volume comprises the description of the geographical charts, and the various routes from one place to another, taken from the sources already mentioned.

Such is the extent and contents of this great work. It would be needless to expatiate upon its immense importance, both in an historical and geographical point of view; possessed of the amplest means of acquiring information from the most authentic sources, our author brought to his task a sound judgment and powers of discrimination rarely to be met with; whilst the extreme facility which he possessed of expressing his ideas, rendered the completion of his work (apparently, scarcely compatible with the duration of human life), the labour only of a few short years.

Up to the present time, the first volume of the *Jámi al Tawáríkh*, viz. the *Táríkhi Gházání*, was the *only* portion known in Europe, and till lately, but two copies of this work were accessible to Orientalists; these were deposited in the Royal Library at Paris, and a portion of this history was translated by M. Petis de la Croix, fils, but his version has been lost. At present, MSS. of the Táríkhi Gházání exist in several collections, both public and private. Some part of it has, as we have already seen, been lately published with unex-

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ampled splendour, by the French Government, accompanied by a translation, and illustrated with copious notes, by the learned and indefatigable M. Quatremère, who is now preparing the remainder for publication.

Amongst the Orientals, scarcely any author speaks of the three last volumes of the *Jámi al Tawárikh*; Abú al Ghází Bahádar, Mírkhond, and Khondamír, were ignorant of their existence, and in the time of Sháh Rokh, the son of Tímúr, we find that that prince having ordered a continuation of Rashíd al Dín's history to be written, an anonymous writer composed a supplement, which contained the lives of Oljáítú and Abú Saíd; had the history been entire at that time, the life of the first of these sultáns would have been unnecessary, as it was already comprised in the first part of the second volume of the work.

The existence of the latter volumes of the history, which, from the silence of Eastern authors, might really almost have been doubted, is, however, fully proved. In the year of the Flight 717, during the life of Rashíd al Dín, Abú Sulaimán Dáúd Fakhr al Dín Abd Allah, surnamed Binákití[1], composed an abridgment of the *Jámi al Tawarikh*[2], which he dedicated to the Sultán Abú Saíd. The Persian historian, Haider Rází, who wrote in the seventeenth century, also quotes Rashíd al Dín's work, in support of facts not relating to the history of the Mongols, and an anonymous historian made an abridgment of the work in the 858th year of the Flight, from a MS. then existing at Herát.

It is impossible to fix with any degree of certainty the epoch at which these volumes were lost, but it seems most likely that they were destroyed when the Raba Rashídí was plundered by the

[1] His name is given in MS. Rich. 7627, Abú Sulaimán Ibn Dáúd Ben Abí al Fadhl Ben Muhammad Ben Muhammad Ben Dáúd al Binákití. He was surnamed Al Binákití, from his having been born at Binákit, or Finákit, a town in Máwará al Nahar, afterwards called Sháhrokhiah.

[2] This abridgment is entitled *Rouzat Ûlí al Albáb*, (روضة اولي الالباب) but is more generally known by the name of Tárikhi Binákiti. This work is greatly esteemed by the Persians, and is often cited as an authority by subsequent historians. Abú Sulaimán follows Rashíd al Dín pretty closely, varying the arrangement, however, in some degree. The MSS. of his history are very scarce, but having been enabled to obtain access to no less than three copies, I have not failed to compare them diligently with Rashíd al Dín's work, and have found them of the greatest service. One of these MS. is in the library of the Oriental Translation Committee, it is in two volumes, which are numbered in my catalogue 118 and 119; the other two are amongst the Rich collection in the British Museum, and are numbered respectively, 7626, 7627.

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order of Abú Saíd, as we know that all our author's works were deposited in the mosque of that suburb. On the other hand, the precautions taken by him to secure his works from being lost, seem to preclude the possibility of this being the case, as he himself tells us, he had dedicated considerable revenues for the purpose of copying and disseminating transcripts of his various writings through the most considerable cities of the Muhammadan world. Nevertheless, so it is; until now these volumes have remained altogether unknown, and it is only to be explained by the wholesale destruction above alluded to, and the civil wars which distracted the Mongol empire in Persia, after Abú Sáid's death.

I now turn to the manuscript before me, and which is the subject of these remarks. It is written in the Arabic language, in a clear and well-formed Nískhí character, on fine thick paper of a large folio size, and comprises in all fifty-nine folia: it is illustrated with numerous paintings, which exhibit, considering the time at which they were executed, (more than five hundred years ago,) a much higher style of art than we might have expected. I have taken the trouble of lithographing a copy of one of these[1], and have added two lines of the writing, which may serve as a specimen of the character of the whole manuscript.

Unfortunately the volume is only a collection of fragments; but from their antiquity and the importance of the matters upon which they treat, together with the manifest authenticity of the work, their discovery cannot fail to interest the learned world.

The following is a brief analysis of the contents of our MS.

The first part contains a portion of the history of the prophet Muhammad; it comprises seven folia, and is illustrated by three paintings.

This history is divided into short chapters, many of them not exceeding ten or twenty lines; the fragment remaining is imperfect

[1] The picture apparently represents the apotheosis of Hamzah, the uncle of Muhammad; the Persian title in the margin contains the following words,—

حمزه رضي الله تعالي عنه كه انحضرت صلى الله عليه و آله و سلم
براى غزوة بنى قينقاع كه جماعة از بنى يهود بودند فرستاد

"Hamzah (may the Almighty God reward him) whom the prophet (the blessing of God be upon him and his descendants and peace) sent against the Bani Kainoká, who were a tribe of Jews."

All the paintings have Persian titles similarly written in the margin, apparently by some native of India who possessed the MS. *in its present state*, as the catch-words at the bottom of the pages, *as they stand*, are written in the same hand, even where leaves are wanting.

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and the leaves are misplaced; it relates to the events which happened in the earlier years of the Flight; the contents of the chapters, in their present order, are as follows.

Account of the expedition of the prophet to Hamrá al Asad[1], which is described as a halting station between Makkah and Madínah, at a distance of three farsakhs from the former city.

Account of the night journey of Salamah Ben Abd al Asad in Moharram, the thirty-fifth month of the Flight.

Account of the night journey of Abd Allah Ben Anís to Sofyán Ben Khálid, on the fifth of Moharram, the thirty-fifth month of the Flight.

Account of the night journey of Al Mondar Ben Amrú al Sáidí, in the thirty-sixth month of the Flight.

Account of the night journey of Morthid Ben Abí Morthid al Anawí to Al Rají[2], a halting station between Najá and Madínah, in Safar, the thirty-sixth month of the Flight.

Account of the expedition of the prophet against the Banú Al Nodhair[3], in Rabi al Awwal, the thirty-seventh month of the Flight.

Account of the expedition of Badr al Móid[4], in Dzí al Kadat, the forty-fifth month of the Flight.

Account of the expedition to Dzát al Ruká[5], in Moharram, the forty-seventh month of the Flight.

Account of the expedition to Dúmat al Jandal[6], five days journey from Damashk, in Rabi al Awwal, the forty-ninth month of the Flight.

Account of the expedition to Dzát al Marísí[7], between Al Fara[8] and Madínah, in the month Shabán, and the year of the Flight 5.

[1] حمرا الاسد

[2] الرجيع Est autem Ragiæ puteus juris Hudeilitarum, ad quatuordecim miliaria ab Osfano.—Abulfeda, à Reiske.

[3] A tribe of Jews who resided about a farsakh's distance from Madínah.

[4] بدر الموعد

[5] ذات الرقاع The prophet halted at this place, which is described as situated in the desert, eight days' journey from Madínah; a miraculous conversion of his enemies took place here.—Tabari.

[6] دومة الجندل A certain wall situated in the desert.—Tabari.

[7] ذات المريسيع

[8] الفرع

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Account of the expedition of the ditch[1], in the month Dzí al Kadat, and the year of the Flight 5.

Account of several of the expeditions and night journeys of the prophet, from the first, which took place in the third year of the Flight, down to the time of his death.

Account of the revelation of the sacred verse of the Korán, by which the prophet was commanded to make the Kabah the Kiblah of Islám.

Account of the commencement of the religious observance of the month Ramadhán, and of almsgiving, and the breaking fast at the conclusion of Ramadhán.

Account of the expedition to Badr al Kabrí[2], and the slaughter of the Koraish at that place.

Account of the night journey of Amair Ben Adí.

Account of the night journey of Sálim Ben Amair.

Account of the expedition of the prophet against the Baní Kainoká[3].

Account of the expedition of Al Sawík[4], in Dzí al Hijjah, the twenty-third month of the Flight.

Account of the expedition to Karkarat al Kadr[5], between Madan and Madínah, in Moharram, the twenty-third month of the Flight.

Account of the death of Kab Ben al Ashraf, the Jew, on the fourteenth of Rabi al Awwal, the twenty-fifth month of the Flight.

Account of the expedition of the prophet against the tribe Ghatafán in Rabi al Awwal, the twenty-fifth month of the Flight.

Account of the expedition of the prophet against the Baní Salím, on the sixth of Jumáda, the twenty-seventh month of the Flight.

[1] Called also the expedition of the cohorts or troops, غزوة الاحزاب

[2] بدر الكبرى This was the first great victory gained by Muhammad; Gagnier, on the authority of Al Kodaius, says, "Bedr est nomen putei, qui pertinebat ad quemdam qui vocabatur Bedr."

[3] Fuit nomen tribus Judæorum qui Medinæ domicilium habebant in vico quodam ab illis dicto سوق قينقاع Platea, seu Forum Kainoká.—Gagnier.

[4] غزوة السويق The expedition of barley. The word sawík signifies barley deprived of its husks and pounded. This expedition is so called because Abú Sofiyán and his followers, when pursued by the Musulmáns, cast down the bags (ظروف) of barley, which they carried for provender, in the midst of the road, in order to facilitate their escape by lightening the burdens of their horses.

[5] قرقرة الكدر Nomen est aquæ isti tractui vicinæ, per quem via regia tendit ex Irak versus Meccam.—Abulfeda.

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The second part of the MS., which is imperfect at the commencement, contains the concluding portion of the history of Khitá[1]. It comprises ten folia, and is illustrated by numerous paintings intended to represent the different kings whose names and histories are given in the text. This fragment commences with the eleventh race of the kings of Khitá, who were descended from Rai Kúgáó Shíngshí[2]; the first king of this race was named Shíng Táng[3], who is stated to have been the hundred and first king of Khitá, and to have commenced his reign in the year 629[4].

Rashíd al Dín, in his account of the twelfth dynasty, which follows, states that before the time of Jai Wang[5], (the hundred and thirty-fourth king of Khitá and third of this dynasty,) the people of Khitá, Hind, and Kashmír were of various religious creeds; but that in his reign the birth of Shákmúní occurred, attended by unusual prodigies; he also says that, according to the traditions of Khitá, this prophet lived eighty-eight years, and that from the time of his birth up to the period when our author wrote, viz., the 704th year of the Flight, 1363 years had elapsed.

Shákmúní is here said to have been conceived immaculately by a ray of light on the body of Múyah Kúchín[6], the virgin bride of Ang Fáng[7], king of Túkiya Tíláwí[8], a city on the confines of Kashmír; at the age of nineteen he retired into a mountain where he remained for five years fasting, he then passed six years in the same mountain in the worship of God, after which he commenced his prophetic mission, when the people of Kashmír, Khitá, and Hindústán embraced his religion.

[1] This appears to be the correct method of spelling this word, and not as usually written, Khatá: Quatremère says that it is derived from the people called Khitans, and mentions that Bergmann and Burnes both write the word as in the text. It is also so spelt in the Jagatáian translation of the Tazkirat Aúlia. My transcription of the names both of persons and places in this and the following part of our MS., is from the absence of the vowel points, often necessarily conjectural; but I have always given the names in the Arabic character at the foot of the page.

[2] ری کوکاو شینکشي In the Tárikhi Binákití, Rai Kúgáó Shíngshí is mentioned as the seventy-third King of Khitá, and the first king of the seventh race.

[3] شینک تانک

[4] This date is most probably reckoned from some computation of time used by the Chinese, which was explained in the preceding part of the History of Khitá, here wanting.

[5] جي وانک [6] موبه قوچيي [7] انک فانک

[8] توکیا تلاوي

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In the reign of Dín Wáng[1], the twentieth king of this dynasty, Tái Sháng Lái Kún[2] was born. This person is stated to have been accounted a prophet by the people of Khitá; his father's name was Han[3]; like Shákmúní, he is said to have been conceived by light, and it is related that his mother bore him in her womb for no less a period than eighty years. The people who embraced his doctrines were called Shan Shan[4]. His birth occurred 347 years after Shákmúní.

In the time of Tin Wáng[5], the thirty-sixth and last king of this dynasty, the empire is stated to have been divided into various principalities, similar to the Mulúk al Tawáif of Persia. This commonwealth was put an end to by Shan Shakhwáng[6], who seized upon the whole kingdom.

Our author proceeds to enumerate the dynasties which followed, giving a brief account of each. In speaking of the nineteenth dynasty, he mentions that Shanídí[7] was deposed by one of his nobles named Súhíngsháng[8], who was afterwards slain by an army of invaders; upon hearing of this circumstance the deposed king Shanídí and his khátún both laughed so immoderately that they dropped down dead.

The empire was now divided into three portions, one of which was given to Súhíngsháng's son, and the others to kings chosen from among the invaders: one of these last kings eventually possessed himself of the whole and became sole monarch.

Our author after this gives a short history of the various revolutions and dynasties (amounting to little more than a list of names) who ruled over Máchín and Khitá, and its dependencies, down to the last dynasty of native kings. In the time of Kamzún[9], the twentieth king of this dynasty, and who ruled over all Khitá and Máchín, the tribe of Khúrjah[10] came down against Khitá, and having deposed Kamzún, raised Akúdáí Nújak[11], one of their own tribe, to the sovereignty, surnaming him Tábrún Kárún[12]; this Akúdái and his

[1] دين وانگ [2] تاي شانگ لاي كون [3] حن
[4] شن شن [5] تن وانگ [6] شن شخوانگ
[7] شنيدي [8] سوحينكشانگ [9] كمزون

[10] خورجه This tribe is the same as the Nú-jí, as appears from the following passage of Abdallah Baidháwí.

و قوم ديكر صحرا نشينان متصل اين قوم اند كه ايشانرا نوجي ميكويند و مغولان و ديكر اقوام ايشانرا خورجه خوانند

[11] اكوداي نوجق [12] تابرون قرون

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posterity are called Altán Khán by the Turks. Kamzún was succeeded by Shújú[1] in Máchín, for a short period: he was the last of the native kings of China, and in his reign the army of the Khán possessed themselves of Máchín. This Shújú, according to the historical books of Khitá, was the two hundred and sixty-seventh[2] king from Níkú, who was the first.

Our author then gives an enumeration of the kings of the Khúrjah race; he also states that in former times there arose a blood-feud between the Altán Kháns and the ancestors of Changíz Khán, and that in consequence, the latter proceeded, in the 607th year of the Flight, against Khitá, and conquered Shúdí Shúshú[3], the last of the Khúrjah kings; in the year of the Flight 631, Oktáí Khán pursued his victories, and having taken Shúdí Shúshú's capital, destroyed it: the last monarch of Khitá perished in the conflagration of his own palace, and the whole empire became subject to the authority of the Mongols.

The third portion of the MS. contains the Tákríh al Hind wa al Sind; this most important history is perfect with the exception of one lacuna. It comprises twenty folia and is illustrated by nine paintings.

Our author divides the history of Hind and Sind into two parts, the first of which is subdivided into eleven sections or chapters.

The first section contains an account of the various divisions of time employed by the Hindús, and commences by giving the opinions of the inhabitants of Hind, Kashmír, and Khitá, with regard to the creation of the world; it proceeds to enumerate and describe the different yúgs, (cycles, or periods,) giving the duration of each. Rashíd al Dín here mentions that he derived his information from an Arabic translation of the Hindú work *Bánatajal* or *Bátanajal*[4], by the celebrated Abú Raihán al Bírúní, who was for a considerable period in

[1] شوجو

[2] There are considerable discrepancies between this history and that of the Táríkhi Binákití in the number of the kings; in the latter work Shújú is described as the 305th king of Khitá.

[3] شودي شوشو

[4] There is some doubt as to the right reading of this word; it occurs three times, thus بانتجل باتنجل بانتكل. Our author says that the word was originally بانتكل; one letter here, it is doubtful which, wants the diacritical points; it is by this last name that the book is mentioned in the *Tarikhi Binákití*; but the orthography is not fixed by the MSS. of that work which I have consulted.

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Hindústán and received much instruction from the Brahmans[1]. Our author gives some further particulars relating to the division of time and the age of the world, and then passes on to the next chapter.

The second section treats of the measurement of the world, its form and division into four quarters and seven climates, and gives an account of the circumambient ocean. Our author estimates the superficial extent of the habitable portion of the earth at 80,143,320 farsakhs, reducing the same, with the curious accuracy of eastern writers, into miles, cubits, *finger-breadths, and barley-corns;* he then describes the division into degrees, and gives various other measurements both of land and sea.

The third section contains a description of the mountains and waters of Hind, and the fourth of the various provinces, cities, towns, waters, islands, and people. Both these sections, viz., the second and third, contain a quantity of curious and valuable geographical information, and many interesting particulars with respect to the inhabitants and productions of different countries.

Section the fifth contains the history of the sultans of Dahlí, and their genealogies, giving an account of the origin of the kings of Hind; an enumeration of the kings who reigned previous to the time of Sultán Mahmúd Ghaznaví; and the history of the Ghórides to the time of Alá al Dín, who ruled in Dahlí at the time when our author wrote.

The sixth section comprises a description of the country of Kashmír, its mountains, waters, and cities, with an account of some of its kings to the time of Shahah Dív[2].

The five remaining sections of this part contain the history of the Bráhmah kings[3] of the countries of Hind during the four cycles or Yúgs.

[1] Abú Raihán Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al Bírúní was a famous astronomer, and excelled in the sciences of geometry and judicial astrology: he lived in the time of the sultáns Mahmúd and Masúd of Ghaznín; he was sent into India in company with Abú al Nasr and Abú al Khair by Sultán Mámún, king of Kh'árizm, and remained there forty years. In the *Táríkhi Binákití* it is stated that he learned the language of the Brahmans and searched their books, one of which, described as the most excellent of all, he translated into the Arabic tongue; this book, says Abú Sulaimán, was called *Bánatakal* or *Bátanakal*, for it is differently written in the two MSS. of the British Museum. The MS. of the Translation Committee omits the points of one letter as in the MS. of Rashíd al Díu, but from the position of the points of the ت it seems most likely the word should be written *Bátanakal*. I may add that there is a sect of Hindús founded by the sage Patanjal, who wrote the sútras, known by his name, and which are probably here alluded to. *Vide* GLADWIN's *Ayeen Akbery*, vol. ii. p. 416, and WARD's *View of the Hindoos*, vol. iv. p. 199.

[2] شهه دیو [3] ملوک براهمه

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The second part of the history is divided into twenty-one sections.

The first section treats of the different prophets of Hind, according to the authority of Kamálsharí Al-Bakhshí Al-Kashmírí [1]. Our author in this section speaks of six different prophets, viz., Máhíshúr [2], Wishan [3], Brahmán [4], Arahnat [5], Náshak [6], and Shákmúní [7], each of whom introduced different religions, which were again divided into various sects. This section contains a curious account of the faith of the Hindús; our author mentions in one place that Máhíshúr, Wishan, and Bráhman, are three persons but one God, and makes use of a comparison which I have seen in illustration of our Holy Trinity, that they are thus three and one, like water, snow, and ice [8].

Our author gives a full account of the different sects of these religions, and a particular description of the three sects of the followers of Shákmúní; he also speaks of Shákmúní's book called Abdarm [9], which he explains as meaning the first and last, or Alpha and Omega of books, and gives a synopsis of its contents, with which this section concludes.

The second section contains an account of the birth of Shákmúní, which is here related somewhat differently from the short notice previously given in the history of Khitá; his nominal father is here called Shadúdan [10], and is mentioned as king of Kabalawás [11], a city of Hind; his mother, Máhámáyá [12], is however represented as having conceived the prophet in her sleep. This section also gives an account of his education.

The third section treats of the signs by which a prophet may be known; these are thirty-two in number, all relating to personal for-

[1] كالشري البخشي الكشميري

[2] ماهيشور [3] وشن [4] برهمان [5] ارهنت [6] ناشک [7] شاكموني

[8] The following is the passage alluded to:—

و يقول امة ماهيشور و وشن و برهما ان هو لا الثلثه الا شخاص آله واحد و المراد من الآله الواحد هم و لاجل هذا تقولون انهم آلهة و الامور المعظمة الواقعة في العالم مثل الطوفان و الصواعق و الزلازل و التبديل ☆

[9] ابدرم [10] شدودن [11] كپلواس [12] ماهاماپا

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mation and appearance, and amongst others equally singular, it is said, that his hands and feet should be soft and fresh, both in youth and old age; that his chest should be broad, like that of a lion, and that the line down the centre between the pectoral muscles should be extremely slender; that he should possess forty teeth of extreme whiteness; that his body should be of the colour of red gold; and that his stature must be above the ordinary height; Shákmúní is represented as having possessed all these thirty-two requisite qualifications.

The fourth section relates to the disposition, habits, and conversation of Shákmúní, and his various perfections in these respects, and concludes with his confinement in a fortress, by order of his father.

Section the fifth relates how, at the age of twenty-nine years, the prophet was released from the fortress by his guardian angels, and how, having proceeded to the river Gang, he remained in religious contemplation for the space of six years.

The sixth section states the conclusion of his retirement, and how he thereupon took food and drink, his miracles, and manifestations of his prophetic mission, and his contests with Iblís.

The seventh section is entitled "An Account of the Four Cycles, according to the words of Shákmúní and the wise men and Brahmans of Hind."

A portion of the MS. is here lost, immediately after the commencement of the seventh section. The sense is thus broken, and some difficulty arises with regard to the nature of what follows; the next pages, however, seem to contain an account of various Buddhist books, and the advantages to be derived from their perusal[1].

The seventeenth section, which is the next in order, continues the history of Shákmúní, and contains questions which were proposed to him by an angel, and his answers thereto.

Section the eighteenth relates to Shákmúní's prediction of another prophet, who was to come after him.

The nineteeenth section treats of the different degrees of men, good and bad, paradise and hell, and certain things commanded and forbidden, according to the words of Shákmúní.

The twentieth section contains an account of the religious creeds of the various cities of Hind; and the twenty-first and concluding section relates the death and last actions of Shákmúní.

At the end of this section, which is the last of the history of Hind and Sind, there is the date of the exaration of the MS., viz., A. H. 714.

[1] These books are not noticed in the Táríkhi Binákití.

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Haidar Rází says that Rashíd al Dín composed this History of India in the 703rd year of the Flight; our MS. was therefore written only eleven years subsequent to the composition of the original work.

The fourth portion of our MS. contains a fragment of the History of the Baní Isráíl; it comprises nineteen folia, and is illustrated by nine paintings. I have only examined this part of the work cursorily, as it does not seem to contain any new matter, but merely gives the history of the Israelites according to the Muhammadan traditions, as we find it in Tabarí.

After the preface, Rashíd al Dín commences with an account of the creation of the world, and the history of Adam and his descendants to the time of Núh; he then gives an account of the deluge, and proceeds successively with the histories of Ibráhím, Ishák, Yakúb, Yúsuf, Músa, Yoshua, Shamwáíl, Tálút, Dáúd, and Sulaimán. Our author after this treats of the kings of the Baní Isráíl, who reigned after Sulaimán, gives the histories of the prophets Khidhr Alísa and Yónas, of King Bokht Nasr and Danyál, and the story of Hámám and Mordakháí. This history of the Baní Isráíl is imperfect at the end.

Such are the contents of this interesting volume. When I first examined it a difficulty occurred to me in consequence of its being written in the Arabic language; whereas all the authors whom I had consulted on the subject, expressly state that this history was composed in Persian. At this period M. Quatremère's work came under my notice, and at once set all my doubts at rest with regard to the authenticity of the work. In the notice of Rashíd al Dín's works, already alluded to as quoted by M. Quatremère in his preface, we find a description of the precautions taken by our author in order to prevent his works from being lost. After having stated that he had formed the design of collecting his works together, and forming them into one large volume, he proceeds to say that, in order that they might be of equal utility to those who spoke Persian or Arabic, he translated into the latter tongue all those works that he had written in Persian, and had one copy transcribed expressly to form part of the large volume, besides many others which were destined some to be bound together and others to be kept separate; he in like manner caused all his Arabic works to be translated into Persian, and entitled the whole collection *Majmú bijámi altasánif al Rashídí*[1], *i. e.* The Complete Collection of all the Works of Rashíd al Dín.

[1] مجموع بجامع التصانيف الرشيدي

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Our author, in the notice, then gives a general catalogue of all his works.

Rashíd al Dín having caused several copies of his writings, and the large volume before alluded to, to be transcribed, deposited all the MSS. in the mosque of the Raba Rashídí, so that they might be accessible to every one who was desirous of making copies of his works.

Besides this, we learn from this notice, that he ordered that the administrator of the revenues of the Raba Rashídí should employ a certain part thereof in causing two complete transcripts of all his works to be made annually, the one in the Arabic and the other in the Persian language, making an exception, however, in favour of the *Jámi al Tawárikh*, the number of copies of that history being left to the discretion of the administrator, and the demand there might happen to be for the work.

All these transcripts were written on large Baghdád paper, in a clear and legible hand: besides this, each copy was carefully collated with the standard examples deposited in the Raba Rashídí, so that there might be no faults in the orthography, and that each one might agree perfectly with its original.

After this follow directions as to the binding of the copies, the salaries of the calligraphists employed in transcribing, and an enumeration of the ceremonies and observances to be attended to in the writing and presentation of each individual MS. Amongst these observances our author orders that when the copies were completed, the inspector appointed should forward them to some of the cities under the domination of the Mussulmáns: one copy in the Arabic language to the cities of Arabia, and one in Persian to those of Persia, commencing with the most considerable cities, and proceeding in gradation with those of less importance. He further directs that the copies so forwarded should be deposited in some college, under the care of a professor well versed in science, who should be chosen by the Kádhís and most learned persons of the city; and that any person being desirous of reading or transcribing the MSS. should be allowed the amplest facilities for so doing.

Our MS. then contains portions of the second volume of the *Jámi al Tawárikh*, and, as is ascertained from the date, was written *only four years after the completion of the work*. From the notice above quoted we may with certainty conclude that it is one of the very MSS. therein described, written on the large Baghdád paper, translated from the original Persian into Arabic, *either by the author himself, or under his immediate inspection, and collated with the original copy of the history, deposited by his orders in the mosque of the Raba Rashídí.*

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The possession of the lost volumes of the *Jamí al Tawárikh* has been for more than a century a great desideratum in oriental literature; and when I look at this MS., which has been copied under the author's own eyes, I cannot forbear congratulating myself on being the first to discover and bring before the notice of the literary world this inestimable monument of antiquity, which may almost with certainty be pronounced to be *unique*: its mutilated condition must be a source of regret to all who take an interest in these matters, but still there is much left, and I do not think that I am too sanguine in the expectation that, by its means, some additional light will be thrown on the ancient history and religions of India.

I must now conclude; I do not despair of having my proposals to M. Quatremère acceded to by the French Government, but should I be disappointed I venture to hope that at some future period, if the more serious labours of my profession allow of it, I may find time to edite at least the text of these fragments myself. Believe me, my dear sir, most sincerely yours,

WILLIAM H. MORLEY.

May 13*th*, 1839,
15, *Serle-street, Lincoln's Inn.*

P.S. There is a portion of the *Tárikh Al Hind wa al Sind* contained in a MS. presented to the Society by the late Colonel Francklin. It is in the Arabic language, and is accompanied by an interlinear translation and occasional notes in Persian. It commences with the eleventh section of the *History of Hind*, and continues it to the end of the account of Shákmúní. From a note in Persian at the end of the MS., we learn that this translation was made by Abd al Kádir of Díví, in Lakhnau, in the month of May, and the year of our Lord 1823, by order of Colonel Francklin. This MS. is not, however, of any use in collating the text, as it was copied from the larger one above described; this is proved by the transcriber's having left a blank at the place where the lacuna occurs in the large MS., and noticing in the margin that a leaf is here wanting in his original.

When I catalogued this MS. I wrote to Colonel Francklin, in the expectation that he would be able to give me some information on the subject, but in his reply he said that he had "forgotten all about it except having written to Abd al Kádir many years since on the subject of his translation of Shákmúní."

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Postcript by Mr. Morley.

Within the last few days, after the completion of the preceding pages, another portion of the second volume of the *Jámi al Tawárikh* has, by an almost incredible chance, come to light; and what renders the fact still more wonderful, this other portion, which was procured in India by the late Colonel Baillie, is a part of the *identical volume* that forms the subject of my remarks. When I first heard of the circumstance I was sanguine in my expectations that we should be able to perfect the second volume, or at least supply the deficiency in that which I consider to be the most important part of it, viz., the *History of Hind and Sind*, but unfortunately this is not the case, our MS. containing, as we have seen, (with the exception of the first few leaves of Muhammadan history,) portions of the *second* section of the first part of the second division of the second volume, whilst that of Colonel Baillie, as I believe, comprises the greater portion of the *first* section of the same part. The history of Muhammad in Colonel Baillie's MS. may be, perhaps, perfected from that of the Society; but further than this the two MSS. do not assist each other. Professor Forbes, who was fortunate enough to find this precious volume, has given an account of its contents, and the circumstances which led to its discovery, in a paper which follows.

W. H. M.

Sept. 26th, 1839.

Erratum.—I have carelessly suffered a serious error to escape me in the preceding pages. The passage given in Note 8, at the foot of page 27, was hastily transcribed from the Persian MS.; the sentence as it stands is incomplete; and, as is obvious, will not bear the meaning imputed to it in the text.

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Letter of Professor Forbes.

Read 2nd Nov., 1839.

Sir,

Mr. W. Morley has kindly presented to me a copy of his interesting letter addressed to Major-General Briggs, respecting the portion of the *Jámi al Tawárikh*, now in the Society's library. About the time when Mr. Morley's communication was passing through the press, I accidentally fell in with a much larger portion of the *Jámi al Tawárikh*, comprising one half the original volume, of which the Society's fragment forms about one-fifth. The two fragments have been clearly proved (as you will perceive hereafter) to be parts of the same grand original; and it is curious enough that after many years, perhaps centuries, of separation, they should have at last met in a portion of the earth so remote from their native city.

That portion of the *Jámi al Tawárikh* which forms the subject of the present hasty and imperfect communication, belonged to the late Colonel John Baillie, a distinguished member of the Asiatic Society. Shortly after the death of that eminent Orientalist, his house in town was let, and his books and manuscripts were temporarily removed to the house of a friend in Soho Square, previous to their being conveyed to the family estate in Inverness-shire [1]. They have remained however undisturbed in Soho Square ever since. A few weeks ago I happened to have a pupil who lived in the same house, and from his description of some of the MSS. I felt and expressed my wishes to see them, in which request I was most readily indulged.

The first, indeed I may say the only, work that caught my attention was a large Arabic manuscript of a historical nature, written in a beautiful and very old Naskhi hand, with many pictures very creditably executed, all things considered. On the back of this rare volume is written in a distinct Persian hand "Tárikh i Tabarí," and as if this were not sufficient, there is a note written in Persian, on a blank page, folio 154, of which the following is a literal translation. "The name of this book is *The Tárikh i Tabarí*, (the History or Chronicle of Tabarí,) the author's autograph. The whole number of leaves when complete, amounted to 303; now however, some one has stolen and carried off one half of it, or about 150 leaves. It was written by the author's own hand, in the year of the Hegira 706 (A.D. 1306-7)."

[1] Colonel Baillie's Books and Manuscripts are entailed property.

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The information intended to be conveyed in this note, is, unfortunately, rendered very suspicious, by the date given in the conclusion; as Tabarí had flourished some 450 lunar years earlier. On examining the work itself, I found that the Muhammedan history came down to the last of the Khalífas of Bagdad; hence it could not be the original Tabarí. As D'Herbelot, however, has mentioned two writers who have continued the history of Tabarí down to their own times, I thought this might possibly be one of them, and in order to verify the circumstance, I took the Persian version with me next day to compare them; but after making the most liberal allowance for the freedom generally used by Oriental translators, I found that the two could never have been intended for the same work.

Resolved, if possible, to arrive at some satisfactory conclusion respecting the MS., I requested a very intelligent native[1] of India to accompany me to see it. The moment this gentleman looked at it, he told me that whether it was Tabarí or not, he had seen the identical book some months back in a house where he visited. On further inquiry, I learned that the book to which he alluded, belonged to the Asiatic Society. Next day I examined the Society's MS. and found, as I had concluded, that it forms part of the *half* that is missing in Colonel Baillie's MS. In proof of this, I may mention that the ink and the handwriting are the same in both. The length and breadth and number of lines in each page are the same, and the paintings are in the same style in both. The work had been numbered originally by leaves or folia, as is usual in Oriental MS.; these numbers still remain on the second page of each leaf, and every leaf of the Society's fragment is missing in Colonel Baillie's work. There is no question then, that as Sádi hath it, "they are limbs of one another," for assuredly they originally consisted of but one work.

Colonel Baillie's MS. contains at present 151 folia or leaves, being as nearly as possible one half the original number, as stated in the Persian note. The last leaf is numbered 218, so that sixty-seven leaves are wanting to complete the work from the beginning to the last leaf now remaining. Of these, there are seven leaves in the Society's fragment on the history of Muhammad. They are numbered (in their order) 57, 58, 63, 64, 66, 70, and 74, all of which are, of course, missing in Colonel Baillie's MS. If these seven leaves were restored to their places in Colonel B.'s MS. and the remainder of the Society's fragment subjoined, they would altogether form a volume of 210 folia, there being still a deficiency of ninety-three

[1] Mír Afzal Alí, Vakíl from the Mahárájí of Satára.

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leaves. This goes on the supposition that the number originally consisted of 303 leaves, as stated in the Persian note.

The contents of Colonel Baillie's MS. may be conveniently classed under three distinct heads.

1st. From the commencement to folio 41.

This portion of the work is perfect, with the exception of the first and second leaves; but the loss of these is greatly to be lamented, as they may have contained a general account of the whole volume, and an outline of its contents. This part is occupied with the history of Persia and Arabia from the earliest times down to the birth of Muhammad. At the same time the author has inserted, apparently in chronological order, copious accounts of the patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament; also, of Alexander the Great and his successors.

2nd. From folio 41 to folio 154.

This portion commences with the genealogy and birth of Muhammed. It then gives a minute account of his life, and the history of his successors down to the capture of Bagdad by Húlakú Khán, A.H. 654—A.D. 1256. This part of the work is strictly confined to the history of Muhammad and the Khalífas, the events of each year being detailed separately, with the date prefixed. In this division there are missing altogether forty-six leaves; but by replacing the seven leaves already mentioned as contained in the Society's MS., the lacuna will be reduced to thirty-nine, the greater part of which occurs between folios 70 and 107 inclusive, which treats of the history of the early Khalífas. From folio 107 to 154 there is no hiatus.

3rd. From folio 154 to 217.

The third part treats of the history of Persia under the Ghaznavi, the Saljúki, and the Atabeg dynasties. Like the first, it is of a somewhat miscellaneous character: the history of Persia is its leading feature. At the same time the author notices, in chronological order, such illustrious personages and remarkable events as came within his knowledge among other nations, particularly among the Christians. In this portion there are nineteen leaves missing, and these being towards the end, I cannot say how far the history extends—probably to the author's own times.

Folios 217 and 218, (the last in the volume,) are occupied with the history of the kings of Kh'árizm. How much of the original volume this subject occupied is uncertain. From 219 to 248 inclusive, there is a breach which, for the present, we cannot repair. At folio 249 the Society's MS. commences the history of Khata, and

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proceeds uninterruptedly to folio 300, *if* we could put faith in numbers, of which more hereafter.

Supposing then the two MS. were re-united, there would still be *at least* the following deficiency:—

	Fol.
In Part 1st, containing the preface, &c. - - -	2
In —— 2nd, Muhammad and the early Khalífas, - -	39
In —— 3rd, the latter history of Persia, &c. - -	19
Between fol. 219 and 248 inclusive, (subject uncertain) -	30
Folia 301, 302, and 303, at the end - - - -	3
Total - -	93

I have reason to suspect, however, that the volume consisted originally of more than 303 leaves. In the Society's MS. there is a lacuna of some leaves in the life of Shakmuni, while the numbers of the folia proceed without any interruption. This can be accounted for on the supposition that the folia were numbered some time after the work was written, but previous to its present dismemberment; and it will be perceived that the ink used in the numbers differs considerably from that of the text. The person who wrote the numbers may have known as little about the nature and contents of the work as the writer of the Persian note, who called it The History of Tabarí; and hence, I should think, arose the mistake.

I have no means of ascertaining in what part of India Colonel Baillie procured his MS., but I should say, most probably at Lakhnau, where he was long resident. That the Society's fragment came from that quarter, within the last fifteen or sixteen years, can be easily proved. There is a duplicate of the life of Shakmuni in the Society's library, transcribed at Devi, a village or district of Lakhnau, in May, 1823[1]. That this was done from the Society's original is all but certain, for the same hiatus occurs in the copy as in the original. The transcriber there mentions, in a note, that "there is *one* leaf missing (in the original);" but I am afraid, if we judge from circumstances, that *ten* leaves would have been nearer the mark. In the life of Shakmuni there are twenty-one sections, of which about ten are lost (from the seventh to the seventeenth). Each section before and after the lost part occupies at an average a single leaf. I cannot believe, then, that the ten lost sections could have been comprised in one leaf, particularly as what remains of the seventeenth section alone occupies a leaf and half a page. It is not unlikely, then, that there may be other lacunæ which may have

[1] Vide Mr. Morley's Note, page 23.

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escaped the notice of the person who numbered the leaves—a point which can be ascertained only by a careful perusal of the work itself.

Should this brief account be deemed worthy of insertion in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, (perhaps, in company with Mr. Morley's more ample communication,) it may prove the means of exciting our numerous Orientalists in India to make inquiries for the remaining fragments of this rare volume.

There is every reason to suppose that both the portions of the work now in London, came from Lakhnau; and in that quarter it is probable the rest may yet be recovered. Mr. Morley has given an accurate fac-simile of a portion of folio 74, and I may add, that where no breaks occur, each page contains thirty-five of such lines. Finally, such numbers as appear to be missing, will, most probably, have remained on some of the lost fragments, which may thus be easily identified.

Nearly two years ago I had the honour of requesting the attention of the Society to some rare Oriental works mentioned in a Persian catalogue of the library of Farzáda Kulí, or some such name. In the historical department of that catalogue, one of the first books entered is, "*The Chronicle of Tabarí*, the author's autograph, in the Arabic language, with *seventy* pictures of Saints, his Eminence the Prophet, and sundry kings, very rare." Now I strongly suspect that the work here described, is none other than Colonel Baillie's MS. of the *Jámi al Tawárikh*. The number of pictures in Col. Baillie's half, is really *seventy*, and among these is a portraiture of Muhammad. The writer of the catalogue received the work as he found it marked on the back, and in the Persian note, folio 154, without troubling his head about its contents. What renders this supposition still more probable is, that the *Jámi al Tawárikh* is not mentioned in the catalogue as one of Farzáda Kuli's books. Upon the whole then, there is good reason to infer that Colonel Baillie's MS. some forty years back, was one of the many rare works described in the catalogue of Farzáda Kuli's library; and if that treasure be not ere now dispersed, I should suggest that search should be made for it in the kingdom of Oude.

Before I conclude these hasty remarks, I cannot help observing that the *Jámi al Tawárikh* does not seem so very scarce a book among eastern writers[1], as M. de Quatrèmere would lead us to sup-

[1] It has been suggested to me, that the *Jámi al Tawárikh*, alluded to by Mirkhond, &c., refers only to the *Tarikh i Gházáni*, or first volume, but not to the last three. I must say, however, that I cannot perceive why these writers should have so misapplied the term *Collection of Histories*, to the history of a particular nation, which, besides, had a separate title of its own. I may further mention that,

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pose. It is inferred, for instance, that Mirkhond and Khondemír were either ignorant of its existence, or borrowed from it without acknowledgment. Now the fact is, that Mirkhond, in the preface to the *Rozat-al-saffa*, mentions this very work as one of the sources to which he was indebted for his materials. His words are[1], "Kh'ája Rashíd tabíb, sáhib-i Jámi, that is, Khája Rashíd, the physician, author of the *Jámi*," i.e. *The Collection*, or *Universal History*. Of Khondemír, I do not happen to possess a copy, but at all events, there can be no reason to suppose that he was ignorant of the *Jami*, as he *must* have read the works of his immediate predecessor, Mirkhond. It would be endless as well as useless to mention other writers who allude to the *Jám[illegible] Taw[illegible]kh*. In the introduction to the fourth volume of the *Kit[illegible]*, the author expresses his obligations to the *Jámi al T[illegible]* of Kh'ája Rashid, the wazír. Even the very thieves who stole the Society's fragment out of the volume now in possession of Colonel Baillie's successor, seemed to have very well known what they were about, for the fragment is marked, "*az Jámi al Tawárikh*," i.e. out of the *Collection of Histories*.

In the Society's MS., No. 14, already alluded to as being a duplicate of the old fragment of the life of Shakmuni, there is prefixed (in Persian) an account of the author and his works, of which, as it is not long, a translation is here subjoined. "It is well known that the *Jámi al Tawárikh*, compiled by Kh'ája Rashíd al-dín, contains a history of the whole world, both as regards the lives of the prophets, and the manners and conduct of the kings of every region. In the same work the writer hath also given a sketch of the history of India; for he had learned something of the tenets of the sages of that country from (competent) people, and part (of his information) he had from the book of Abul ríhán Birúní, who, having frequently travelled to India in the service of Sultan Mahmúd, the son of Sabaktagín, had held intercourse with the sages of that country. After he had made thorough proficiency in the sciences of the Indian philosophers, he translated, from the Indian language into the Arabic tongue, the book of Patankal, or Patanjal, which is a collection of all the sciences, and one of the most valuable works of the sages of Hind, (like the *Kitab i Shaffa*, by Shaikh al-rasi.) It contains an account of all their various sects, and the history of their ancient

[1] in a MS. in my possession, entitled *Majma al Gharáib*, the *Jámi al Tawárikh* is quoted on a matter of chronology which is assuredly from the latter volumes, stating that, "from the fall of Adam to the birth of Muhammad there had elapsed 6102 years, six months, and ten days!"

[1] خواجه رشید طبیب صاحب جامع

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kings, also the life of Shakmuni, who, according to their opinion, and the testimony of Kamakshari al Bakhshí al Kashmírí, is the guiding prophet of the people of Hind and Khatá. To this work he gave the name of *Patanjal*, a copy of which he carried away with him.

"Since the history and actions of Shakmuni, who was once the prophet of the people of India, have, through the lapse of time, sunk into oblivion, I, the meanest of God's servants, Abd ul Kádir, resident of Devi, of Lakhnau, have transcribed the following account of him from the *Jámi al Tawárikh*. And, at the request of the high in dignity and rank, Major Herbert, I have made a translation of it into easy Persian. In certain parts the original was defective and obliterated; these defects, with their proposed corrections, I have marked on the margin. Deo soli scientia."

I have nothing further to add respecting this rare and ancient work, except to express my regret that it has not been deposited in the Society's library, where it might be accessible to Oriental scholars. There may be other valuable MSS. in Colonel Baillie's collection, which I have not had time to examine; and I shall only mention here, a very fine copy of the *Mahábhárata*. It is beautifully written on one roll of fine paper, laid on cotton or silk, and abounds with well-executed paintings, representing most of the complicated events described in Hindu mythology. I believe it contains the whole work, as the writing is extremely small, though very distinct. The roll is about 220 feet long, and I should say from four to five inches wide within the margin, which is ornamented and illumined throughout.

I am, sir, yours faithfully,

D. Forbes.

8, *Alfred-street, Bedford-square,*
26th October, 1839.

P.S. In the preceding letter I have alluded to a Persian MS. in the Society's possession, entitled a *Catalogue of the Library of Farzáda Kuli*. This work is frequently quoted by my friend M. Garcin de Tassy, in his *Histoire de la Litterature Hindoui et Hindoustani*, lately published; for which reason I beg leave to subjoin the following extract from an account of it, which was read at one of the meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1838.

"The accompanying MS. is a catalogue of books in the Arabic,

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Persian, and Hindu languages, amounting, on a rough estimate, to upwards of 2000 volumes. It is fairly written and well arranged, the works being classed under the different subjects of which they treat, as may be seen by referring to the second blank leaf at the beginning, where I have given an abstract of the contents.

"Of the works here mentioned, many, I believe, are unknown, even by name, in this country; but there is one in particular which merits attention, as it has been long given up for lost by the Orientalists of Europe. I allude to the *original Arabic text* of the *Chronicles of Tabarí*, which is here described (p. 10) as follows:—'The Chronicles of Tabarí—*the Author's Autograph*, with seventy portraits of prophets, his Eminence the Apostle, and various princes, IN THE ARABIC LANGUAGE—RARE.'

"Here then it is evident that the original of *Tabarí* existed (in all probability) in India within the last forty or fifty years. Unfortunately there is no date, nor name of person or place mentioned in the book, from which we could discover of whose library it is the catalogue. The last words are the writer's name, *Dávar Bakhsh*, a piece of information of no great consequence. On the first blank leaf some one has written, barbarously enough, in Roman characters [1], what I believe is intended for Persian, and apparently signifies 'A Catalogue of the Library of *Ferzada Kole*;' but even this affords us very little enlightenment. I am led, however, to infer from circumstances—in the first place, that the book has been written within the last forty or fifty years; this is evident from its mentioning (p. 90) *the Diwán of Sauda*, a Hindustani poet, who died only a few years before the commencement of the present century. Secondly, it is a catalogue of the library of *some prince*, as may indeed be inferred from its extent, but still more from an expression that occurs in page 95, viz., 'A list of the books remaining in the old chest belonging to his August and Sublime Highness.' Thirdly and lastly, there is every reason to infer, that the prince alluded to was Indian, from the number of Hindí books mentioned in the catalogue, and in the list referring to the old chest aforesaid.

"If the above inferences may be relied on, we have reason to hope that the original and genuine text of Tabarí, the Livy of Arabia, may yet be recovered. It would seem that an ancient manuscript of it did lately exist in India, and is, in all probability, there still. As to its being the *autograph* of the author, I believe we are to take that expression 'cum grano salis' as we do the *originals* of Corregio and Rubens, &c., so very plentiful among picture dealers and amateurs.

[1] It runs thus,—*Ferisht Khootab Khanna Ferzada Kole.*

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But whether the MS. here alluded to, be, or be not, the author's own copy is a question of minor importance. The main object is to rescue it, ere it be too late, from that state of obscurity in which it at present lies, and to that end I have been induced to lay this brief and imperfect notice of it before the members of the Asiatic Society. It is probable that some individual out of that learned body may be able to trace the history of the MS. catalogue here presented. The booksellers from whom I had it, could tell me nothing as to whence it came, or whose it had been.

"It would be tedious to notice many of the rare works mentioned in the catalogue; there are a few, however, which I cannot pass over. In page 11, we have 'The Mustafa Náma, in the metre of the Shahnáma, containing the history of Persia (or rather of Islámism) from Muhammad to Tahmasp of the Sufí family, amounting to 104,000 couplets, beautifully written, and ornamented with gold dust.' Such is the literal translation of the description given of this stupendous work, which is very nearly *twice the size* of the Shahnáma, and embraces a period of about a thousand years.

"Further on, among the works on Philosophy, Logic, and Rhetoric, are mentioned several pieces translated from Aristotle, Plato, and other wise men of Greece, all of which are highly interesting. There is also a Persian translation of the Makámát of Haríri, which would be invaluable in explaining many passages of that learned, but, to us, obscure writer."

To the above remarks, written nearly two years ago, I must now add my altered belief that the *Tarikh i Tabarí*, mentioned in the catalogue, is nothing else than Colonel Baillie's MS. of the *Jámi al Tawárikh*. This I infer from the identity of the description given of both, and, above all, from the number of pictures agreeing in both. The doubts which I might feel as to the genuineness of Tabari's autograph, do not apply to the *Jámi al Tawárikh*. Tabari lived a thousand years ago; and Rashíd al Dín finished his history only as far back as a little more than half that period. That the *Jámi al Tawárikh* is really and truly what it purports to be, viz, the author's own copy, written under his own inspection, I have not the least reason to doubt, as I have seen manuscripts of an older date in as good a state of preservation. Should any of your readers feel sceptical on this point, they may easily satisfy themselves by carefully examining the hand-writing and paper, and comparing the same with others of the corresponding era.

D. F.

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ART. III.—*Vocabulary of the Maldivian Language, compiled by* LIEUT. W. CHRISTOPHER, I.N. *Communicated to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, by* JOHN WILSON, D.D.

NOTE BY DR. WILSON.

THIS vocabulary was compiled by Mr. CHRISTOPHER during his residence on the Maldive Islands. I have prefixed to it an extract from a communication referring to it, with which I was favoured at the time that it was forwarded to me, and which will sufficiently explain several circumstances connected with its preparation.

There can be little doubt entertained, after the inspection of the vocabulary, of the Indian or Cingalese origin of the great body of the inhabitants of the Maldives. It is a curious fact, first pointed out to me by two natives of *Hinzuán*, that the alphabet now in use in the Maldives, is derived principally from the Arabic numerals.

J. W.

It is needless to speak of the difficulties of acquiring a language without any guide or assistance: all languages have presented much the same obstacles to the first students; I hope the knowledge I have acquired will be sufficient to ensure a correct beginning, and future progress, according to the old adage, will then be easy.

The construction of the Maldivian is evidently akin to that of the languages of the East (India,) so that no possibility of a doubt remains (if speech is a just criterion) as to their derivation from some eastern people.

The accompanying vocabulary contains the words which I have selected from notes, sentences, and translations, obtained through the medium of native Maldivians, and I think they may be fully relied on for accuracy. The orthography is the only questionable part, as few natives adopt the same mode of spelling words that are not in common, every day, use. They possess no grammar of their language amongst them, at least my inquiries uniformly met with a negative, although many have a very correct idea of the advantage of a standard book to teach from, or that might be referred to in difficulties.

In rendering the sounds of the Maldive letters, I have followed the system generally styled the classical, in distinction from

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Gilchrist's Anglo-Roman method, avoiding, whenever practicable, diacritical marks, being fully confident that no one will pronounce a native dialect without persevering endeavours to imitate native speakers.

It is estimated that there are full twenty thousand persons on those islands at present, but their numbers are evidently diminishing rapidly, although very few, if any, of the people are known to reside permanently in a foreign land. So averse are the island authorities to anything like emigration, that a laudable attempt to translate the New Testament, by means of a Hindustani Munshi, failed at Bengal, the man who was engaged having been recalled by the Sultan of Máli, before the Gospel of Matthew was gone through. I have seen and conversed with the Maldivian above referred to (he is now venerably gray), and he spoke of his engagement under the Rev. Mr. Brown, with readiness and evident self-gratulation. This translation (so far as it goes) is, I believe, in the hands of the Serampore Missionaries.

The Alphabet consists of eighteen letters, consonants, the vowels being expressed by signs, placed over or under the letters, as hereafter to be mentioned. The language is written from the right hand to the left[1]. None of the letters are joined in writing, but it is customary to intermix sentences, salutations, &c., in the Arabic character, which might, at first, mislead a person.

[1] In the remarks upon an incomplete alphabet, given in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V. p. 794, it is incorrectly stated that the Maldives write from left to right. The Royal Asiatic Society's Library possesses some Maldive MSS. in all of which the characters are written, as mentioned in the text, from right to left.—Ed.

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MALDIVE ALPHABET.

Ancient form.	Modern form.	Name.	Value.	REMARKS.
		havieni...	h	The ordinary aspirate.
		rhavieni..	rh	Like *Rh* in *Rhine*. With the sokun (°), it takes the sound of the following consonant. When final, it is silent. Its ancient sound was shri.
		navieni...	n	As in English. When final, sometimes like *ng*.
		ravieni...	r	As in English.
		bavieni..	b	As in English. All vowels except *o*, coming before *b*, take the sound of *m*. (?)
		*l*avieni ...	*l*	L with the tongue reverting to the palate.
		kavieni ..	k	As in English.
		avieni....	a	Takes the sound of the vowel joined to it. With the sokun it is sounded like *g*.
		wavieni..	w	Like the English *w* or *v*.
		mavieni..	m	As in English.
		favieni ...	f	Like the English *f*; but sometimes interchanged with the aspirate *h*.
		davieni...	d	The dental *d*, as in *dew*.
		tavieni ...	t	The dental *t*. The sokun gives this letter the short sound of *i*.
		lámu.....	l	As in English; sometimes it is liquid, as in *million*.
		gavieni...	g	As in *guard*. It is always hard.
		navieni...	*n*	As in English. Sometimes it is liquid, as in *minion*.
		savieni.,.	s	As in English; never like *s*.
		*d*avieni...	*d*	With the tongue reverted to the palate; like the Sanskrit cerebral *d*.

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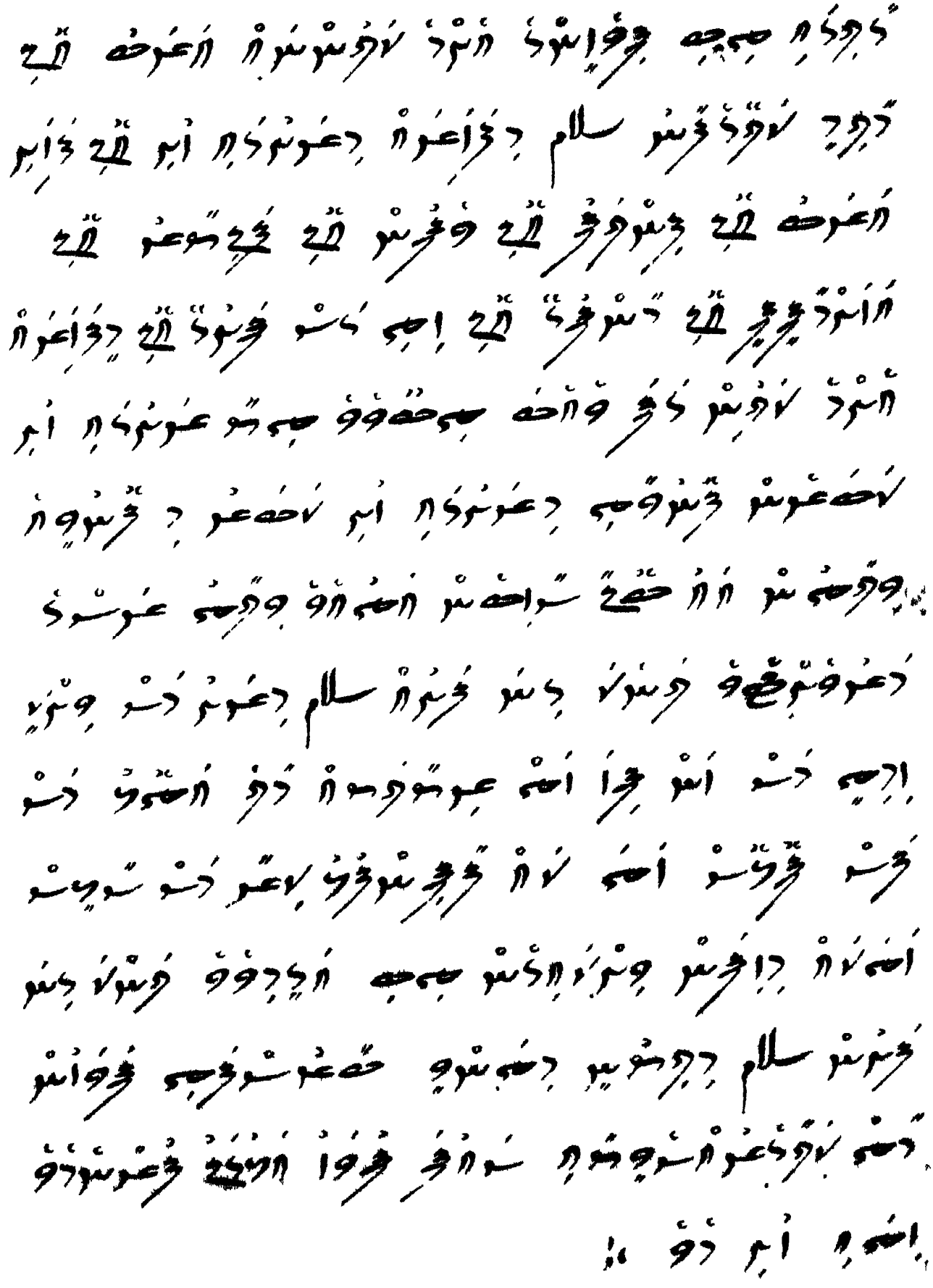
MALDIVIAN LETTER.



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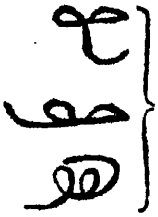
In addition to the former, some few letters have been adopted from other alphabets, classed as follows:—

PERSIAN.

ch, in church.

p, in prop.


t, reverting the tongue on the palate, like the Sanskrit cerebral *t*.

ARABIC.

z, as in zone.

y, as in year.

j, as in joy.

gh, a guttural *g*.

a sound between the dentals *t* and *d*.

Some of the above are not in ordinary use, while others are continually occurring.

The vowel-marks are as follows, and require particular attention, as they usually govern the pronunciation of the words; they are called fili, by the natives:—

a (ʹ) is called aba fili; it is placed over the consonant, and is sounded like *u* in *mud*.

á (ʺ) is called ábá fili, is placed over the consonant, and is sounded as *a* in *father*.

e (ʿ) called ebe fili, is placed over the consonant, and sounded like *e* in *men*.

é (ʿʿ) called ébé fili, placed over the consonant, is sounded as in *there*.

i (ˌ) called ibi fili, is placed under the consonant, and pronounced as in *pin*.

í (ˌˌ) called íbí fili, is placed under the consonant, and is pronounced as *ee* in *seen*.

o (ʾʾ) called obo fili, is placed over a consonant, and sounded as in *dote*, never like *o* in *hot*.

ó (ʾʾʾ) called óbó fili, has the same sound lengthened.

u (ʾ) called ubu fili, is placed over the letter, and pronounced like *oo* in *foot* never like *u* in *mud*.

ú (ʾʾ) called úbú fili, is placed over the letter, and is sounded as in *lute*.

A final consonant following a long vowel is scarcely heard, merely adding its softening influence to the preceding vowel. There are only six consonants that can take the sokun over them, and consequently these only can terminate a syllable; they are a, n, *n*, rh, s, and t, and in this case, with the exception of s, their sounds receive some modification: a becomes *g*; n and *n* sometimes take the sound of *ng*; t is sounded like a very short *t*; and rh merely takes the sound of the following consonant, giving an emphasis to the syllable it terminates; but when rh terminates the word, it is silent, and appears wholly unnecessary, except for the division it causes, but the natives cannot understand writing without it.

The ancient character is called evéla, and the modern gabuli tána.

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In the following vocabulary, the words are transcribed from the original characters into the corresponding Roman letters given in the alphabet. The final a when it takes the sound of g, is represented by an italic *g*; the final t, which takes the sound of a very short i, is written ĭ. The final rh which is silent, is represented by an apostrophe, as in the word *muli'*, *all*, in the original characters mulirh. When the rh takes the sound of the following letter, the two letters are separated by a stroke placed at the foot, as in the word *maĭbaf,fakíyang*, to abuse, in the original maĭbarhfakíyang. Where the rh takes another sound, the original characters are transcribed in brackets, as under the word Brass.

VOCABULARY OF MALDIVIAN WORDS,

ALPHABETICALLY ARRANGED.

Abject	*loífu*.
Above	machag.
Abscess	mo*l*óhi.
To Abuse	maĭbaf,fakíyang.
Account	o*l*ung.
Ache	rihe
Acidity	hui.
To Add, reckon up	eg,kurang [erhkurang].
Adze	o*d*á.
Aft	furagas.
Afterwards	fahung.
Again	a*d*i.
Age	umuru.
Aged	muskuĭwe.
Air	wáe.
All	hurihá.
All, complete, without division	muli'.
Almond	gobu, midili.
Aloud, or strongly	haruko.
Also, likewise even	wes.
Always	tábadu, hauhindu, or abadu
Amber	goma, máwaharu, ah ba.

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Ambergris	goma.
Amulet	fandita, tawídu.
Amusement	samása.
Anchor	nagili.
Ancient	evéla.
Ancle	kudahulu.
Angel	malakatu, or malaikatu.
Anger	dífa.
To Angle	eruwáng.
Answer	ruwábu.
Ant	hini.
Antelope, or animal of the stag species	fula.
Antimony	galadu.
Anvil	kirunu.
To Apply, an auxiliary verb	lannang, or lang.
Arm	aĭ.
—— right	kanáĭ.
—— left	waĭ.
Arm's-length	riyag.
Arrack, or spirit generally	bagurá.
Arsenic	kokadi.
To Ascend	aráng.
To Ask	ahá'.
To Assemble	reskurang.
Astrology	nakaiterekang.
Attendant on the Sultan or great men, police, &c.	kudibe.
Awl	torufákarhi.
Awning	satari.
Axe	furó.
Babe	ladaring, lakudí.
Back	buri.
Bad	nubá.
Bag	góni.
Bag of cloth, &c.	kotalu.
Bait	egmas.
Bale	gatari.
Ball, of thread, &c.	téri.
Barber	bobál, lamíhung.
Bare, empty or finished	hus.
Bark, or shell of crustacea, and also of	torhi

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Bastard - - - na halálu.
Bat, or flying fox - - waha.
To Bathe - - - fengwarang.
Battle - - - ang-garáma.
Bayonet, fork, &c. - - tila.
Beach - - - atiri.
Beacon, or lighthouse - - hung-gula.
Beak - - - tung.
Beam, log, post - - wakaru.
Bean, the plant - - himeri.
—— or general name for seeds - *óg*.
Beard - - - tubu*l*i.
To Beat - - - ta*l*áng.
Beauty - - - wat,taru.
Bed - - - - tangmati.
Bee - - - maburu.
—— honey - - - kolang duru.
Beetle - - - gáfu*l*i.
Before, previous - - - ihag.
——— in advance, in front - kurimati.
Beggar - - - saláng dó míhung.
Behind, or afterpart - - furagas.
Bell - - - ragawí*l*u.
Bellows - - - giruba.
Betel, or Areca nut - - fuwag.
Bird - - - dúni.
The young Bird - - *l*adúni.
To Bite - - - - dalgannang.
Bitter - - - hiti.
Black, *met*. sullen, revengeful - ka*l*u.
Blacksmith, or iron-striker - - dagad*u*ta*l*ámíhung
Blade, or leaf - - gahufal.
To Blast, tear open - - fa*l*áng.
Blaze, live embers - - hu*l*u.
Blind, dark - - - andiri [arhdiri].
Block, of a pulley - - - kaf,fi.
Blood - - - lé.
To Blow - - - fumeng.
—— used of hair as well as of flowers fe*l*ang.
Blue - - - nú.
Blunt, or coarse - - fala.
Boat, ship's - - - barukas.
—— small, or punt - - dóni.

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Boat, fishing	odi.
—— trading	daturu odi.
—— voyaging	furadi odi.
Body	gaĭ.
Bolt	kabílu.
Bone	kárhi.
Bonito, or goomulmutch	kan,nelimas.
Book	foĭ.
Boom, for closing a passage	taluwakaru.
Bottle, the ball or cocoon of a caterpillar, &c.	fuli.
Bottom, lower part	fú.
Bow	wod,duni.
Bowels	badu.
Bowl, for pounding rice	wang.
Box	forhi.
Boy	futu.
Brain	sikudi.
Brass	rangwanló [rangwarhló]
Bread, biscuit	rorhi.
Bread fruit	babu-kéu.
Breast	uramati.
Breath, also applied to the soul and life of animals	furana. / néwá.
Breeches	rang-gawalu.
Bright, splendour, comeliness	riiti.
To Bring	gennang.
Brinjall	bárhi.
Broad	fuláu.
Broom	ilurhifati.
Brother, or male relation	
—— being older, or nearly equal in age	bébe.
—— a younger brother, or male relation, is called	koku.
Brush	jahadu.
Buffalo	mígunu.
Bug	tang-makunu.
Build, with stone and brick, as a wall	lang.
Bull, male of the species	firiheng-geri.
Bureau	alimári.
To Burn	angdang.
To Bury	walulang.

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Coral, white	hiri.
—— black	indari [irhdari].
Cork	uguri.
Corpse	kaburu.
Cotton	kafa.
Couch, bedstead, seat	edu.
Cough	kessang.
To Count	gunang.
Country	ráje.
Cow	geri.
Cowrie, small paper one	kufi boli.
—— the smallest variety	kafihi boli.
Crab, sea	kakuni.
—— land	baruweli.
Crack, or crevice	redu.
Crane	ilurhi, or buŕitubi.
Crayfish	hihi.
Crease, weapon	kanjaru.
To Create, make	hadang, or hadawáng.
Criers, that call to prayers	mudímu.
Crime, sin	fáfu.
Crooked	gudu, or baŕu.
Crow	kaŕu.
To Cry	rong, or ronang.
Cubit	murhe.
Cuckoo	koweli.
Cummin	diri.
Cup	tari.
Curry	riha.
To Cut, or cleave	kandang, or kandúng.
Danger, shoal, &c.	mariśá.
Dark	andiri [arhdiri].
Date	kaduru.
Daughter	angheng daring.
Day	duas.
Deaf	bíru.
Dear	tadu.
Deck	taṫ,ṫu.
Declination	málu.
Deep	fung.
Deer, antelope	fuŕa.
Delay	las.

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Devil	aśitánu, handi.
Dew	fini.
Dholl	mugú.
Dial	wakigáng.
To Die	maruwedáng, or midáng.
To Dig	konang.
Dirt	kuni.
Disease of the eye	roa-huwandu [roa-huwandu]
Disgrace	áibu.
Dish	dolang-gu.
Distance	duru.
Distinct, various	vaki.
Distinctions in dress, privileges by birth, rank, or from the Sultan	hud da.
Dive	finaag.
Divide	ge/akuraag.
To Do or make, an auxiliary verb in forming the active voice	kuraag.
Dog	ba/u.
Donkey	hímáru.
Door	doru.
Dragon-fly	furothi dini.
——— the large yellow species	lófindu [lóórbdu]
Draught, or chess board	rásu[illegible]
Dream	huwafeng.
To Drink	beng, hipawáng, bal lawáng.
Drum	beru.
Drunkard	maalumáhung.
To Dry	hikang.
Duck	asduni.
Dumb	mamánu.
Dungeree-cloth	kadiki.
To Dust	folang.
Dysentery	heraluog-gá.
Ear	kang-fal.
Earth, the ground	bing.
——— mould	weli.
East, sun, time	iru.
To Eat, to commoners	kéng.
——— in politer language	keng ballawáng.
——— used in the highest mode of saying a person eats	fariofuku/uw wáng.

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Edge, point - - - tunu.
Eel - - - wene.
Egg - - - bis.
Eight-sided or edged - - angdára, angari.
Elder, or counsellor - - muskulig.
Elephant - - - mátang, or eg.
To Empty - - - huskurang.
Empty, bare - - - hus.
Enemy - - - adungweko, adáwatu, hasadá.
Enter - - - wan,nang.
To Erect, build, set up - - alang.
Evening - - - hawíru.
Every - - - hurhihá, or em,me
Evil spirit - - - jin,ni.
Exact, proper - - - buru.
To Excavate, cut out - - ukurang.
Exceedingly - - - sing-ga.
To become Extinct, to end - niwang.
To Extinguish, to put out - - niwáiláng.
Eye - - - ló.
Eyebrow - - - buma.
Eyelash - - - esfiya.
Eyelid - - - lólubodi.

Face - - - múnu.
Faint or weak - - - bali, álás.
Fair, whitish - - dong.
To Fall - - - wet,tang.
Falsehood - - - dogu.
Famous - - - dadurati.
Fan, for cleaning grain - - baifoli.
Far - - - duru.
Fast - - - awahag.
To Fasten - - - angsáng.
Fate - - - nasíbu.
Father - - - - baf,fa.
Fault - - - takusíru.
To Fear - - - birung.
To Fell - - - wet,táiláng.
Fever - - - hung.
Few - - - mada
Fibre of cocoa-nut, or other husks - bohináru.
Field - - - dadu.

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Fife, and other wind instruments	funnánu, or fumeng-onu.
Fight, battle	ang-guráma.
Fine, applied in speaking of powder, cloth, &c.	hima.
—— speaking of the weather, &c.	molu.
Finger, or toe	igili.
—— great, or thumb, and great toe	boduwá igili.
—— second, or toe	sáhádu igili.
—— middle, or toe	medu igili.
—— third, or toe	fulawá igili.
—— fourth, or little, and toe	kudawá igili.
Fire	alifang.
Fire-wood	darukolag.
Fish	mas.
Fisherman	mas weriug.
Fish spear	kang ili.
Flag	dídá.
Flask, for powder or liquor	kuburu.
Flesh in general	mas.
Floor	malu.
Flour	fú.
Flower	mau.
Fly, *s.*	mehi.
To Fly	uduheng.
Flying fish	fulang-gi.
Food	káta keti, kot,tu.
Foolish, silly	moiya.
Foot	fiyolu.
Forehead	ní.
Foreign	furadi.
Foreigner, stranger	furadi mîha.
Forepart of a ship, &c.	díburi.
Former, prior	iheg.
Fornication	zina.
Fort, castle	buruzu.
Fowl, in general	kukulu.
Fresh	wale.
Friend	rahumaiteri.
To be Frightened, alarmed	bírung gan,nang.
Frog	bóng.
Fruit; literally, stone seed	gaulg.
Game	kuli.

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Garlick	lonumedu.
Gate, wicket	fulawi.
Ghee	gítéu.
Ginger	ing-guru.
To Give	den,nang.
Gladness	hufá.
Glass	kan,nádi.
Goat	bakari.
Gold	rang.
—— leaf	waragu.
—— thread	kassabu.
Goldsmith, or jeweller; literally, a handicraftsman	aikang kurámíhung.
Good, well, enough, (betokening assent, acquiescence)	héu.
—— addressing middle class	lab,ba.
—— addressing highest class	ádés.
Goose, in the general	rádaas.
Grain, or particle	fung.
—— wheat, &c.	godang.
Grammar	kókusastaru.
Grass	wina.
Grave, pit	walu.
Green, moss	fehi.
Grey	ali or nuru.
To Grind	fung-dang.
Ground, or bottom of the sea, or of a vessel	watu.
—— hardened for building on, floor, foundation	telung.
To Grow	binnang.
Gudgeon, of rudder	ulag.
Gum, milk, &c.	kiru.
Gunwail	kasmati.
Gunlock	sakumang.
Hair	istari.
—— on the crown of the head, left long as Mahomedans wear, top-knot	naduru.
Hairbrush	ahu istari.
Half, a part of the whole	báe.
Hammer	muri.
Hand	altila.

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Handcuffs, chains - - hilíhilá.
Handkerchief - - rumálu.
Handle - - - mú.
To Hang, or suspend - - eluwáng.
Hat - - - - tákihá.
Head - - - bó.
Health - - - gada, wáge, waru.
Heap, quantity thrown together - assati.
To Hear, to mind - - iwéng.
Heart, or principles of action - hing.
To Heave - - - ukáng.
Heaven - - - suwaruge.
Heavy - - - báru, or bura.
Hedge - - - fulag.
Heel - - - hunnabu.
Hell - - - naraka.
Hen - - - - kukulu.
Here - - - míta.
High - - - us.
Hinge, joint of limb - - hulo.
Honey - - - mámui.
Honour - - - aburu.
Hookah - - - gudagudá.
Hoop, of a cask - - badu.
Horizon - - - udaris.
Horn - - - tung.
Horse - - - as.
Hot - - - húnu.
Hour - - - - sahádu.
House - - - gé.
How - - - - kíye.
How many - - - kitang.
Hungry - - - baduhá.
Husband - - - firimíha.
Husbandman - - - daduweri.

If - - - - bala.
Image - - - budu.
In - - - - etere.
Incense - - - kumungzani.
Indian corn - - - zuari.
Inheritance - - - amingla.
Ink - - - - angdang, or deli.

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Inkstand	dawádu deli.
To Inoculate	torufángdénang [torufarhdé-nang].
Iron	dagadu.
Iron hoop, sheet iron	dagadu dafaï.
Island, port, country	rag.
Itch	kas.
Ivory	ed,dalu.
Jackal	hiyalu.
Jaggery, palm syrup, extracted from toddy, the thin sort	diya hakuru.
——— the thick fine white kind	karu hakuru.
Jasmine	huwadu.
Jaw	daïdoli.
Joint, or hinge	bulo.
Judgment	kopa.
Juice, or sap	diya.
To Jump	fumang.
To cause to Jump	fumáiláng.
Jungle	wali.
Keel	farhang.
To Keep, hold, contain, to put away, &c.	báwang.
Key	taludadi.
Kind, sort, genus	zai.
Kiss	wasgaunang.
Knee	kaku.
Knife, the ornamented kind	fiyohi.
——— small sort	kurafaï.
——— for fish	wali.
Knob, or button	gobu.
To Know	dannang.
Koran	guruwang.
Ladder	harugadu, or éni.
Lamp	wog.
Land	kara.
Language	bas.
Lantern	fanúzu.
Large	bodu.
Last	faïbe.
Lath	furu.

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Latitude - - - arudu.
To Laugh - - - heng.
To Launch - - - bailáng.
Lazy - - - kanneg.
Lead - - - - mudutu.
Leaf - - - faï.
—— eaten with betel - - bile.
Leak - - - díya.
Learn, or acquire - - daskurang, or eng-gedáng.
Leathern strap, used in public punishments dur,ra.
Leg - - - fá.
Legitimate - - - nufanna.
Leisure - - - awadi.
Less, smooth - - madu.
Letter - - - akuru.
Lever, in mechanics - - mata.
Lid, top, cover - - mati.
Lie, falsehood - - dogu.
To Lie, to repeat falsely - - dogu bunnang.
Life - - - - furana.
To Lift, or bear - - - aruwáng.
Lift, or raise - - - nagang.
Light, clear, day-dawn - - ali.
—— fragile - - lui.
Lightning - - - widani.
Like, kind, or sort - - kabala.
Lime, chunam - - - huni.
Line, small twist - - nanu.
Line for writing by, &c. - - rong-gu.
Lip - - - tungfai.
Little - - - kuda.
Lizard - - - - honu.
Lobe (of ear) - - tifulu.
Lobster, prawn - - - náï.
Loins - - - unagadu.
Long - - - - dígu.
Long drawers, or trowsers - haruwalu.
Longitude - - - túlu.
To Lose - - - gel,lang, or luheng.
Lot, or portion - - - báe.
Loudly, strongly - - haruko.
Louse, - - - - ukunu.
Love - - - lóbi.

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Lower	tiri.
To Lower	dúkurang.
To Luff	nagang.
Madrepore	mudu.
Maggot	fani.
Mahomedan	isilámu.
Mahomedanism	isiláng-dín.
To Make or do, an auxiliary verb	hadang.
Maker, contriver	hedimíha.
Man, homo	míhung.
—— vir	firihenung.
Marriage	káweni.
To Marry	innang.
Mast	kubu.
Master, or teacher	wustádu.
Mat	kuná.
Mate, or lieutenant	niyameng.
Mattrass	sudani, or nidani.
Meal	bate.
To Measure	minang.
Measure of two seers	náli.
Medical man	beskurá míhung.
Melon	karú.
To Melt, mix, dissolve	wiruwáng.
Milk	kiru.
Mill	hilaudi.
—— upper stone	matigadu.
—— nether stone	adigadu.
To Mingle, or mix	girang.
Mint	kulitoli.
Minute	nading-ga.
Mirror, or looking glass	múnubalá kan,nadi.
Moat, or ditch	kanzu.
Model	mádiri.
Monkey	ráma.
Month, calendar	rahi.
—— lunar	hadumas.
Moon	hadu.
More and many	gine.
Morning	hendung [herhdung]
Mortar, or bowl for pounding rice, &c.	wag.
Mosque	miskí.

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Mosque yard	miskitiri, or kaburusdáu.
Mother	amáe.
Mould, earth, sand	weli.
Mound, raised over a grave, or the surface under which a body is deposited	mahána.
Mountain	farubada.
Mouth	aga.
Mud	kilau.
Muller	dáe.
To Multiply	gunakurang.
Muscle, sinew, artery, vein	náru.
Music	lewa.
Musk	zabádu.
Musk rat	hikadi.
Musket	kúetiwá'.
Musquito	madiri.
Mustachios	matimas.
Nail, bolt, peg	mohoru.
Nail of finger	niafati.
Name	nama.
Narrow	hani.
Nautilus, the shell	náeboli.
Navel	fúlu.
Near	gai.
Neck	kadurá.
Needle	tinos.
Net	dae.
Net weights	bari.
New	au.
News, intelligence	wáhaka.
Night	ré.
No, the expression of dissent	nú.
Noble, or great man	bodung.
Noon	menduru.
Nose	néfaï.
Notice, for prayer	bang-gi.
Nut, or seed in general	óg.
Nutmeg	takúwag.
Oakum	istafa.
Oar	fali.
Oath	huwáe.

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Ocean, sea	kadu.
To Offend, injure	uredeng.
Offensive, dirtiness	kuni.
Oil	téu.
Old	muskuli.
—— worn, spoiled	bau, fikurá.
On, or upon	mach, chag.
Onion	fiyá.
To Open	holuwáng, or fuluwáng.
——— or loosen	mohag.
Opium	afchung.
Orange	nareng-gu.
Ostrich	giniká máduni.
Other	cheng.
Out	bera.
Oyster	itá.
Pain	rihe, tadu, adoi.
Painter, or draughtsman	kuraha nihung.
Palace	gaduwaru.
Palm syrup	hakuru.
Papau, a fruit	falo.
Paper	karudas.
Paralytic, palsied	áisi.
Parcel	bókusá.
Part, of anything	buri.
Parts (male)	so, firihenghari.
—— (female)	—— ismati.
Passion, or anger	ruli, difa.
Passionate	rulidá.
Pattens	marawali.
Pay, or emolument	harusilu.
Peacock	nimeri, samara.
———'s tail	fing-dufal.
Pearl	mu'i.
Peg	ili.
Pen	galang.
Pencil; literally, pewter pen	timara galang.
Pennant	amarali.
Pepper, or chillies	mirus.
Perspiration	dá.
Pestle	mó.
Pewter	timara.

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Pig	úru.
Pillow	kan,neu.
——— case	balis.
Pimple	bihi.
Pintle, for rudder	hung-gánu tinos.
Pith	madu.
Pivot, on which a handmill turns	náris.
Place, residence	tang.
To Place, or arrange	baha*t*,tang.
Plank	filá.
Plantain, bush	niru.
——— of which there are fourteen kinds named differently by the Maldivians	kéu.
Plate, or basin	tarhi.
Pleasant, giving delight, grateful to the senses	mo*l*u, míru.
Pleasure, amusement	masalas.
Plough	maradati.
To Plough	kon,nang.
Pod	to*l*i.
Point of compass, course	musurúbu.
Poison	wiha, poiya*g*.
Pomegranate	a*n*,náru.
Porpoise	kómas.
Post, or stanchion	fu*l*a*g*, or kani.
To Pound	ta*l*awang.
Powder, for fire arms	ba*d*ibés.
Prayer	namá*d*u.
Present, *s.* offering	wedung.
——— *s.* gift	hadiyá.
Pretty, becoming	riweti, ríiti.
Proboscis	ho*d*u.
Proper, exactness	buru.
A Prostitute	násianghenung.
Public	bandara.
To Puff, *v.* extend by wind	fupang.
Pulse, of the artery	windu.
Pumice stone *	femuaa ká gau.
Pumpkin	barhubo.

* The belief at the Maldives regarding this volcanic production, is, that it is coral, acted on by the digestive organs of a species of shark, called "femuaa," and voided in the form of pumice.

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Punishment, award, sentence	duró.
——— by public castigation	slliwánu.
Pupil, of eye	og.
Putrid	fula.
Quadrant	filá.
Quarrel	ruñiwe.
Quarter	buria, faula.
Queen, or Sultana	abikaminafánu.
Quick	awahag, awas.
Quicksilver	raha.
Quiet	siru.
Rain	wáre.
Rainbow	igirisá, or wáredúni.
Raisin	mebiskaduru.
Rattan	et,téu.
Razor	tubuñibáilang.
To Read, or repeat	kiyawang.
Ready	táhiru.
To Reap, to cut down	kandang.
To Reckon	wiegkurang.
Red	rai.
Reef, used in speaking of the breaking barriers	falu.
——— that generally encompasses an island	turi.
——— to lessen a sail	damai.
To Remember	hadáng.
To Repent	tauba kurang.
To Repose, or recline	uriwang.
Resin	musadaru.
Retina of the eye	koi.
Revenue, tribute	wórhi.
Rhinoceros	gendá.
Rice	hadu.
——— cooked	báe.
Riches, merchandize, goods of any sort	mussandi.
Right, suitable	buru.
Right angle	rubu.
Ring, handle	ulag.
Ringworm	fet-rhi.
To Rip	falang.
Ripe, used of fruits that ripen yellow	dong.

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Ripe, for all kinds of fruit	fau.
To Rise, ascend, mount, discover, manifest	aráng.
Road, passage, way, path	magu.
Rock	hila.
—— or detached danger	giri.
Rod, fishing	dorhi.
Roof	furálu.
Root	godi, or budu.
Rope	wáu.
Rose, or dew-moistened flower	fini fengmau.
Round	wag.
To Rub, or smooth	kátang.
Rudder	hung-gánu.
Rule	místag.
Rust of iron	dabaru.
Sage, or elder, formerly designated the counsellors	muskuli.
Sail	riyáu.
To Sail, run	duwang.
Saint, or favoured man	auliya.
Salt	lonu.
Salted and dried fish	farumas.
Same, identical	eng-gotu.
Sand, mould	weli.
Sandbank	finólu.
Satisfaction, gratification	masalas.
Saw	kis.
Sawfish	farutoli.
Scale of fish	hulubu.
Scarlet	uguli.
Scate, flat fish	madi.
Scent	was.
Scholar	daring warung.
School house	eduruge.
Scissors	katuru.
To Scratch	kahang.
Screw	buruma.
Sea, deep	kadu.
—— shallow	múdu.
Seal	sika.
To Seal	sikajaháng.

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Spike, bayonet – – – tila.
Spirit, life – – – rúha.
To Spit – – – kulujahang.
Spittle – – – – kulu.
To Split, crack – – – furidáng.
Spoon – – – samusa.
To Spread, strew, array – – alang.
Sprite – – – handi.
Squall, gale – – – wisara.
Staff, or rod of office – – asá.
Stalk of palm leaf – – ilorhi.
Stanchion – – – mudi.
Star – – – – tari.
Steel – – – ekata.
Stem – – – diruba.
—— or stern post, in building boats may,ya.
—— ornament of their boats, of a peculiar kind, somewhat like a comb – funa.
Stern – – – kolufas.
Stic lac – – – jeri, or dandila.
To Stir, shake, arouse – – halang.
Stocks – – – andagodi.
Stomach, bowels – – badu.
Stone, a weight – – gau.
To Stop, remain, inhabit – tibeng.
Story, tale, legend – – waha.
Straight, *met.* truth – – tedu.
Strainer, or grating – – haligadu.
To Strike, to hit, used in forming the verb active – – – jahang.
String – – – dá.
Strong – – – wáge, gada.
Studious person, or student – ílumuwering.
To Subtract – – – alakadang.
Sugar, common – – ussakuru.
—— candied – – – nauwasahakuru.
—— loaf – – nabás hakuru.
—— cane – – – ud,dadi.
Sulphur – – – kasanduwani.
Sultan – – – rasgefánung.
Sun, also time – – iru.
Sundial – – – wakutugau.
Surface of eye ball – kali.

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Surveying vessel — — mudutu lá náu.
Sweet — — — foni.
Sweet potatoe — — — oludukat,tala.
Swell, wave — — ráulu.
To Swim — — — fatang.
Swing — — — odóli.
Sword — — — kadi.
Sword-fish — — — hibáru.

Table — — — mózu.
Tailor — — — fahámíhung.
To Take, and go — — — gendáng.
——— and come — — genang.
Tank — — — — weu.
Taste — — — raha.
To Teach, explain — — ang-gaharhang.
Teacher, master — — eduru, or wastádu.
Teak — — — sagowánu.
Teal — — — rérhu.
Tear, a tear-drop — — karunu.
To Tear, split — — wídang.
Telescope — — — durubalálógadu.
That — — — e, or tiya.
Thatching of the palm leaf — — fang-ge.
There — — — etá.
Thick, coarse — — — falu.
Thick, wide, speaking of plank — bó.
Thief — — — wage'.
Thigh — — — mákaluwámas.
Thin — — — — tuni.
Thing — — — egkoch,chog.
Thread, or strand of any twist — fang.
——— cotton twist — — un.
Throat — — — karu.
Throttle, windpipe — — lagodi.
To Throw — — — elang.
Thunder — — — guguri.
Thunder bolt — — — hónu.
Thus — — — eheng, or miheng.
Thwart, stretcher — — in,nafal.
Tiller — — — hung-gánudúni.
Timber, rib of ship — — wag.
Time — — — iru, or faharu.

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Time-glass — — — dangfuli.
Tip, summit, extreme — — kuri.
Toadfish — — — karikoli.
Tobacco — — — dungfai.
Toddy, sweet — — mírangfu, or rá.
Together — — — ekang.
To-morrow, yesterday — — mádama.
Tongue — — — dú, or suda.
Tooth — — — daï.
To Touch — — — jessang.
Touch-hole — — — fungwalu.
Tower, or minaret — — munáru.
Trap, (rat) — — — dati.
Tree — — — gas.
Trial, match, race — — wáda.
Trough, or hose — — holi.
True — — — tedu.
Trumpet — — — dumarhi.
Trunk, or bole of a tree — tandi.
Turban — — — fagudí.
Turmerick — — — rídu.
To Turn, wind — — — aburang.
Turtle — — — welú.
——— hawk's bill — — kahabu.
Twine, or hemp — — bak, ku.
To Twist — — — turulang.

Ugly, threatening, lowering — — huturu.
Unbeliever — — — káfaru.
Unmarried — — — hus, saribáe.
To Unravel, untwist — — niulang.
Unripe, green — — — dong, giti, la.
Upper — — — mati.
Upright — — — uegi.

Vein — — — — náru.
Vice; literally, iron teeth — dagadu dati.
Vinegar — — — ráhui.
To Vomit — — — hodulang.
Vowel, or mark used to represent one — fili.
Voyage — — — furadi.

Wafer — — — la.

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Wages — — — kuli.
Waist-cloths of native manufacture — féli.
To Walk, in common language — heng-gang.
——— in higher language — duruwáng.
——— the highest phrase — wadáigennawáng.
Wall — — — fauru.

To Want, desire, wish, require — bénang.
To Wash, bathe — — fengwarang.
Water — — — feng.
Wave, swell — — raulu.
Wax — — — og.
Weak, or faint — — bali.
Weapon — — — hátiyáru.
To Weave — — — wiyáng.
Web, of spider — — wá.
Weight, or sink for a net — buli.
Well, pit, grave — — — walu.
To be Wet — — — temang.
To Wet, or cause to wet — — temáiláng.
What — — — kong.
Wheat, and other grain — — godang.
Wheel — — — sarakai.
Whence — — — kongtakung.
When, at what time — — kong ira kung.
——— in what time — — kiha ira kung.
Where — — — kongtáka.
Which, what kind — — kong-kahala.
White — — — hudu.
——— or fair — — — dong.
Whither — — — kongtakag.
Who — — — kaku.
Whole — — — muli'.
Wide — — — fulau.
Width — — — fulali.
Wife — — — abi.
Wind — — — wáe.
To Wind — — — aburang.
Window — — — fulali.
Wing — — — fiya.
To Winnow — — — fuláng.
To Wipe — — — foheng.
Wisdom — — — budidu.

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To Wish, desire, care – – fikurang.
Witness – – – heki.
Woman – – – anghenung.
Wood of cocoa palm – – nirolu.
Wool – – – – keheri.
Work – – – kang.
——— labour, business – – massakatu.
World – – – dun,niya.
To Wrestle – – – olulang.
To Write – – – liang.

Yard – – – tiri.
Yarn – – – – kat,/ala.
—— or thread – – ui.
Year – – – – abaru.
Yellow – – – rindu.
Yesterday, before – – iy,ye.
Yet, more – – – adi.
Young – – – zuwanu.

Appellations of the Deity.

The great God is the highest – – mai kalang-ge raskang fulu.
The great Lord – – – bodu suwaming-ge.
The Lord is the highest, or chief – esuwaming-ge raskang.
God is the chief – – dewatai-ge raskang.

Connected with Superstitious Ideas.

The gun spirit – – – badieduru.
The spirit of fire, seen in the common electric balls – – – furéta.
The cause of internal pains – kudafut,/u.
He that haunts mosques – – miski dura.

The Days of the Week.

Friday – – – – hukuru.
Saturday – – – honihiru.
Sunday – – – ádita.
Monday – – – hóma.
Tuesday – – – anggara.
Wednesday – – – buda.
Thursday – – – burasfati.

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After the Sultan's name, all communications in writing have the following expressions, (I suppose, denoting the dignity and importance of the monarch, but unexplainable at the present day:)—

kulasung dura kattiri bowana mahá radung.

The following is a specimen of the language; it is a copy of a letter written by the Maldive Malim of a boat at Columbo, to his countrymen at Galle:—

Gáligai	tibi	Diwehing-ge	em,me	kalungung,	Arabu odí	
At Galle	stopping	of the Maldives	all	to the people,	Arab boat	
Málimí.	Kalégefánu	salámen;	mifaharag	mirarhugai	hurhi	
the Malim.	The chief's	salam;	now	at this port	are	
odi faharhu	Arabu odi	Fmladu odi	wodung odi	Fadiyáru	odi	
boats	Arab boat	Fmladu boat	offering boat	Fadiyaru's	boat	
Aham,ma didi	odi,	mándu gé	odi	hiti gas darhu gé	odi;	
Ahammá didi's	boat	mandu house	boat	bitter-tree-corner-house	boat;	
mifaharag	em me kalung	gada	weebi	tibúwewe;	tiyá	rarhugai
now	all people	health	in	remain;	at your	port
hurhi	kabaieng	fonuwati;	mirarhugai	hurhi	kabaru	
you have	news	you must send;	at this port	there is	news	
mi fonuwío;	welatung	au	bodá sáhibeng	atuewe;		
I hereby send;	from Europe	a new	governor	is come;		
Wilátu rasge	maruwej,jewe;	lanka	gina	farhug	salámen;	
England's king	is dead;	lacs	many	strings	salams;	
mirarhu	mas	vik,kí	Himití mas	hang dihe haí riyálayag		
this port's	fish	we have sold	Himiti fish	seven tens seven dollars,		
Mále atolu mas	fas dolos hatakag,	Fáding fulu	kirá	mas	sálís	
Male atolu fish	five twelves seven,	Fading fulu	weighed	fish	forty	
hatakag;	mihidang	vik,kaigeng	tibi	agímiwewe;	lanka	
seven;	thus	having sold it	stopping	for the price;	lacs	
gina	farhung	salámen;	miliyunf	mitangwí	burásfati	
many	strings	salams;	this is written	here	Thursday	
duwahung.	Máí kalágerugsewíyái		sauda duwahu	alugadu		
on the day.	If God permits		in fourteen days	sailed		
furánemewe;	hitai	hurhi	mewe.			
I shall be;	desire	is	to me.			

This letter is given in the original characters in the accompanying plate.

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The meaning of the above letter appears to be as follows:—

"The Malim of the Arab boat to all the people of the Maldives stopping at Galle.

"The chief's greeting: the boats now at this port are the Arab boat of Finladu, the offering boats[1] of Fadiyaru and Ahammadidi, and the boats of Manduge and Hiti-gas-darhu-ge; all the people are in good health; send what news you have at your port: I hereby send what news there is at this port. A new governor is come from Europe; the king of England is dead. Very many greetings. We have sold at this port Himiti fish for seventy-seven dollars, Maleatolu fish for sixty-seven, and Fadingfulu fish weighed (?) for forty-seven; having sold the fish, we are waiting for the price. Very many greetings. This is written on Thursday. If God permits, I shall sail in fourteen days; such is my wish."

Note.

In consequence of the commercial intercourse which subsists between the inhabitants of the islands of Maldiva and those of the island of Ceylon, Sir A. Johnston, when Chief Justice and President of His Majesty's Council at Ceylon, made a collection, at the time he was preparing a customary code for the observance of the different classes of people on the island of Ceylon, of the customs and usages observed by the natives of the islands of Maldiva, as well in criminal as in civil cases, and procured from some of the natives who came over to Ceylon, for the purposes of trade, such information as they could afford him relative to the religion, history, language, written characters, fisheries, the variety of the vegetable productions of the islands, and the coral formations on them and in their neighbourhood. In the course of his inquiries he procured several copies of the Maldiva alphabet, a vocabulary in the Maldiva language, with translations opposite each word in Cingalese and Tamul, one of the letters from the sultan to the governor of Ceylon, a copy of a song which was popular amongst the Maldiva mariners, and sung by them when they were working, in order to enable them to keep time; two copies of their charts; a copy of the Maldiva translation of the New Ephemeris; one of the fore-staffs; and a copy in the Maldiva language of the book of astrology, according to which their navigators decided

[1] These are the vessels which bring the annual presents to the government of Ceylon, mentioned in the following page.

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upon the days of departure from, and the days of arrival at, different places, and the probable success of their voyage. Sir Alexander some time ago presented the above things to the Asiatic Society, and gave the following memorandum respecting the inhabitants of Maldiva, as the result of his inquiries.

The inhabitants of the islands of Maldiva are supposed to be descended from some Cingalese inhabitants of Ceylon, who were wrecked on one of the Maldiva islands between four and five hundred years ago. In consequence of that circumstance, a commercial intercourse has been kept up between the islands of Maldiva and Ceylon for many ages. The sultan of the Maldiva islands sends an agent or minister every year to the government of Ceylon, with presents consisting of some very curious mats, manufactured on the Maldiva islands; some sweetmeats of many different descriptions; a considerable quantity of dried fish, consisting of *bonitos*, *albicores*, and a fish called by the inhabitants of the Maldivas the black fish, or *comboli mas*; a piece of the sea cocoa-nut, to which the natives of the Maldivas attribute great medical properties; and some of the small shells, known throughout India by the name of Cowries, which are found in great numbers in the neighbourhood of the Maldiva islands, and which are used as a description of circulating medium in Bengal. As soon as the Maldiva agent arrives at Colombo, the governor of the island appoints a day for his landing and for his reception, and receives him with considerable form at the Government-house, a guard of soldiers, with an officer at their head, being appointed to attend him when he lands at the beach. After his public audience with the governor is over, and he has delivered all his presents, and a letter from the sultan of the Maldivas to the governor, he asks, and always receives, permission for himself and his countrymen to trade for the season during which they remain in Ceylon. As soon as he has done his commercial transactions, and is ready to return to the Maldivas, he receives a certain number of presents from the governor for the sultan, consisting of broad-cloth, and stationery of all descriptions, and having received a letter from the governor to the sultan, takes his departure, and returns to the Maldivas. During the S.W. monsoon, a great many Maldiva vessels come to trade both at Point de Galle and Colombo. They are much better built, and are of a prettier shape, than the *dhonies* or vessels which come to those ports from most parts of India, and are said to sail very well.

The late Marquis of Londonderry, when Secretary of State for the colonies, had determined, upon the suggestions of Sir Alexander

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Johnston, to have a scientific man permanently residing as an agent on behalf of the British Government on Mali, the principal of the Maldiva islands, for the purpose of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the natural history of the islands, particularly of the coral formations by which all these islands are surrounded, and of everything connected with their fisheries; and also for the purpose of forming a commercial treaty between the sultan of the Maldivas and the British Government, the principal object of which was to induce the sultan to open the ports of all the different islands to every British subject who might wish to trade directly with any of them; and to allow a surveying vessel to be sent from Ceylon for the purpose of making an accurate survey of the whole of the islands. This plan, however, was given up upon Lord Londonderry retiring from the office of Colonial Secretary, and his successor in office not authorizing the governor of Ceylon to incur the expense of such a measure.

It is understood that a most accurate survey has lately been made of the whole of these islands, by Captain Moresby and the officers under his command.

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Article IV.—*A short Account of the Sherley Family*, by Major-General Briggs, F.R.S. F.G.S.

(*Read 17th February*, 1838.)

By the kindness of the Right Honourable Lord Western, an ancient painting is exhibited to the Society, which merits attention, if it were merely as a curious specimen of antiquity; but it will interest the Meeting more l especialy from the nature of its subject and the circumstances connected with its being brought into Europe at all, and with its appearance here this day.

To persons who have not travelled in the East the design may be considered almost an enigma, but which I hope I shall be able satisfactorily to solve[1]. The painting came into the possession of the nobleman who has had the kindness to permit its exhibition here, owing to his connection with the family of Sherley, of Wiston, in Sussex, of whom I shall proceed to give some account. All those who have read anything of the early travels in the East, prior to the establishment of our Indian empire, are aware that there were some gentlemen of this name in Persia, at the Court of Shah Abbass, in the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century; and that one of them, Sir Robert, came to England twice as Ambassador to the Court of James I. A few years ago a small work entitled *The Three Brothers*, was published in this city, which comprises much of what remains of the history of the three Sherleys, and from that work, as well as from other notices, which I have been able to pick up, I have drawn materials for the paper I now propose to read to you.

The author of *The Genealogies of the Sherley Family*, a Latin manuscript in the British Museum, with an ardent attachment to that house, traces it from the time of Edward the Confessor, in the male line, to the illustrious scions above named, and assures us that it had the honour to be allied not only to the Royal blood of England, both Saxon and Norman, but likewise to that of France, Scotland, Denmark, Arragon, Leon, Castile, the Sacred Roman Empire, and almost all the princely houses in Christendom; and amongst the English nobility to the Dukes of Norfolk and Buckingham, Earls of Arundel, Oxford, Northumberland, Shrewsbury,

[1] The painting is described in p. 214 of No. X. of this Society's Journal for 1838.

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Kent, Derby, Worcester, Huntingdon, Pembroke, Nottingham, Suffolk, Berkshire, and the Barons of Berkley; and according to the same author, their achievements were as noble, and as various, as their alliances were illustrious. Perhaps no three persons of one family ever experienced adventures at the same time so uncommon and so interesting. Sir Thomas, Sir Anthony, and Sir Robert Sherley, were the sons of Sir Thomas Sherley, of Wisneston, or Wiston, in Sussex, by Anne, his wife, the daughter of Sir Thomas Kemp, Knight.

These three brothers, not content with gaining laurels in the military fields of Europe, were inflamed with an ardent desire to wage war against the Turks, then deemed the natural enemies of all Christendom; and this chivalrous spirit led them to undertake a series of enterprises, which, in the present day, would be condemned as absurd, though quite in character with the manners of the age in which they lived.

The interest of the narrative I am about to communicate, will be greatly enhanced by the comparison which it affords of the manners and customs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, whether in Europe or Asia, as compared with those of our own times in many instances, and of the true picture it exhibits of Oriental customs even at the present day.

We are not informed when Sir Thomas Sherley, the eldest of the brothers, was born, but it appears that he was early instructed in the military art, and that he commanded 300 men in Holland, where he conducted himself with such credit, that in 1589, the Lord Willoughby conferred upon him the honor of Knighthood. His other brothers, after distinguishing themselves in Europe, proceeded to the East, to war against the Turks, in 1599, and Sir Thomas deeming the theatre of Christian warfare too narrow for his ambition, "left (says his biographer, Fuller) an aged father and a fair inheritance in Sussex, resolved to undertake sea voyages in foreign parts, to the great honour of his nation but small enriching of himself." A particular and very interesting account of the deeds of Sir Thomas Sherley, and of his captivity, and the miseries he endured while imprisoned at Constantinople, are to be found in the *Genealogica Historia Domus De Sherley*, a MS. in the Harleian Library, No. 4023.

The substance of that account is as follows:—Being determined to do something by which he might gain renown, and having resolved many schemes in his head, he at length resolved to make war against the Infidels (the Turks) for the honour of the religion of

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peace. England was at this time at peace with Turkey, and had a Consul at Patras, and an Ambassador at Constantinople, yet did this chivalrous knight, disregarding these circumstances, fit out, at his own expense, three large vessels manned by 500 soldiers, with which squadron he sailed in 1601, on this religious crusade. With this fleet he proceeded first to Italy, and thence towards Turkey. On the route he engaged a large Turkish vessel for eight hours, and eventually took her, having lost in the action one hundred men. No mention is made of the slaughtered Turks; but it seems likely they were all put to the sword. The prize disappointed the expectations of his followers, who mutinied, and seized one of his own vessels. Shortly after, Peacock, one of his captains, carried off another, and the crew of the vessel in which he himself sailed became unruly, and in order to conciliate them, he made an attack on the small island of Milo, on the 15th of January, 1602. He landed on it before day-light, and entered the place with the intent of giving up to plunder (as he states) the property of the Mahomedans only; but as about half the population were Christian Greeks, the sack must have been indiscriminate. The inhabitants at first fled from the town, but subsequently came down in great numbers. His crew retreated before the enemy to the shore. Sir Thomas Sherley remained to bring up the rear, which kept off the pursuers, many of whom were slain in the attack, and the crew enabled to arrive safely on board; but Sir Thomas and two of his followers fell into the hands of the enemy. They were immediately thrown into prison, and sent to Negropont, from whence they were conveyed to Constantinople, where Sir Thomas was disowned by the English Ambassador, and after being twice condemned to death for piracy, was most marvellously preserved by the Minister of the Grand Senior, under the conviction that he could obtain from him a large ransom. Sir Thomas Sherley endured the severest confinement and cruel treatment for nearly four years, when he was at length liberated at the intercession of James I., on the 6th of December, 1605. The narrative concludes in these words: "Sir Thomas staid in Constantinople (a free man) from the time of his delivery, which was the 6th of December, until the 15th of February following, 1606, during which time he took pleasure to solace himself there, where, before, he had endured so much sorrow and misery, taking a view and survey of the seat and situation of the city, observing their laws, customs, and ceremonies; beholding their courts, synagogues, and temples; with other things not unworthy a stranger's observation. And upon the 15th of February, he departed from Constantinople in a Ragusian ship, called the

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'Maria de la Rosaria,' and landed at Gallipoli, the 19th of the same month; from thence to Naples, and so, at last, to England, where being joyfully received of his father and friends, he now lives by the benefit of His Majesty's favour."

The history of Sir Anthony and Sir Robert, the second and third sons, who travelled into Persia, is more particularly the object of our attention. The former was born A.D. 1565, matriculated at Oxford, in 1579, was admitted Bachelor of Arts in 1581, and in November of the same year was elected Probationer of All Souls' College. He printed his life and adventures after his return from the East in 1613, in which he says, on entering into life he took the Earl of Essex as his model, and observes, "that nobleman's true love for him did transform him from many imperfections; that he never spared him his council and advice; and that he assisted him with his fortune." The following event which happened to him on his first entering life, is characteristic of the jealousy of Queen Elizabeth, in respect to honours accepted by any of her subjects from foreign princes; and affords a good specimen of the manners of that sovereign's court.

Sir Anthony first embarked in the wars in the Low Countries, where he had a command, and was present at the battle of Zutphen, in 1586. He appears also to have been engaged in the war in France, and probably accompanied the Earl of Essex when he was sent with a body of four thousand men to the assistance of the King of France against the Confederates of the League. As a reward for his services, Henry IV. bestowed the order of St. Michael upon him, to the great displeasure of Queen Elizabeth, who said, that as a virtuous woman ought to look on none but her husband, so a subject ought not to cast his eyes on any other sovereign than him God had set over him. "I will not," said she, "have my sheep marked with a strange brand; nor suffer them to follow the pipe of a strange shepherd." She immediately commanded Sir John Puckering and Lord Buckhurst to inquire into the circumstances of the alleged breach of allegiance.

This investigation does not appear to have been satisfactory, and a further examination took place, the result of which is communicated by Mr. Carew, in a letter dated the 14th of March, 1593, of which the following is an extract:—

"Being sent from the Lord Keeper and the Lord Buckhurst, unto Mr. Sherley, in the Fleet, to understand what oath he took at the receiving of the order of St. Michael, and the manner thereof; at the first I willed him to set down in writing as much of it as he

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could call to his remembrance; and thereupon he wrote a side of a leaf of paper, containing in effect these things :—

"'That oath he took none, for he only made answer to the king's demands, and had no book presented him to swear by.

"'That the king's demands were two. First, That he would promise never to bear arms against him for the service of any prince Christian, but only his sovereign, or by her commandment. Second, That he should never spot himself with any infamy unworthy of so high an order. Both which he promised to perform.

"'This, upon his life and reputation, he affirmeth to be all, being so short a matter to be remembered, that he doth assure the truth of the report thereof.'

"But, supposing that so short a report would give little satisfaction, I desired him that I might set down from his mouth by my writing some circumstances and peculiarities, the which he granted: and then upon my questions unto him (which I framed from a copy of the manner of receiving of that order, by the Duke of Norfolk and Earl of Leicester, in Anno 1566, that I had of Mr. Garter, by my Lord Keeper's direction), he answered as follows :—

"'That the king, at ten of the clock in the night, sent for him into his cabinet by le Premiere Secretaire de Navarre, and at his coming thither, he found with the king the Lord Chancellor, who is also Chancellor of the Order, the Bishop of Bourges, that is, Prelate of the Order, Le Sieur de Beaulieu, that is, Secretary of the Order and of estate, Le Sieur de Sancy, Mons. Le Grand, and sundry other gentlemen, the Notary of the Order (that afterwards entered his name into the register), and the four Ushers of the same.

"'That being come into that presence, the king, before them all, declared the good opinion His Majesty held of him, the love he had towards him, and the good service he had done unto his Highness; for requital thereof, when he came to be peaceable King of France, he should receive further recompense. In the mean time His Majesty would bestow an honour upon him, by the receiving whereof, the king assured him he should be tied to use no ceremony.

"'Thirdly, That the form of giving the said Order was in this sort: First, his spurs and sword were taken from about him, then he kneeled down, and putting his hands within the king's, Mons. Beaulieu, the Secretary of the Order, made unto him, in the king's name, the two demands aforementioned in his own declaration. Then the king himself asked him, '*Promettez-vous cela?*' His answer was, '*Oui, Sire, je le promets.*' Then the king drew out his sword, and laid it on Mr. Sherley's shoulder, saying, '*Soyez Chevalier de St.*

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Michael au nomme de St. George, car vous l'avez bien merité.' And while he was yet kneeling, the king put on his sword about him himself; but his spurs were put on by the Sieur Rocolour, *Premiere Gentilhomme de la Gardrobe*. That done, the king kissed him on both his cheeks, and at his rising again, put on about his neck the lace and collar of St. Michael, that he wore himself. And these things, besides the paying of the fees were all the ceremonies.'

"This is as much as I could learn of him, and to testify the truth thereof, I have his own hand to two blotted papers, the substance of both of which I have contained in this.

"*Mr. J. Pickering.*" "GEORGE CAREW."

His imprisonment was probably of no long duration: but he was deprived of the offensive order. Sir Anthony did not remain long in a state of inactivity; he projected an expedition to the island of St. Thome, under the patronage of the Earl of Essex, who undertook to procure him a commission from the queen for the purpose. And on the 9th April, authority was sent to Sir Anthony from the two generals, the Earl of Essex and the Lord Admiral, empowering him to levy, arm, &c., men, not exceeding the number of one thousand five hundred, and appointing him captain and commander of all such ships and vessels, as were set forth, at the charge of Sir Thomas Sherley, Her Majesty's Treasurer at War, and Sir Anthony Sherley, in the designed expedition.

This expedition sailed from England on the 21st of May, 1596, and proceeded, first to the Canaries, and thence to Jamaica, of which he took possession on the 29th January following.

He returned from this voyage in June, 1597, and proceeded to London, attended by a numerous train of followers. When Essex was appointed Lord Lieutenant, Sir Anthony accompanied him to Ireland, and there, according to Wood, received the honour of Knighthood from his patron.

In the winter of 1598–9, Sir Anthony, "accompanied with divers soldiers of approved valour," was sent by the Earl of Essex to assist Don Cesare D'Este (the illegitimate son of the Duke of Ferrara, then lately dead) against the Pope, who laid claim to the principality, but before he arrived, the submission of the Duke to the Pope had put an end to the war. "Which," says Sir Anthony, "when I had advertised the Earl of, he proposed unto me (after a small relation which I made unto him from Venice), the voyage of Persia, grounding it upon two points; first, to endeavour to prevail upon the King of Persia to unite with the Christian Princes against the Turks; and

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secondly, to establish a commercial intercourse between this country and the East." "Having, with these advertisements," says Sir Anthony, "received strength to my own mind, large means, and letters of favour and credit to the company of merchants at Aleppo, I embarked myself at Venice in a Venetian ship, called the Morizell, the 24th of May, 1599," accompanied with twenty-five followers, most of them gentlemen.

Of this expedition a brief account was published by William Parry, one of his followers, another by himself, a third by an anonymous author, and a fourth was written by George Manwaring, also one of his attendants. From the narrative of the latter the following extracts have been collected.

"So we left Venice, and went to Malamoco, some five miles from Venice, where we found divers ships; amongst the rest there was an argosy bound for Scanderoon, where we did embark ourselves, paying a large price for our passage; but the wind was contrary, that we were twenty-four days in sailing to Zante, which was not half the way, where, if the wind had served us, we might have been in Scanderoon at that time. But, in the way, before we came to Zante, there was a passenger in the ship who used some disgraceful words against our late queen, whereupon Sir Anthony caused one of his meanest sort of men to give him the bastinado, which he did very soundly; whereupon he made such a terrible cry that the captain of the ship, with the passengers and the seafaring-men, rose up in arms against us, they being to the number of two hundred and fifty, and all our company not above twenty-six; yet we did withstand, neither was there any hurt done, by reason of three Armenian merchants which did stand between us, and entreated peace, which the Italians did first consent unto. In the end we arrived at Zante, where Sir Anthony, and all we of his company, went ashore for victuals, in regard all our provision was spent. When we were departed forth of the ship, they sent after us those things we had left behind, and mounted their ordnance against us, swearing if we did offer to come aboard the ship any more, they would sink us. Whereupon Sir Anthony complained to the governor of the place, but could have no remedy; so we lost our passage, and were constrained to stay in Zante ten days for shipping, with great hindrance to our voyage, and expenses, but that the English merchants did use us somewhat kindly. So after we had passed away the time for ten days' space, we embarked in a small ship, and so took our leave of Zante, where, the next day after, we being not well stored with fresh water, we did

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put into an island to fill our vessels with water, because, in the island of Zante, water was very scarce."

From Zante they proceeded to Candia, thence to Cyprus, and thence to Tripoli. Here they unfortunately found the vessel out of which they had been rejected at Zante; and Sir Anthony and his party being branded by that ship's crew as pirates, it was with great difficulty, and not without the payment of a large sum of money, that he was permitted to proceed to Scanderoon in a boat which he hired for the purpose. This fragile bark encountered a gale of wind which kept them at sea for six days, when their provisions were reduced to a small quantity of fresh water and some tobacco. They eventually made the coast, and ran up the river Orontes, where they landed. Thence they proceeded to Antioch in two days, and from Antioch to Aleppo in six days more. The following occurrence is characteristic of the people at the present time, and is thus related by Manwaring:—"On the road to Aleppo, the leader of the caravan with whom we travelled, told Sir Anthony one day that he should require an escort of sixteen men from the village to protect them from the banditti which might be expected to infest the road. To this Sir Anthony assented, and it was agreed that they should receive six crowns. After advancing the money, the leader of the caravan brought back one man only, and on being asked where the other fifteen were, 'Why,' quoth the Turk, 'they be all in this one; for this man hath fought with sixteen men all at one time, and hath given them the overthrow; therefore, ever since he hath had sixteen men's payment.'"

At Aleppo the Sherleys were kindly received by Mr. Colthurst, the British Consul, but no European Christian could walk the streets without the attendance of a janisary or police officer. The following two incidents exhibit the state of society under the Turkish government in Asia Minor in those days, and which does not differ essentially from that in modern times. Mr. Manwaring says:—"One day it was my hap to walk alone in the streets, where, to my hard fortune, I met with a Turk, a gallant man he seemed to be by his habit; and saluting me, took me fast by one of the ears with his hand, and so did lead me up and down the streets; and if I did chance to look sour upon him, he would give me such a ring that I did think verily he would have pulled off my ear; and this he continued with me for the space of one hour, with much company following me, some throwing stones at me, and some spitting on me; so at the last he let me go, and because I would not laugh at my

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departure from him, he gave me such a blow with a staff, that did strike me to the ground. So, returning home to the consul's house, the consul's janisary seeing me all bloody, asked me how I came hurt.—I told him the manner of it; he presently, in a rage, did take his staff in his hand, and bade me go with him, and show him the Turk that had used me so. In a small time we found him sitting with his father and other gentlemen; so I did show the janisary which was he, who ran fiercely to him, and threw him on his back, giving him twenty blows on his legs and his feet, so that he was not able to go or stand. He was clothed in a cloth of gold undercoat, and a crimson velvet gown, but his gay clothes could not save him from the fierceness of the janisary's fury." Again he states:

"I will now write something of the fashions of the Turks, although it be known usually to our merchants, yet it is not commonly known to all men. First, concerning the liberty and freedom the Great Turk doth give his soldiers, called janisaries, which is, they have free liberty to take victuals for themselves or their horses, without paying ever a penny for it, in what town soever they come into under the Turkish government; and if they (the inhabitants) will not serve them to their content, they will beat them like dogs, which, if they chance to resist, then do they forfeit all their goods to the Great Turk. Six of the janisaries travelling through the country, came to a town, and began to use themselves in a most vile fashion with the women; the men of the town, seeing their abuses, did withstand them, so that, in the end, one of the janisaries was slain, the other five left the town presently, and came to Aleppo, being but twenty miles from the place, and told the janisaries of the castle what had happened, there living always in the castle three hundred. The next day there went forth of the castle two hundred of them to the town where the janisary was slain, and coming thither, they did kill man, woman, and child, pulling down their houses, and carrying away the spoil of all their goods. The town I saw myself within eight days after this happened, where I did behold a pitiful sight."

Coffee, it seems, had not at that time been introduced into England, as Manwaring appears to have been quite ignorant of its use, and the place of its production. He says, "They have a certain kind of drink, which they call coffee—it is made of an Italian seed; they drink it extreme hot. It is nothing toothsome (*i. e.* palatable), nor hath any good smell, but it is very wholesome. As in England we used to go to the tavern to pass away the time in friendly meeting, so they have very fair houses where this coffee is sold; thither gallants and gentlemen resort daily."

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After spending five weeks at Aleppo with the English merchants, Sir Anthony purchased several pieces of good cloth, and twelve emerald cups, and jewels of great worth, which he intended for the King of Persia, and departed to proceed to Babylon by water, from Beer, on the Euphrates.

Before the party could proceed, it became necessary to collect a fleet for self-defence, till at length eleven other boats, laden with merchandise, and guarded by soldiers, dropped down the stream. On the passage they daily saw bands of Arabs, varying from one hundred to two hundred, who frequently assailed them with stones from slings, which did them little injury, as they were repelled by musketry from the boats. In the vicinity of the town of Anna, the boat soldiery, as usual, saluted the camp of an Arabian chief, by firing off their pieces, on which occasion an Arab soldier was killed. This caused the detention of the fleet for some days, and afforded the author of the journey an opportunity of giving the following characteristic account of the Arabian customs and dress, which, with the exception of the felt cap of those days, since changed into a loose handkerchief thrown carelessly over the head, exhibits the costume of a Bedouin of the present time.

"Sir Anthony went first, attended with three other gentlemen that were with him, and myself. This I may boldly speak of: at the first entry into his camp, it was a full quarter of an English mile before we came to the king's presence, which was guarded on either side with shot and pikes. So, when we came before him, he did stand up, taking Sir Anthony by the hand; Sir Anthony offering to kiss his hand, but he would not suffer him, but we did. Then he demanded of Sir Anthony what he was; he told him the truth of all our voyage, which the king did greatly commend, and caused a banquet to be brought of such fruits as the country did afford. There is small store of bread in the country, but they live commonly on musk melons, radishes, and rice. Their apparel is very slender, for they wear commonly one robe, made like a surplice, with great sleeves, of a kind of blue cloth, made of bumbaso; their sleeves they tie on their back by one corner of the sleeve, and leave all their arms naked. About their middle they wear a girdle, made of a horse-hide, some five fingers broad, and a dagger sticking under their girdle, with a wooden haft. They wear over their heads a cap of felt, made like unto a morion or head-piece, tied under their chin with a black kind of stuff.

"The king himself was in this sort attired, save only he had a satin coat without sleeves. He was a man of a goodly personage, exceed-

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ing black, and very grim of visage; his queen was a blackamoor. His company that followed him was to the number of twenty thousand men; he had about ten thousand camels to attend him. In the summer-time he did abide always by the river Euphrates, and in the winter up in the desert. When Sir Anthony saw the manner of his apparel, he sent for a piece of cloth of gold which he had in the boat, and did present it unto the king, to make himself an upper coat, which the king esteemed highly of, and gave him great thanks for it, giving him a passport under his own hand, to pass quietly through his dominions without any further let, which passport did us great good in our passage; but the Turks he made pay soundly for the death of his servant. Thus, after one day and a night, we departed, and came in a few days after to a place worth the noting, which did burn with brimstone and pitch, making such a smoke that it did darken the place extremely, the pitch rising up in great flakes as big as a house, making a terrible noise; and that place the Jews did tell us was Sodom and Gomorrah, but called by the Turks 'Hell's Mouth[1].' From thence we passed a fair town, called Racca, a very ancient place, inhabited by Turks and Arabians. The river Euphrates doth run through it. They have neither bridge nor boat to pass from one town to the other, but the skins of goats blown like a bladder, and so they cast themselves upon them and swim over; you shall see them pass to and fro as thick as boats upon the Thames." This practice prevailed as early as the time of Alexander the Great, whose historians—Arrian, Q. Curtius, and others—mention it, and has been witnessed by all our modern travellers.

From Anna they proceeded down the Euphrates to a place called Felengo, whence they passed over in a day and night to Babylon, lying on both banks of the Tigris, and over which was a bridge of boats[2]. Here Sir Anthony's property was searched, and the Viceroy, as he is called, kept the emerald cups, and other goods, to the value of six thousand crowns. Sir Anthony had been warned of the probability of such an event by a Turkish chieftain, who was deputed from the Turkish Court at Constantinople to the Viceroy or Pasha, and had accompanied the party from Beer. This honest Turk persuaded Sir Anthony to make over to his custody part of his jewels and goods, which he afterwards faithfully restored. After a residence of a month at Babylon (Bagdad), during which Sir Anthony was prevented proceeding by the Viceroy, he contrived to quit it with a caravan of Persian merchants proceeding towards Persia. The

[1] In this description we recognise the petroleum pits spoken of by Colonel Chesney in his first survey of the Euphrates.

[2] Bagdad was frequently called Babylon by the travellers of those days.

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insecurity of the road, from the Arabian tribes, is well described:—"For you must understand (says Manwaring) that the merchants do travel in those parts exceeding strong, to the number of two thousand, sometimes more; because there are many thieves who lie in the way very strong, and the company of merchants is called by the name of a caravan[1]."

The progress of Sir Anthony's party had nearly been stopped by an order from Constantinople, which directed he should be seized and sent thither. A band of two hundred horsemen was actually sent by the Viceroy or Pasha, to overtake and bring him back; but they were purposely misled by an Armenian merchant, who had greatly assisted Sir Anthony, at Bagdad, by acts of true friendship and kindness, which extended to the loan of 8000 crowns. This enabled Sir Anthony to escape safely into the dominions of the king of Persia, where he arrived without the loss of one of his party.

The favourable reception of Sir Anthony Sherley and his company in Persia, may be accounted for by the great toleration of Shah Abbass towards Christians, owing, perhaps, to the influence possessed by the ladies of the court over that monarch. Sir Thomas Herbert thus quaintly describes this circumstance; and no greater proof of their influence could be afforded than that of Georgians receiving the title of Khan and Mirza at the king's hands—titles which are now strictly confined to Moslems.

"Abbass had several wives, who had several children, for whose education neither cost nor care was spared. Of the most promising he loved were Ismael, Tophy Mirza, Kodabunda Sultan, and Iman Kooly. The two first by Gordina, daughter of Simon Khan, and the two latter by Martha, daughter of Scanda Mirza, both Georgians, both Christians; and so dear to Abbass 'that it seemed he had then got the elixir of earthly happiness.'"

Manwaring thus describes the reception of the party in Persia:—

"The first town we came to was very strongly situated, and in it were a hundred soldiers, for the king hath a guard round about his country at every entrance; they are all horsemen, and are clothed in red, with red turbans on their heads[2], and red feathers, with bows and arrows, sword and target, and short pieces. These soldiers used us very respectfully, and told us their king would be overcome with joy when he did hear of our coming; so after we had rested there one day and a night, we did hold on our journey towards Casbin, a famous city, and of great antiquity. We passed by many towns, but none of any account; and the further we went, the more kind the

[1] One would suppose he was writing of the present day.

[2] Hence the appellation of Kazil-bash.

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people were. In every village where we did lodge, the chief men would come, and present us with one commodity or other every night, and happy was he that could procure the best house to lodge us in. Their women came out to welcome us, which we thought a great wonder, in regard we had not the speech of any woman for a long time before.

" So, passing along the country, and being in safety, Sir Anthony sent Angelo, our guide, accompanied with an English gentleman, whose name was John Ward, some four days' journey before us, to Casbin, to provide us a lodging, and to attend our coming two or three miles from the city, somewhat late in the evening, so as to convey us to our lodgings without the knowledge of the citizens, in regard we were unprovided with fit apparel and other necessaries. But it was made known, both to the lord steward of the king's house, and also to the governor of the city, who sent for them both, to know what he was that was coming to see their king. They told them the truth, but did not acquaint them the certain day of our coming, which made both them and the citizens greatly discontented, in regard they made great preparation to receive us with great triumphs; but, according to our intention, we came in by night, and so disappointed them. The next day the lord steward came to our house, with a great train following him of gallant gentlemen, and did salute Sir Anthony in this sort:—'In my king's behalf, who now is in the Tartarian wars, this small kindness I would entreat you to accept, in regard to your long and weary travels; and that you being strangers here in our country, it may be your supplies cannot be so suddenly accomplished, therefore I would request you to pardon me if I do amiss in my offer.' And, laying twenty pounds in gold at Sir Anthony's feet, told him,—'This much you shall receive every day for your provision, besides other commodities; this do I of myself, until we hear from our king, who, I am sure, will treble it at his return.' Sir Anthony, according to his princely mind, turning the money over with his foot, returned this answer: 'Know this, brave Persian, I come not a begging to the king; but, hearing of his great fame and worthiness, thought I could not spend my time better than come to see him, and kiss his hand, with the adventure of my body to second him in his princely wars.' The Persian, hearing this answer, stept back very suddenly, and, making a low congé, replied thus: 'Pardon me, brave stranger, for now I see thou art a prince thyself, for so it seemeth by thy princely answer.' Sir Anthony replying, said,—'No, I am the second son to an English knight, but I have been trained up in martial affairs, and well esteemed of in

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my prince's court; and for this cause do I come to do thy king the best office I can, if it please his Highness to accept of me.' 'I know my king,' said the Persian, 'will highly esteem of thy coming, and think himself a happy man to receive so worthy a person into his court;' and so, saluting all, one after another, did take his leave. So soon as he was gone, the governor of the city came with a gallant train of gentlemen, very well horsed, to attend him, being a man of gallant personage, well spoken, and of good carriage; and gave Sir Anthony and all of us a very kind welcome, offering Sir Anthony all that he was worth to be at his service."

Sir Anthony and his party were sumptuously entertained by the king's steward and the Governor of Casbin, at their houses, on which occasions, contrary to the practice of Persia in modern times, bands of music and dancing women attended, as is now the custom in India.

The narrator proceeds:—"In the end there came a post from the king, forth of Tartaria, with a proclamation written with the king's own hand, which proclamation was made by a nobleman in Casbin, and we were all sent to hear it; this was the effect of it, that we should command horse and man to be at our service, upon pain of death to those that should not obey; moreover, if any man did hold up his hand to offer the worst in our company wrong, he should lose his head; which proclamation the citizens did all embrace very willingly; and thus I leave awhile to treat of our entertainment."

On his return from the war on the frontier, Shah Abbass returned to Casbin; and the description of the reception of Sir Anthony on the king's approach to the city, is graphic and characteristic. The Sherleys and their party wore turbans and rich Persian dresses.

"The king, some two days before he entered into Casbin, sent a courier or post before him to his lord steward, to furnish us with the best horses he could get and directed that we should meet him four miles forth of Casbin, accompanied with the governor and himself, which was very handsomely performed by them both." "So after we were half a mile forth of the city, we saw such a prospect as is not usually seen; which was, twelve hundred soldiers, horsemen, carrying twelve hundred heads of men on their lances, and some having the ears of men put on strings, and hanged about their necks[1]. Next after these came the trumpeters, making a wonderful noise, because these instuments, contrary to our English trumpets, are two yards and a-half in length, with the great end big, and

1. This is quite consistent with the triumphal return from war of Persian Monarchs of more modern times.

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as of great compass as a hat[1]. Next after them came the drummers, their drums being made of brass, and carried upon camels; then after them came his six standard bearers, and after came twelve pages, bearing every one a lance in his hand; then a good distance after them came the king, riding alone with a lance in his hand, his bow and arrows, sword and target, hanging by his side, being a man of low stature, but very strongly made, and swarthy of complexion. Now, after the king, came his lieutenant-general of the field, and all his bow-men in rank, like a half moon[2]; after them came his officers in the wars, to the number twenty thousand soldiers, all horsemen. So at our first encounter of the king, Sir Anthony and his brother did alight off their horses, and came to kiss the king's foot, for it is the fashion of the country, be he never so good a man, he must kiss the king's foot at the first meeting; after that was performed, the king did look upon them both very stately, and afterwards did look upon us all, giving never a word to Sir Anthony, but bid the lieutenant-general place him according as he had given direction, and so the king set spurs to his horse, and did ride away for the space of an hour." The following description of the king's personal behaviour seems very strange, and probably the result of a frolic, for it is wholly unlike anything I have ever seen, heard, or read of elsewhere. Yet the narrative of Manwaring bears, throughout, so much the stamp of truth, that I should be unwilling to deem this exaggeration :—

"Sir Anthony being placed in the king's place, with his brother, Mr. Robert Sherley, the lieutenant-general on the right hand, and the lord steward on the left. After the king was departed, the lord steward told Sir Anthony that it was the custom to entertain strangers in that fashion, but willed him to have patience awhile, and he should see the event; so within an hour the king returned back again as fast as his horse would go, and having following him sixteen women on horseback, richly attired, and when he came close to Sir Anthony, the women did halloo, and gave such a cry, much like the wild Irish, which did make us wonder at it; then after they had made an end, the king came and embraced Sir Anthony and his brother, kissing them both three or four times over, and taking Sir Anthony by the hand, swearing a great oath that he should be his sworn brother, and so he did call him always, and so the king marched along putting Sir Anthony on his right hand. It was a wonderful sight

[1] The hats of the Elizabethan age were of enormous size compared with those of the present day.

[2] This semi-lunar figure is commonly assumed by troops in Persia at grand parades.

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to see the multitude of people that were there that day; and still as the king did pass along, the people would kneel down and kiss the earth; but before we came into the city, there was proclamation made that, upon pain of death, no soldier should enter the city, but such as were born there, for fear of making any uproar; and so they were all discharged and departed every one to his own country for that time. So after we had entered the city, we marched through every street, and in the end came to a banqueting house of the king's, when the king brought Sir Anthony up into a very fair chamber richly trimmed; in which chamber, Sir Anthony delivered a speech to the king, what was the occasion of his coming, with a discourse of our wearisome journey, and of our usage in Turkey, and other accidents which did happen unto us by the way, which the king did hearken very attentively unto, and when Sir Anthony had ended his speech, the king stood up and replied; "Brother, I do grieve to hear of thy sore adventures and troubles by the way; but I do much rejoice to see thee here in safety at our court, for be well assured I will place thee on my head.' This was his meaning, that he would advance him to great honour; then was there a great banquet brought in, with music before it, where they passed away their time for the space of two hours with great joy; after the banquet was ended, the king requested Sir Anthony to look through the window to behold their sports on horseback."

The simplicity of the king's manners in private is quaintly pourtrayed, and conveys us at once to the spot:—

"So when the sport was ended, Sir Anthony sent me down of some business, and as I went down the stairs, it was my chance to meet with the king, who, when he saw me, took me by the arm, and caused me to return back again with him, and brought me to the chamber where the Turks' Ambassador was, and did lead me along to the upper end of the chamber, and put me above the Turks' Ambassador, bidding me sit down there, by reason they have no stools but sit on carpets. I could ill sit cross-legged after their manner, but kneeled on my knees; then the Turkish Ambassador told the king it was the fashion of England to sit on stools, for he had been oft-times in the English merchants' houses in Constantinople. When the king had heard these words, he presently went into the next room, and caused one of his pages to bring forth a little form, which they did use to set bottles of wine upon, and throwing a carpet of gold upon it, caused me to sit down; then he called for some wine, and did drink a health unto me, and did use

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these words: 'I do esteem more of the sole of a Christian's shoe, than I do of the best Turk in Turkey;' and then he asked me if I would serve him? I answered him, in regard I was a subject in his country, I must be at his command, yet I was loth to leave my old master, in regard he loved me well; at which words the king did take me about the neck, and embraced me three or four times, and said, 'I do highly commend thy constancy; nevertheless, I will entreat my brother, thy lord, for thee, that thou shalt be my servant so long as you stay in this country.'"

In the evening, Sir Anthony and his brother were invited to join the king's party at dinner, which was given on the circular terrace where the Cotwal, or mayor of the town, sits to administer justice daily, at the union of the four great covered Bazar-streets in the middle of the city. Here Shah Abbass insisted on Sir Anthony Sherley's sitting on the king's own chair, though the latter protested against it, while the king himself stood talking with his courtiers, apparently to produce a favourable impression on the minds of his subjects of his regard for the English chief. The royal banquet was preceded by a band of music, and by twenty women singing and dancing before it. After dinner, the king took Sir Anthony by the arm, and walked through several of the principal streets, all of which were illuminated, preceded by the women and music; and each of the European gentlemen was conducted in like manner by a nobleman of the king's suite. This feasting was continued in the same manner every evening during a whole week; after which, the king having provided tents, carpets, and carriage for Sir Anthony, and his suite, proceeded to Cashan, at which place, on one occasion, Manwaring thus describes the fireworks:—

"Then there was such stately fireworks, made by a Turk, that Sir Anthony did wonder at it, which seemed as if dragons were fighting in the air, with many other varieties, especially one firework worth the noting, which was this,—there was a great fountain of water in the Piazza, out of which, from the very bottom, there would arise things like fishes, throwing fire out of their mouths about a dozen yards, which we thought a great wonder."

From Cashan the court proceeded to Isfahan. An instance of the terrible power of a capricious despot is exhibited in the following description of a review of the troops drawn up to receive the king at Isfahan:—

"There we made a stand, and the king caused his lieutenant-general to see his soldiers skirmish, and some of his gentlemen being amongst them, did not behave themselves to the king's mind;

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and moreover, his soldiers were not so perfect as the king did expect they should; whereupon he presently ran in amongst them with his sword drawn, like an Hercules, and, upon a sudden, he gave four of them their death's wound. Then did he grow more into blood, and not sparing any, but cutting off the arms from divers of them. One gentleman, which did but only smile, the king never left, and coming for succour into our company, the king gave him such a blow in the middle, that the one half of his body fell from the other. There we spent that day; and in the evening, about six of the clock, we marched towards the city, where the governor leading the way, the young prince came riding fast by him, and jesting with him somewhat grossly about his wife, in regard she was a fair woman, the governor did use some unkind word to the prince, which made him angry; so he came presently and told the king, who charged him to take his bow and arrows and shoot him through, which he did immediately, and did shoot him through one of his thighs. The governor presently did alight off from his horse, and came and kissed the prince's feet; when the king saw it, he came to the governor and kissed him, and made him viceroy of that province, and ever after did impose great trust unto him: so we entered the city, and marched about in every street. Then the king brought Sir Anthony to his house, which was prepared ready for his coming, and willed him to have patience, and he would see him again in the morning; then the king went to his palace, and that night we rested. There was slain that day to the number of seven score, in regard to the extremity of the heat, and those which the king himself did kill; amongst the rest, it was the king's fortune to kill one of Sir Anthony's footmen, being a Persian, and when the king was told of it, he was exceeding sorry, thinking he had been a Christian, and he came the next morning in private to Sir Anthony, and told him he was exceeding sorry, wishing it had been his fortune to have slain a dozen Persians for him; Sir Anthony made answer, that he was a Persian; when the king heard it, he was exceeding glad, and willed Sir Anthony to make choice of any footman that he had: and thus much for our entertainment into Persia."

The following is a favourable picture of the state of the country, and of the king's abomination of an infamous habit so common in Turkey and in Persia at the present day:—

"You shall understand that the country of Persia is far more pleasant for a stranger to live in than the Turks' country, for this king, since his coming to the crown, hath brought this country into such subjection, that a man may travel through it with a rod in his hand,

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having no other weapon, without any hurt: the people are very courteous and friendly to strangers; their apparel very neat and comely. The men wear long coats to the small of their legs, with great rolls on their heads of divers colours, called turbans: they wear gowns furred with rich fur, for although the country be exceeding hot, they always wear furred gowns. The women are very beautiful, for the better sort, in regard they wear veils over their heads, so that the sun never shines on their faces; the women do wear breeches as well as the men, and red velvet stockings. The men have only one wife, but as many concubines as they can keep: a woman that is married, and is proved to commit adultery, she is presently burnt; and as it is allowed in the Turks' kingdom for the men to have the use of boys, it is not so here, for the Persians do severely punish that vice, for I saw a notable example: at my being in the country, there was a great nobleman, called Peer Koolli Beg, and allied to the king, which did offer that abuse to one of the king's pages, offering him a large gift; but the boy did acquaint the king with it, which, when the king heard of it, he sent presently in a rage for the lord, and caused the boy to cut off his head with his own sword."

The toleration of wine-drinking at this time in Persia is thus described:—

"They keep their Lent much about that time that we do here in England, and they call it their Bairum; it lasteth twenty-eight days; and all the day they eat no meat, until the south star do appear, and then they go to their victuals: and then will they sport themselves all night. The better sort of them do never at this, or any other time, drink wine, except they have a license from the king, and sometimes the king, in his humour, will cause a proclamation to be made, that for three days any man may drink wine at his pleasure; then sometimes you shall see them drunk, and then will the king take great delight to walk up and down the city to see them; but he that is found drunk when those three days are expired, shall presently lose his head: all Christians are allowed to drink wine, and all the king's servants."

In speaking of the manufacture of gun-barrels, Manwaring says that he never saw better gun-barrels than those manufactured at Isfahan; and that two hundred persons are always employed in "the arsenal in the construction of pieces, of bows and arrows, swords and targets, for the use of the court."

Sir Anthony's party had now increased to the number of twenty-four persons, including English, French, Greeks, and Persians. The

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scene which took place between the king and a Franciscan friar, on his journey from India to Spain during this time, serves to show how the king was affected towards Christianity and its tenets generally.

"Well, after all these matters were concluded on, there came to us a Franciscan friar to Isfahan, and told Sir Anthony, in regard he was a Christian, he was the more bold to come to him; and told him, moreover, that there was another friar coming, a Dominican friar, who was the Bishop of Ormus, a Portugal born, and he was going on great business to the King of Spain. His request was this, that Sir Anthony would get him that favour from the king, that he might go apparelled in his own weed or habit, which favour Sir Anthony did obtain of the king. And the next day Sir Anthony did go and meet him four miles forth of Ispahan, with one hundred horse to attend him; and so he brought him into the city, and lodged him in his own house. The next day after, he brought him to the king, who received him, for Sir Anthony's sake, very royally; and the king gave him a crucifix of gold, set with diamonds, turquoises, and rubies, which crucifix was sent the king from Presbiter Jhan, as the king himself did show it unto us. The king asked the friar 'where he had travelled?' The friar answered, that he was sent from the pope, as his deputy, into those parts amongst the Christians. 'The pope!' said the king, 'what is he?' although he did know very well what he was, yet did he make as though he had never heard of him. The friar made answer, 'that the pope was Christ's vicar upon earth, to pardon and forgive sins.' 'Then,' quoth the king, 'he must needs be a very old man, if he have been here on earth ever since Christ was crucified by the Jews.' 'Nay,' said the friar, 'there hath been many popes since that time, for when one dieth, another cometh into his place.' 'What!' said the king, 'are they earthly-born men in Italy or in Rome?' 'Yes,' said the friar. 'But have they at any time talked with Christ, or God the Father?' said the king; 'No,' quoth the friar. Then the king made this answer,—'I do not believe that any man on earth can pardon or forgive sins, but God the Father; and for Christ,' (said the king,) 'I do hold him to be a great prophet, yea, the greatest that ever was; and I do think, verily, that if any man could forgive sins, it was he; for I have read that he did great miracles when he was upon earth: he was born of a woman, but, as I have read, the angel of God came to her, and breathed on her, and so he was conceived. I have read, likewise, of his crucifying by the Jews, which doth make me hate them, for to this hour there is none suffered to live in my country.' The friar was stricken mute; and we all did wonder to hear the king

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reason so exceeding well, in regard he was a heathen; but he told Sir Anthony he was almost a Christian in heart since his coming unto him."

At this time Sir Anthony Sherley had sufficient influence at court to procure his being deputed as ambassador to the court of Queen Elizabeth, and received letters to the several sovereigns of Europe, to combine and make war against the Turks. He was accompanied by a Persian nobleman, called Cuchin Ally Beg. His departure is thus described:—

"So we took our leaves of Ispahan, and the king brought us two days' journey, and did take his leave of Sir Anthony very sorrowful; and did take his brother, Mr. Robert Sherley, by the hand, whom we left behind us; and the king said to Sir Anthony that he would use him as his own son, and that he should never want, as long as he was King of Persia. Then he gave Sir Anthony a seal of gold, and said, 'Brother, whatsoever thou doth seal unto, be it the worth of my kingdom, I will see it paid.' So the king kissed Sir Anthony three or four times, and kissed us all, and said, that if we did return again, we should receive great honour."

We need not follow Sir Anthony in his travels through Russia and Europe to England; suffice it to say, he was betrayed by the Franciscan friar who accompanied him, and the Persian envoy, Cuchin Ally Beg, returned from Rome, after having quarrelled with Sir Anthony. On his arrival at the Court of Persia, he attempted to justify himself, and to throw odium on the character of Sir Anthony Sherley; but this was so completely refuted, that the king directed him to be first of all mutilated, and, eventually, decapitated. Sir Anthony Sherley reached England in September, 1601, and was favourably received by Queen Elizabeth. After this he prosecuted the objects of his mission against the Turks in many of the European courts, and eventually died, according to Granger, in Spain, in 1630, at the age of sixty-five.

There are some discrepancies in the several accounts which are extant, regarding the true date of the birth of Robert, the youngest of the three brothers; some asserting that he was born in 1564, while another account states that he was only twenty-eight years of age when he reached Rome in 1609, which would make his birth in 1581. His brother, Sir Anthony, speaking of him in 1599, says, "I had my brother with me, *a young gentleman*, whose affection to me had only led him to that disaster, and the working of his own virtue, desiring, in the beginning of his best years, to enable himself to do those things which his good mind raised his thoughts unto." This

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would lead us to suppose that he was born, as has been in one case represented, in 1581, and he was then only nineteen in 1599; and, consequently, when his brother, Sir Anthony, left the Persian court, but twenty-one years of age.

The first opportunity he had of distinguishing himself, was in an engagement between the Persians and Turks in 1605, at the age of twenty-six, when, it is stated, he commanded the king's troops, and that thirty Turkish chieftains fell prisoners into his hands. On this he addressed a letter to the general of the Turkish army, demanding the release of his brother, Sir Thomas Sherley, then imprisoned at Constantinople, as the ransom of his prisoners; to which a scornful answer being returned, they were put to death, and their heads, according to the custom of Persia, exhibited in triumph on the points of spears.

On the following day he attacked the Turkish army again; and the account of that transaction, in the MS. from which the above notice is taken, thus describes his address to his soldiers, before leading them into action:—"Let me be this day a mirror of your magnanimity; let my actions be your precedents; press but as far as your general; and—courage, gentlemen!—the victory is ours." "With this, catching a strong staff, pulling down his beaver, and putting spurs to his horse, he furiously rushed upon the enemy, his soldiers following with such a desperate resolution, that the Turks were amazed at his valour; for he ran without stop through the troops, and, like a lion, massacred whom he met; which the enemy perceiving, and what a great slaughter he had made amongst them, many of them fled, many laid down their weapons and yielded; the rest he put all to the sword, without partiality or favour. Out of this, his second overthrow of the Turks, he again reserved alive some three-score of the chiefest of them, and sends the like proffer to the Turk for redemption, but without effect."

In one of his engagements with the Turks, he received three wounds, on which occasion high honours were conferred upon him by Shah Abbass. Notwithstanding the failure of the mission of Sir Anthony, Robert Sherley was appointed ambassador, on the part of the King of Persia, to several Christian potentates, to engage them in war against the Turks; and it is supposed he left Persia in the year 1608 or 1609. He first went into Poland, where he was honourably treated by Sigismond the Third. In June, 1609, he was in Germany, and received the title of Earl Palatine, having previously had the honour of Earl of the Sacred Palace of Lateran, and Chamberlain, conferred upon him by Pope Paul V.

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The patent granted by Rudolphus II., Emperor of the Romans, is addressed to "Count Robert Sherley, Knight, and Earl of the Sacred Palace of Lateran, the assigned Ambassador to us, of Abbass, King of Persia." He did not reach England till the year 1611, where, on the 2nd of October, he had an audience of James I. Stowe observes, that Shah Abbass had given him in marriage Theresia, the daughter of Ismy Hawn, or Ismael Khan, Prince of a city of Circassia Major; which lady accompanied him from Persia, and was delivered of a son, unto whom the Queen of England was godmother, and Prince Henry was godfather, who called the child Henry, after himself. Sir Robert remained in England above a year after this event, and returned to Persia with his lady and child, in a ship provided for him by the king, directing that he should be landed at any port most convenient on the Persian coast. He was accompanied, both from Persia and England, by Captain Thomas Powell, of Hertfordshire, who commanded a body of 700 cavalry in the service of the King of Persia. Powell was created a knight by King James before his departure.

In the year 1623, Sir Robert was again appointed by Shah Abbass, Ambsssador to the King of England. On the former occasion he wore the European dress at court, and conformed to the usual practice at the audience of uncovering before the king. In the present instance, however, having assumed the Persian costume, much difficulty arose at court as to his reception, and whether, as an Englishman, he should not be uncovered. To this he strenuously objected, having been permitted to wear his turban both at the court of the Emperor, and in Spain. After much discussion, however, he consented to lay his turban at the king's feet, if he were permitted to re-assume it again immediately. Vattel, in his *Rights of Ambassadors*, condemns him severely for this act of submission; and goes so far as to say, that Shah Abbass might, with propriety, have taken off his head when he returned to Persia; and it does not seem improbable that this circumstance gave rise to the events which led to the decline of his influence at the court of the Shah. He had his first audience of King James, on the 27th of January, 1624; and on the 13th of April following, he was admitted to pay a private visit to Charles I., to whom he offered his condolence on his father's death.

While Sir Robert Sherley was in England, the East India Company communicated to the court that one of their vessels had brought one Najdi Beg, a Persian nobleman, as Ambassador from the King of Persia, who reached London on the 19th of February, 1626. The

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Company made great interest to obtain especial honour to be done to this individual, so much so, indeed, that one of his Majesty's state coaches, conveying the Earl of Warwick, Master of the Ceremonies, and other gentlemen of the household, were sent to Kingston to bring him to the capital. A report was also spread that the new ambassador was deputed from Persia to denounce Sir Robert Sherley as an impostor, and as the bearer of a spurious commission. The connexion of this noble family with Persia—the circumstances of Sir Anthony and Sir Robert having both been accredited to Queen Elizabeth, and King James I., ought to have taught the court to be cautious how they gave credence to this statement; but such was the influence of the East India Company, that the Ambassador was permitted to show in what respect Sir Robert Sherley was the impostor the former proclaimed him to be. Whether the laying of his turban at James the First's feet had been heard of in Persia, and caused his recall, is unknown, nor, as we learn, was it ever complained of by Shah Abbass. Certain it is, however, Najdi Beg came armed with full powers to degrade Sir Robert Sherley in England, who was probably the victim of his enemies at the Persian court.

At an investigation of the accusations made against him by the new ambassador, before the Privy Council, he was charged with having produced spurious credentials, bearing the king's seal on the back of it, whereas the true patent would have borne the seal and signature on the face of and at the top of it. To this Sir Robert truly made answer, that his only credentials were included in a letter addressed to King James; and if so, the fact of the king's signet being at the back, instead of in front and at top, as in a patent, would be accounted for; but, on the paper being handed to the Persian, he flew into a violent passion, tore it to pieces, and assaulted Sir Robert Sherley by striking him in the face, and the Persian's son assisted the father, and fairly knocked him down; thus destroying Sherley's defence. Another charge against Sir Robert was for stating that his wife, the Lady Theresia, was a cousin of the king. This Sir Robert denied, and explained the misrepresentation by saying, that he had only said she was nearly related to the Queen of Persia. The violence of the Persian was not deemed to have been sufficiently resented by Sir Robert, but on the matter being represented to Charles I., he put off the audience which had been appointed for the Persian, and did not admit him, though much importuned, till the 6th of March. The behaviour of the Persian ambassador at the court is thus described:—

"Entering the banqueting house, where his Majesty stood under

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the state canopy to receive him, he advanced without one look or gesture of respect, till, coming close to the king's person, he clapped his letters to his eyes, one after the other, kissed them, and pressed them into the hands of his Majesty, but not so much as bowing his body at their delivery. Having thus finished this little ceremony, he, in his retreat, after some twenty paces, *made with his back to the king*, turned about, and, waving his hand on each side imperiously, as commanding a prospect (hindered by the multitude that pressed in between his sight and the king's), he made a kind of stooping reverence, then a second, and a third, and departed. When, understanding that the queen was gone abroad (whom he meant to visit) he employed the time awhile in a walk with all his coaches about St. James's park, and, returning, saw her Majesty. The next day, the other ambassador (Sir Robert Sherley) had a private audience of his Majesty, in his withdrawing chamber. After many contestations between the merchants (East India Company) and the Ambassador Sherley, whether the expenses of his return voyage were to be defrayed by them as the king required, or by the king himself, the two Persian ambassadors, and Sir Dormer Cotton on the part of King Charles I. ambassador to Shah Abbass, all sailed in the following year, and reached Gombroon, in the Gulf of Persia, on the 10th of January, 1627. Najdi Beg, the Persian, died on the passage, having (as Sir Thomas Herbert says, who sailed in the same fleet) poisoned himself."

Sir Robert Sherley and Sir Dormer Cotton proceeded from Gombroon by the route of Shiraz and Ispahan, to the king's court at Cashan. Here Mahomed Ali Beg, the minister, seemed decidedly hostile to Sir Robert Sherley; and Sir Dormer Cotton could never prevail on the king to say whether or not Najdi Beg was authorized to play the ambassador as he had done. The king would not receive his son at court, and pretended that he had exceeded his powers. The mystery of the recall of Sir Robert Sherley was never cleared up. Sir Thomas Herbert observes, "These and the like discontents (casual to mortal men) so much afflicted him, that, immediately a fever and apoplexy overcharged him, so that on the 13th of June, he gave an *ultimum vale* to this world. And wanting a fitter place of burial, was put into the earth at the door of his own house in Casbin, where he died."

"Though it may seem impertinent, I cannot pass by in silence without injury to her memory, whom I so much honoured, the thrice-worthy and undaunted Lady Theresia, his faithful wife, to this sad time constant to our company. Her faith was ever Christian,

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her parents so, and noble; her country Circassia, which joins to Georgia and to Zinria, near the Euxine and Caspian Seas. At that time, when her husband lay dead by her, and herself very weak by a long dysentery, a Dutch painter (who had served the King of Persia twenty years) conspires with Mahomet Ali Beg, and pretending an engagement he was in to one Crole, a Fleming[1], (for some monies Sir Robert Sherley had long since borrowed of him,) he is believed, and got a warrant from the Cawsee, or justice, to seize upon the lady's goods, which wicked plot could not be so private, but was known by a faithful, honest, gentleman, Master Hedges, a follower to our Ambassador, who straightway acquaints the lady with it, which, as she knew was false, so seemed it strange; yet, recalling herself, she tore a satin quilt with her feeble hands; and trusted him with her treasure, a cabinet, some jewels, rich stones and the like, with which he was no sooner gone, than the Pagan serjeants, with John the Fleming, entered her chamber, carried away what was valuable or vendible, his (Sir Robert's) horses, camels, vests, turbans, a rich Persian dagger, and some other things; but after a narrow search, finding no jewels (for they had seen him wear many, and it was for them they had worried in their ostrich appetites), mad, angry, and ashamed, they departed unsatisfied."

After the death of her husband, Lady Theresia retired to Europe, and was residing at Rome when Sir Thomas Herbert published his travels. No account has ever transpired of what became of her son, the godson of Henry, Prince of Wales, the elder brother of Charles I.

"The gentleman (Master Hedges), when the storm was past, redelivered her her jewels, of a double value now, cause of that conquest, which, had she wanted, I do not think her fortunes left her would have made up fifty pounds, a small revenue for so deserving a lady, and most useful in those uncharitable regions against woman-kind, who, though much esteemed by the Persians, yet seem rather, in those parts, created for slavery and fancy, than to enjoy liberty or praises, prizes not a little sought for, and desired by those female weak ones."

"After some discontents, and fourteen days' sickness of a flux, got either by eating too much fruits, or cold on Taurus, that religious gentleman, our ambassador, Sir Dormer Cotton, died in Casbin, the 23rd of July, 1628. We obtained a dormitory for his body among

[1] The circumstance of these Flemish artists residing in Persia at this time, may account for the Persian painting alluded to in the early part of this essay, having found its way to England in 1623. The painting is superior to anything which could be executed by a native artist of the present day.

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the Armenian Christians residing there, who, with their priests, assisted us. His horse was led before, with a mourning velvet saddle on his back, his coffin had a crimson satin quilt lined with purple silk; over him was laid a bible, sword, and hat: such of his followers as were able, waited on it; and Doctor Gough (a reverend gentleman) put him into the ground, where, though his memory and virtue cannot die, yet I would he had a monument—a more eminent memorial."

After his death, the widow, Lady Theresia, came to England, and died at Rome.

In the splendid work of Sir Robert Kerr Porter, who travelled in Persia about twenty years, he makes mention of the two celebrated brothers, Sir Anthony and Sir Robert Sherley, and of the beautiful wife of the latter, but he is in error in supposing her to be a near relation of the king, or a Mahomedan at all, as has been clearly shown by the evidence of contemporary writers. The extract from Sir R. Kerr Porter's work is as follows:—

"We reached Ossipus, our halting place, still in the range of the Eelauts, in four hours. The night was beautifully clear; and having taken the usual precaution of sending our Mehmander before, while our horses and ourselves enjoyed the freshening air, when we arrived, we found well furnished tents ready to receive us. The village itself consists of a few miserable huts straggling round the foot of an artificial mound, on the summit of which the remains of an old fortress are yet visible. The place boasted considerable consequence between three and four centuries ago, Shah Ismail, the renowned founder of the Seffean dynasty, having colonized it with Christian families from his conquests in Georgia; but time and disaster have reduced Ossipus and its inhabitants to mere remnants of what they were, and we see nothing but poverty and wretchedness. The ruins of a spacious caravansary complete the desolate picture, by affording shelter to a few poor native families, quite as ragged and forlorn in appearance as their Christian neighbours. Besides having been a colony of manufacturers during the reigns of the Sefi monarchs, it was also a military station. A pass equal in danger to that of Iman Zada, from the descent of the hostile mountaineers, commanded all ingress from the Ispahan road to this part of the valley; and to render it secure from depredators, the great Shah Abbass planted a strong garrison in the fortress of Ossipus; which, together with the immediate district surrounding it, was placed under the government of Sir Anthony Sherley, one of the chivalric brothers of that name who sought a soldier's fortune in Persia, during the reign of that

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the heavenly bodies, and the motions of the planets. Abu Maâshar Jaâfar bn Muhammad bn Umar Albalkhi[1], in the Kitáb ululúf كتاب الالوف says that Kankah was the first in the science of astronomy among all the philosophers of India in ancient time. Kankah is the author of the following books ;—

1. النموذار في الاعمار The Model on Lives.

2. كتاب اسرار المواليد A book on the Mysteries of Nativities.

3. كتاب القرانات الكبير و كتاب القرانات الصغير Two books on the Conjunction of the Planets, one called the greater, the other the less[2].

4. كتاب في الطب و هو بجري بجري كتاش A book on Medicine which is esteemed as a Kunnásh[3].

5. كتاب الوهم The Book of Imagination.

6. كتاب في احداث العالم والدور في القران A book on the Creation of the Universe, and on the Revolution in Conjunction.

[1] Abu Maâshar Jaâfar Albalkhi died A.H. 272. Haji Khalfa says of this work, ذكر فيه الهياكل والبنيان العظيمة التي يحدث بناوها في العالم في كل الف عام He speaks in this book, of the temples and great buildings which were constructed in the world, in each thousand years. His life is written by Ibn Khallikán.

[2] Haji Khalfa notices the second and third of these works; he calls the author كنكه الهندي من قدما المنجمين Kankah the Indian, one of the ancient astronomers.

[3] The word كتاش is thus explained in the Kámús. كتاش الكتّاشات بالضم و التشديد الاصول التي يتشعب منها الفروع "Kunnáshat are the roots from which the branches spread themselves." The meaning of the word here appears to be a book of collections of recipes and observations, which a physician makes during the course of his practice. At least in the enumeration of the works of the different physicians, Syrians especially, almost every one is said to have composed a Kunnash, كتاشه The word is probably derived from the Syriac ܟܬܫ "to collect." In Codd. Marsh. 158, 547, it is written, قتاش See *Nicoll's Cat.* p. 590. Solomon Negri renders it Syntagma. Gildemeister—following, as it appears, Dietz—has fallen into the error of mistaking the words بجري بجري so commonly used to express similarity or resemblance, for the title of a book; *Librum de Medicina Yaq'ri Magri Inscriptum*, p. 95. The word كتاش probably, being omitted in the MS. made use of.

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Sanjahal, صنجهل

He was one of the learned men of India, and of those eminent among them for their knowledge in medicine and astronomy or astrology. He was the author of a book called كتاب المواليد الكبير The great Book of Nativities[1].

After Sanjahal the Indian, there arose in the cities of India, several authors of books well known on the art of medicine, and on other sciences; such were باكهر داهر جبهر راجه انكر اندي صكه زنكل جاري Bákhar, Dáhar, Jabhar, Ráhah, Ankar, Andi, Sakah, Zangal, Jári[2]. All these being authors of various books, were philosophers and physicians of India; and to them are to be referred the rules laid down relating to the science of the stars. The Indians at present occupy themselves with the works of these men, and imitate them, handing them down from one to another. Many of them have been translated into the Arabic. I have discovered also that Rázi, in his book called الحاوي[3] and in several others, has copied from the works of many of the Indians, such for instance as the book of Sirak the Indian كتاب سيرك الهندي[4]. This book Abd-ullah bn Ali paraphrased from the Persian into the Arabic, for it had been originally translated from the Indian into the Persian. Also from the book of Sasard كتاب سسرد in which are the symptoms of diseases, the manner of treatment, and the medicines to be used for them. It is in ten chapters. Yahya bn Khálid[5] ordered it to be paraphrased,

[1] Haji Khalfa assigns this book to Kankah, and not to صنجهل

[2] These names are given in different order in two MSS. of this work in the Bodleian Library. In MS. Pocock, No. 356, they occur in the following order, the alternate names being written in red ink:

باكهر · راجه · صكه · داهر · انكر · ريكل · جبهر · اندي · جاري

In Cod. Huntingdon, No. 171:

باكهه راجه صكة داهر زنكل جهر اندي جار

[3] The full title of this work is الحاوي في الطب Muhammad bn Zacariya Alrazi died A.H. 311.

[4] Haji Khalfa mentions this book. I quote the passage entire, because it shows that he obtained his information respecting this book, and probably all the others, from Ibn Abú Usaibiáh. كتاب سيرك الهندي نقل من الهندي الي الفارس ثم فسره عبد الله بن علي من الفارس الي العربي ذكره في العيون

The two MSS. in Bodleian Library above mentioned, read شيبرك

[5] Grand Vazir of Hárún Alrashíd, put to death, together with his son Jaáfar, by order of that Khalif, A.H. 187.

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A book called [1] كتاب يدان on the symptoms of four hundred and four diseases, and the knowledge of them, but without the mode of treatment. A book called Sandhishán كتاب سندهيشان [2] and its paraphase كتاب صورة النجح the Image of Good Fortune. A book on the points of difference between India and Greece, with respect to heat and cold, the powers of medicine, and the division of the year[3]. A book in which the names of drugs are explained by names used in common conversation, كتاب تفسير اسما العقار باسما عشره also كتاب اسانكر الجامع A book on the mode of treatment of Pregnant Women, and a compendium on Drugs, are also referred to India. Likewise a book Fúfasal [4] كتاب فوفسل in which are a hundred diseases and a hundred remedies. Also a book روسا الهنديه on the medical treatment of Women. Likewise a book of Sugar كتاب السكر is due to India. A book of Ray the Indian[5] كتاب راي الهندي on different kinds of Vipers and their Poisons. A book of the imagination on Diseases and Infirmities, by Abú Fabal[6] ابو فبل the Indian.

Also among the distinguished physicians of India, is

Shánák شاناق

He is the author of many methods of treatment and experiments. He was also skilled in several branches of science and philosophy; he was very eminent in the science of astronomy, and formerly much esteemed for his eloquence by the princes of India. The following is a specimen of his eloquence, taken from one of his works called متنحل الجوهر "Oh! Prince, be on thy guard against

[1] MS. Poc. 356. Reads كتاب بدان

[2] Haji Khalfa. كتاب سندهشان و تفسيره كتاب صورة النخح من كتب الهنود المقدما في الطب

[3] Mentioned by Haji Khalfa, thus كتاب اختلاف الهند والروم في الحار والبارد وقوي الادوية و تفصيل السنة من كتب الهنود.

[4] This is called by Haji Khalfa كتاب نوشل and in the next, for روسا الهندية he reads روشي الهندية MS. Poc. كتاب نوفشل and روسي الهندي Haji Khalfa also notices كتاب السكر

[5] This may perhaps be translated, "A book on the opinion of the Indians, &c."

[6] Haji Khalfa reads ابو قبيل

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the lapses of time, and the domination of days, and the sadness of the prevalence of age. Know that there is a recompense for all actions; be on thy guard, then, against the events of time and days. They have their excuses, be on the watch against them. The decrees of fate are concealed in futurity, be therefore prepared for them. Time changes, be cautious of its sway. Trouble will happen, fear then its violence. Honour soon passes by, put not thy trust on its prosperity. And know, that he who does not heal himself of the wounds of days in the days of his life, how far will he be from health, in that mansion where no remedy is found! He who abases and subdues his senses, in whatever good thing is presented to his soul, shows his superiority and manifests his excellence. He who cannot restrain his soul, which is but one, cannot restrain his senses, which are five; if, then, he cannot subdue his senses, which are so few and so mean, it will be a hard thing for him to hold in subjection his armies, which are so many and so violent. Therefore, his people in the most distant cities and at the extremity of his dominions, will be far off from any restraint." Shánák is the author of the following books:—A Treatise on Poisons in five books[1], which Mankah the Indian paraphrased from the Indian into the Persian language. And the person appointed to transcribe it into the Persian character, was a man known by the name of Abu Hátim. Albalkhi paraphrased it for Yahya bn Khálid bn Barmak. Afterwards, it was transcribed for Almamún, by the hand of Alabbás bn Sâíd Aljawhari, who was attached to him, and he was appointed to read it to Almamún. A book on the Veterinary Art[2]. A book on Astronomy. A book called منتخل الجوهر which he composed for one of the kings of his own time. The name of this king was Ibn Kamánas the Indian ابن قمانص الهندي

[1] Haji Khalfa, thus كتاب السموم لشاناق الهندي خمس مقالات فسره من الهندي الي الفارسي منكه الهندي وكان المتولي لنقله بالفارسية رجل يعرف بابي حاتم البلخي فسره ليحيي بن خالد بن برمك ثم نقل للمامون علي يد العباس بن احمد بن الجوهري مولاه و كان المتولي قراته علي المامون

[2] In a treatise on the Veterinary Art, in the Bodleian, in Pocock 360, called البيطرة and in MS. Poc. 129, بيطارنامه an extract is given from an Indian book on this subject, by an author named Jannah جنه الهندي

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JAWDAR جودر

Jawdar was eminent among the philosophers and learned men of India, and of much distinction in the age in which he lived. He followed the study of medicine, and wrote several works on the philosophical sciences. He is the author of a book on Nativities[1] كتاب المواليد which has been translated into the Arabic.

MANKAH THE INDIAN منكه الهندي

He was learned in the art of medicine, skilful in his application of remedies, and gentle in his method of treatment. He was one of the most distinguished philosophers in the sciences of India, and was well acquainted both with the language of India and of Persia. It was he who translated the book of Shánák the Indian, treating of Poisons, from the Indian to the Persian tongue. He lived in the days of Harún Alrashíd, and came during his reign, from India to Irák, and attached himself to him and attended him. I have found in some book, that Mankah the Indian was attached to Ishák bn Sulaimán bn Ali Alhashimi, and was employed in translating from the Indian language into the Persian and the Arabic. The following account I have extracted from a book entitled "Histories of the Khalifs and of the Barmacides[2]." "Alrashíd was afflicted with a severe disease, and although attended by his physicians, could not recover from his illness. Then Abú Amrú Alaâjami said to him: 'There is a physician in India named Mankah, who is one of their devotees and philosophers; if the Commander of the Faithful would send to him, God would perhaps grant him the restoration of his health through his means.' Alrashíd therefore sent a person to fetch him, and at the same time to carry to him such a present as would induce him to undertake the journey. Accordingly he came, and attended Alrashíd, who under his treatment recovered from his disease; and, in consequence, bestowed upon him considerable wealth, and granted him a pension.

"One day he beheld a quack spreading out his cloak and throwing into it a variety of drugs, and then begin to describe a medicine which he had already prepared, in the following terms: 'This medicine will cure a continued fever, or an intermittent fever, or a quartan. It is good for a pain in the back, or a pain in the loins, for the

[1] Not in Haji Khalfa.

[2] There is no book with the title اخبار الخلفا البرامكة mentioned in the copy of Haji Khalfa in the British Museum.

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disease called Alkhám (الخام) for the piles, for wind, for a pain in the joints, or in the eyes, for the belly-ach, for the head-ach, for the megrim, (الشقيقة[1]) for the strangury, for paralysis, for palsy.' Nor did he omit any one disease to which the body is liable; declaring also that this medicine was a specific for them all. Mankah said to his interpreter, 'What is this fellow talking about?' The interpreter explained to him all that he said. Mankah smiled, and observed: 'Surely the king of the Arabs, in every point of view, must be foolish; for if the matter be as this fellow states, why did he bring me from my country and separate me from my family, taking so much trouble on my account, when he might have found this fellow before his eyes and under his nose? But if the matter be not as this person says, why does he not put him to death, for the law allows that such a fellow's blood should be shed, and that of all who resemble him. For, were they to be put to death, not many persons would be lost; but if this continue, and such folly become the cause of one death every day, and it is likely that it may be the cause of two, three, or four, this would be a loss to religion, and a source of distress to the nation.'"

SALIH SON OF BALAH THE INDIAN صالح بن بهله الهندي or صلح

He was distinguished amongst the learned men of India, well skilled in their methods of medical treatment, and had power and influence in the promotion of science. He came to Irák in the days of Harún Alrashíd. Abú'lhasan Yusúf bn Ibrahím[a], the astrologer, known by the name of Ibn Uldáyah, has related that Ahmad bn Rashíd the secretary, the freed-man of Salám Ulabrash, said that his master told him, that one day the table was laid before Alrashíd, and Jabríl[2] bn Bakht-Yashuâ was absent; "then," he continues, in the words of Ahmad, "Abu Salamah (meaning his master) proceeded: 'Then the Commander of the Faithful commanded me to seek for Jabríl, in order that he may commence his repast according to his usual practice. I searched therefore in every apartment, with-

[1] Ibn Sina defines الشقيقة thus: هي وجع في احد جانبي الراس "It is a pain on one side of the head."—GALENUS ἡμιχράνιον.

[a] Jabril was a physician in high repute and favour at the court of Bagdad, during the reigns of Harun Alrashíd and his two sons, Amin and Mamún. His life, translated into Latin, from the Arabic of Ibn Abú Usaibiâh, by Solomon Negri, has been published by Dr. Friend, at the end of his second volume of the *History of Physick from the time of Galen to the beginning of the Sixteenth Century*, 4to. London, 1725.

[2] He wrote a history of physicians, entitled اخبار الاطبا *Vide* Haji Khalfa.

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out omitting one, either of the princes or of any other in the palace where Jabríl used to visit, but could find no traces of him. I therefore informed the Commander of the Faithful of this circumstance, who immediately began to curse and abuse him. At this moment, Jabríl entered; and finding Alrashíd abusing and swearing at him in this manner, 'If,' said he, 'the Commander of the Faithful were to occupy himself with weeping over his cousin Ibráhím bn Sálih, and to leave off abusing me in this manner, it would be more becoming.' He then inquired after Ibrahim, and was told by Jabríl, that he had left him in a dying state; and that by the time of the last prayer for the night, he would have expired. Alrashíd was violently affected, and began to weep; and ordered the table to be immediately removed. So much was he affected by this circumstance, that all who were present could not help pitying him. Then said Jaâfar bn Yahya, 'O Commander of the Faithful, the treatment of Jabríl is after the manner of the Greeks; but Sálih son of Balah the Indian would apply his remedies according to the science of the Indians, in the same way as Jabríl follows the method of the Greeks. Should, therefore, the Commander of the Faithful think proper that he be fetched, and sent to Ibráhím bn Sálih, we shall know from him what is his opinion, as we know what that of Jabríl is.' Alrashíd then bid Jaâfar fetch him, and after having conducted him to the patient, to return. Jaâfar did so. Sálih went therefore and visited Ibráhím, and having felt his pulse, returned to Jaâfar, who asked his opinion respecting the patient. Sálih replied, 'I will give no account of him to any one but only the Commander of the Faithful himself.' Jaâfar urged him much to tell him the whole matter, but he persisted in refusing. Jaâfar, therefore, went to Alrashíd, and informed him that Sálih had been to visit the patient, but refused to give him any account of what he had seen. He then ordered that Sálih should be brought into his presence; who, having entered, said, 'O Commander of the Faithful, thou art at the head of the religion, and thou art supreme in all decrees and judgments; and whatsoever sentence thou passest, no judge is able to abrogate it. I testify then, O Commander of the Faithful, before thee, and call every one here present to witness against me, that if Ibráhím bn Sálih die this night, or of this illness, that all the slaves of Sálih son of Balah shall be free before God; that every beast which he possesses shall be dedicated to holy purposes; that all his money shall be for alms to the faithful; and that he will divorce every one of his wives, even three young women.' Alrashíd replied, 'Sálih, rash man, thou hast sworn upon a thing

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that is still in the darkness of futurity.' Sálih answered, 'By no means, O Commander of the Faithful; the darkness of futurity is that of which none has any knowledge; nor is there any indication to point it out to him. I have not declared that which I have just spoken, without clear knowledge and evident indication.'" Ahmad bn Rashíd proceeds: "Abu Salamah continued his narrative to me: 'Then the grief of Alrashíd left him; and he ate and commanded drink to be brought, and he drank. And when the hour of the last prayer for the night arrived, there came a letter from the Sáhib ul-baríd in the City of Peace, to announce to Alrashíd the death of Ibrahím bn Sálih. Alrashíd began immediately to blame Jaâfar bn Yahya, for directing him to Sálih, and to curse India and its medicine, crying, 'Alas! the disgrace in the sight of God, that I should have been drinking Nabídh, while my cousin was in the agony of death.' Then he called for a glass of Nabídh, and having mixed it with salt and water, began to drink, and then to vomit, until he had discharged the whole contents of his stomach.

"Early next morning he went to the house of Ibrahím, and his attendants prepared for him a room, that he might sit by Ibrahím. There were placed two sofas, one on the right hand and the other on the left, with their seats, and pillows, and cushions, and between the two sofas small cushions. Then Alrashíd stood leaning upon his sword, and said, 'It is not becoming in so great a domestic calamity as this, to sit otherwise than on the floor; take away these sofas and cushions.' The chamberlains having done so, Alrashíd sat down upon the floor, and this became a custom among the Abbassides from that day, although it had not been so previously. Then Sálih son of Balah came, and stood in the presence of Alrashíd, but no one spoke a word to him till the scent of the incense was perceived: then immediately Sálih began to cry, 'Allah! Allah! O Commander of the Faithful, that thou shouldest condemn me to divorce my wife, and separate her from me who am her true husband, and that another should marry her, to whom it is not lawful! Allah! Allah! that thou shouldest rob me of my happiness, when I am guilty of no crime! Allah! Allah! that thou shouldest bury thy cousin alive; for I swear by Allah, O Commander of the Faithful, that he is not dead. Suffer me then to go in to him and see him.' And when he had cried much in this way, he permitted him to go alone to Ibrahím.

Ahmad proceeds, "Abu Salamah then continued his story to me. Then we immediately heard a sound as of one striking the body with the palm of the hand: then the sound ceased, and forthwith we heard a shout, 'Allah Akbar! Allah Akbar!' then Sálih came out to us

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continuing to cry 'Allah Akbar!' and addressing himself to Alrashíd said, 'Rise, O Commander of the Faithful, and I will shew you a wonderful thing.' Alrashíd and I, and Masrúr the elder, and Abu Salim, went in with him. Then Sálih took out a needle that he had with him and thrust it in between the nail and the flesh of the thumb of the left hand of Ibráhím bn Sálih, who immediately plucked away his hand and drew it to his body. Then Sálih said, 'O Commander of the Faithful, is a dead man sensible of pain?' Alrashíd answered, 'No.' Salih said, 'If thou art desirous that he should speak to the Commander of the Faithful forthwith, I will bring it to pass.' Alrashíd having answered, 'I am desirous that thou effect this.' He replied, 'O Commander of the Faithful, I fear that if I were to apply my remedies, and he were to recover while he is in these burial clothes, and the scent of the Hanút[1] upon him, that his heart would break, and that he would die indeed, and I should no longer have it my power to recover him. But if the Commander of the Faithful will order these burial clothes to be taken off him, and that he be taken and washed till the scent of the Hanút be removed from him, and afterwards that he be clothed in the same dress that he used to wear in the time of his health and while his illness was upon him, and then be perfumed with the same scent as formerly, and afterwards be laid upon one of the sofas, upon which he used to sit and sleep, I will apply then my remedies in the presence of the Commander of the Faithful, and he shall forthwith speak with him.'

"Ahmad," continues Abú Salamah, "told me, 'Alrashíd commissioned me to do what Sálih had directed, and I did so accordingly. Then Alrashíd and I, and Masrúr and Sálih, went into the chamber where Ibráhím was, and Sálih called for some Kundus[2] (sneezewort), and an instrument to blow it with, from the servants, and blew some of the Kundus up his nose: having continued about the sixth part of an hour, his body began to be moved; then he sneezed, and sat up

[1] الحنوط كل طيب يخلط للميت Hanút is the name of every kind of scent that is mixed for dead bodies.—Kamus.

[2] الكُنْدُس عروق نبات داخله اصفر وخارجه اسود مقئي مسهل جلاء للبهق واذا سُحق ونُفخ في الانف عطّس وانار البصر الكليل وازال العشا

[2] Kundus is the root of a plant which is yellow inside and black out. It operates as an emetic and a purging medicine, and clears away the ringworm. When it is reduced to powder and blown up the nose it causes sneezing and enlightens the weary eyes, and stops blindness.—Kamus.

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before Alrashíd, and kissed his hand. Upon Alrashíd inquiring of him how he was, and he answered that he had been sleeping in a manner such as he never remembered to have done before, very agreeably, except that he saw in his sleep a dog rushing out upon him, and that while he was endeavouring to defend himself with his hand, the dog bit the thumb of his left hand, and then he awoke but still felt the pain, at the same time showing the thumb into which Sálih had thrust the needle. Ibráhím lived long after this circumstance, and married the princess Alabbasah, daughter of Almahadi, and obtained the government of Egypt and Palestine, and died in Egypt."

Remarks on the Names which occur in the preceding Notices, by Professor H. H. Wilson.

A variety of causes renders the verification of Indian names which are found in Arabic or Persian works, always difficult, and not unfrequently impracticable. Mohammedan authors are as indifferent as those of other nations, ancient or modern, to an accurate and consistent representation of foreign appellations, and give the same word in different forms, not one of which is a close approximation to its genuine enunciation. Even if the original author should have taken pains to be exact, they are frustrated by the ignorance and carelessness of his transcribers. No assurance can be felt that any given manuscript faithfully repeats a strange denomination as it was at first written, and critical emendation is necessarily of little avail for the right reading of a proper name, to the understanding of which the context cannot contribute. Even admitting, however, something like care in author and amanuensis, there is an inherent difficulty in the difference of alphabets and particularly in the absence of written vowels in Arabic and Persian writing, which must always occasion considerable perplexity, and render the determination of an Indian word in Nuskh, or Nastalik, matter of very diffident conjecture.

These considerations affect most of the names which are given in the preceding extract from the *Uyun al Amba*, although their appearance fully confirms the statement of the text that they designate Indian astronomers and physicians. There can be no doubt of their Hindu origin, although we cannot, in all instances, identify them or determine to whom they belong. The latter, indeed, is a different question from the ascertainment of the name, and even if we decipher the latter, it does not follow that we know anything of the person,

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This arises in some degree from our own ignorance, from our imperfect acquaintance with the medical and scientific literature of the Hindus; but it is also very likely that, in the course of ten centuries, works and the reputations based on them have perished, and it is also probable that, in some cases at least, the individuals may have had a local celebrity only, and an Indian doctor in great practice and high repute at Bagdad may never have been heard of at Kasi or Pataliputra. That we cannot therefore particularize all the individuals of the foregoing list, is no imputation to its discredit, and its general authenticity might be admitted even if we could not verify one of the persons or the writings that it refers to. This is, however, by no means the case, and it affords specifications which can readily be authenticated and which are valuable contributions to the history of Hindu science.

The first name of the series, Kankah, might be thought to be intended for Ganga, as the letters k and g are seldom discriminated in manuscripts. Ganga alone, however, is not an Indian name, although it is of common use in combination, as Ganga-dhar. There is indeed, an astronomer of that name, of some note, who is one of the scholiasts on the Lílávatí of Bháskara; but, from an astronomical computation in his work, Mr. Colebrooke infers its being written as late as the beginning of the fifteenth century[1]. This being subsequent to Bháskara, is of itself reason to infer that he could not have been known to the author of the *Uyun al Amba*.

The name of Kankah the Indian is, however, very celebrated in the history of Arabian astronomy; he is said, by Ben al Adam, a writer of the eighth century, to have visited the court of Al Mansur, A. D. 773, bringing with him Indian astronomical writings, which were translated, by command of the Khalif, by Muhammed bin Ibrahim Alfazárí. He entitled his work the *Greater Sind-hind*, which was the chief text-book of Mohammedan astronomy for some time before the Arabs had become acquainted with the writings of the Greeks, and which, in its denomination, is unequivocally Hindu. It has been conjectured by Mr. Colebrooke[2], that the Arabic term is intended for the Sanskrit word Siddhánta, intending the Brahma-siddhanta, in which was described the only one of the three astronomical systems of the Hindus, known by more than name to the Arabs. This is not unlikely; but another source may be suggested for the appellation, and it is not impossible that in the *Great Sind-hind* we have an attempt—modified by peculiarities of pronunciation, and possibly by the translator's

[1] A. D. 1420. Colebrooke on the Arithmetic and Algebra of the Hindus. Introd. xxv.

[2] *Ibid.* p. lxv.

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purpose of indicating the Indian origin of his work—to represent the *Vrihat Sanhitá*, the 'great compilation' of Varáhamihira, an astronomical work of the end of the fifth century, and of merited reputation.

However this may be, it seems likely that Kankah, notwithstanding the writings attributed to him, is not their author, and has only the merit of making them known to the Arabs; he would not, therefore, find a place amongst the astronomical authorities known in India. This is one reason why we cannot verify his name; another is, the possibility of an error in its orthoepy. It is written by D'Herbelot, from various authorities, Kankah, Kankar, and Kangha; by Reiske and Schultens, Kangah; and by Kasíri, from the *Tarikh ul Hukama*, Katka. Now, this last reading suggests the possibility of some mistake having been committed as to the purport of the appellation, and that although applied to the man, it was in truth applicable not to him, but to his science. Algebra, which the Arabs at this same period derived from the Hindus, or at least an important branch of it, first taught by Aryabhatta, is denominated *Kuttaka*, and in this term we have a closer approach to Katka than in Ganga, or, as Mr. Colebrooke indicates, Garga, to the Kankah of the Arabic writers.

The name, however, is of comparatively little importance; the Hindu astronomer, however called, first made the Arabs acquainted with the works of his countrymen, and especially of Varáhamihira, as, besides the Vrihat-Sanhitá, which is the probable origin of the *Sind-hind*, we may suspect that his other astronomical and astrological writings, his treatise called *Karana* on the motion of the planets, and his *Vrihat*, and *Laghu Játaka*, or 'great and less books on the mysteries of nativities,' seem to be intended by the works on similar subjects attributed to Kankah.

Sanjahal is a name of an Indian aspect, though no Sanskrit original readily offers. His great book of *Nativities* suggests the *Vrihat Játaka*, but we can scarcely imagine that his name is a corruption of Varáhamihira.

Dáhar and Jabhar are undoubted corruptions, and the former is, perhaps, the mutilation of Sridhara, an astronomical writer of antiquity. In Bákhar it can scarcely be questioned that we have the Hindu name Bhaskar, or Bháskara, the celebrated author of the *Siddhánta Siromani*. He flourished in the middle of the twelfth century (A.D. 1150), and could not, therefore, have been at the court of Al Mansur, but he is not so described. He is placed amongst the successors of Sanjahal, and as one of those whose works were

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current in India when the author of the *Uyun ul Amba* wrote, rather more than a century afterwards.

The following names, Ankar, Andi, Ráhah, Sakah, Zangal, Jári, are neither Arabic nor Persian, and are no doubt Indian, but they must have been strangely distorted, and are beyond my conjecture.

This is not the case with the next appellation, Sirak, which, with the help of various readings, may be easily traced to the Indian Charak. Dr. Royle, in his *Essay on the Antiquity of Indian Medical Science*, has cited passages from the Latin translations of Avicenna, Rhazes, and Serapion, in which the name occurs Sarak, Scarak, and Xarek; and there can be no doubt that Charak, Charaka, or the name of the oldest Sanskrit physician, and also of his book, is intended. It was first translated from Indian into Persian, and from Persian into Arabic.

Of another work there is equally little difficulty in assigning the origin. The *Kitab Sasard*, or, as it may be better read, *Sasrad*, translated into Arabic by order of the Vazir of Harún, Yahya Ibn Khalid, cannot be any other than the celebrated Indian work, the *Susrut*. It is not said that it was translated first into Persian, but this is most likely to have been the case. The Arabic writer says the work contained ten chapters; the actual Susruta is divided into but six books, but the usual classification, and that adopted by the Susruta, of medical topics, is eight; to which, if the subjects of materia medica, the Dravyabhidhánas, and the Kalpa, or pharmacy, be added, we shall have ten.

Of the book which is called in the Arabic text Yedan, there can be equally little doubt. It is said to describe the symptoms of diseases without the mode of treatment. Now this is precisely the object of one division of Indian medicine, on which alone not only distinct chapters but separate treatises are written. The term by which this branch of the art is known is *Nidán*, and the same word no doubt was used by the earliest Arabic writers, though corrupted to Yedan, or Bidán, either by later compilers or copyists.

No such work as one treating of the differences of medical doctrines between Greece and India, is known to the Hindus, and it was probably written by some of the Indian savants at Bagdad. The name Sandhishán has a Sanskrit aspect, although it is probably corrupt.

The succeeding series of names offers nothing which I am able to identify, but the names Asankar, Fufa[illegible]úsa, Rai, Abul-fabal, are evident corruptions of appellations [illegible]oic. The book on Sugar, Kitáb-as-Sakar, may be Sanskrit; the name of sugar, over the greater

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part of Asia and Europe being derived from the name given to it in its parent soil, Sharkara. Shánák is probably intended for Chánakya, although known to the Hindus as a moral and political writer only. The citation from the Mutanahhal al Jouhar shews that he bore that character also amongst the 'Arabs, although they have made him an astronomer and physician also. The subject of poisons and antidotes is a branch of Hindu medicine, and separate treatises on it exist. There never could have been such an Indian king, as "Ibn" Kamánas, although the latter part of the name may have had a Sanskrit original.

Joudar is very probably an Indian name; such as Yava or Yodhara, or perhaps Godhara, but no such astronomical writer is known. So also of Mankah. Celebrated as he is amongst the Mohammedans, we cannot find any trace of him in Sanskrit literature, although the name is no doubt the common Hindu name Mánikya or Manick. The circumstances of his proficiency in Persian and Arabic, and his being employed much as a translator of Sanskrit books into those languages, intimate a protracted residence in Western Asia, and a celebrity in consequence in that part of the East rather than in his own country.

We may suspect the same of the Indian Salih Ibn Balah, and at any rate his name has become so transformed that it looks much more like Arabic than Sanskrit.

The identifications that we are thus enabled to make are, however, sufficient to show that the Astronomy and Medicine of the Hindus were cultivated anteriorly to those of the Greeks, by the Arabs of the eighth century; and that the principal authorities of both sciences were the same then as they are at present. The astronomical data are least conclusive. In medicine, the evidence is more positive; and it is clear that the Charaka, the Susruta, the treatises called Nidán on diagnosis, and others on poisons, diseases of women, and therapeutics, all familiar to Hindu science, were translated and studied by the Arabs in the days of Harun and Mansur, either from the originals, or translations made at a still earlier period into the language of Persia. It cannot be doubted also that the works of Varáhamihira were, at the same period, introduced to the knowledge of the Arabs, and laid the foundation of their subsequent proficiency to a greater extent even than the writings of Ptolemy.

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Art. VI.—*The Chinese Secret Triad Society of the Tien-ti-huih*[1]. *By* Lieutenant Newbold, A.D.C., *and* Major-General Wilson, C.B., *Madras Army.*

Read January 18, 1840.

Various associations have long existed in China, of which secrecy was at an early period the prominent feature, since the jealousy of the imperial government declares the association of even five persons to be illegal, and punishes the crime of belonging to these associations with death. Among these fraternities may be enumerated—1st, the Great Ascending Society; 2nd, the Society of Glory and Splendour; 3rd, the Union of the Three Great Powers, viz., Heaven, Earth, and Man; 4th, the White Jackets; 5th, the Red Beards; 6th, the Short Swords; 7th, the White Water-Lily; 8th, the Sea and Land Society; 9th, the Righteous Rising Society, &c. The third of these associations, which, from all that can be gathered, assimilate in their origin, is the one that prevails in Canton, and obtains almost exclusively in the Straits of Malacca, and the vast islands of the Indian Archipelago; and which will principally form the subject of this notice. It is commonly known under the terms of *Tien-ti-huih*, or *San-ho-huih*, and is sometimes divided into two branches—the Canton and Fokien, to which provinces most of the Chinese emigrants belong. Those from Canton, are, I believe, by far the most numerous. Other societies or *Kongsis* exist, with the benevolent object of raising funds for the assistance and support of those among their number in distress; but they are almost all subject, more or less, to some of the objections that exist against the *Tien-ti-huih*.

The secret nature of the *Tien-ti-huih*, or Triad Association of Heaven, Earth, and Man, and the natural dread of its members to

[1] *Remarks on the Mode of writing Chinese Names, &c. in these MSS.*

1st. The continental pronunciation of the vowels is adopted.

2nd. The vowels are to be enunciated distinctly when two or more come together, except in such obvious diphthongs as *au*, *ai*, *ou*, *ei*, &c., and therefore the diæresis (¨) is dispensed with.

3rd. *ie* is not a diphthong, the two vowels being invariably pronounced separately.

4th. *u* always like *oo*, long or short, as in too, or good. The long sharp sound of *u*, as in pure, is indicated by *iu*, and not, as is usually done, by *ew* as in hew.

5th. The Mandarin pronunciation is observed throughout.

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violate their solemn oaths of secrecy, render it a matter of great difficulty to arrive at the truth, and to penetrate into its early history and origin; suffice it here to observe, that the source of this branch of secret societies existing among the Chinese is to be traced as far back as the close of the third century of the Christian era, to the time of the usurper *Tsau-Tsau*. It appears that the bonds which first linked its members together, were of a political nature; and we also find it remarked, that the initiated were required to be proficient in all manner of martial and manly exercises, and that, as a trial of their courage, they were compelled to run through a *chevaux-de-frise* of glittering swords. They rapidly increased in numbers, and by their valour and skill rescued the Emperor of China from the horrors of a dangerous rebellion.

The following episode, from the popular Chinese history called the *San-Kwoh*, translated expressly for this paper by the Rev. J. Tomlin, of Malacca, not only bears upon this event, but is also illustrative of various allusions made by the brotherhood in their code of rules, which will be subsequently adverted to.

"There is a saying, that 'when the great power of the empire is long divided, it will be united, and when long united, it will be divided.' At the end of the *Chiu* dynasty, there was a division into seven contending kingdoms, which issued in the *Tsin* dynasty. After the destruction of the *Tsin* dynasty, *So* and *Han* contended for superiority, and this contest terminated in the establishment of the *Han* dynasty. The first emperor of the *Han* dynasty killed a white serpent, and rose to be a great warrior. The whole empire was united and flourished in the time of Kwang Wu, and down to Hien-ti, when it was divided into three kingdoms. This rebellion began in the time of the two emperors Fan and Lin. Fan rejected all good men, and honoured and confided in eunuch mandarins. On the death of Fan, Lin (his son) succeeded. The great general Po Wu and Chin Fan the Tai-Fu supported him. When the eunuch mandarins, Tsau Tseet and his fellows, abused their authority, Po Wu and Chin Fan consulted to destroy them. This affair, not being concealed, turned out to their own injury. The eunuch ministers from this time grew worse. At Khim Nin, second year, fourth month, fifteenth day, the emperor went to Wan Tih Tien. Being seated on the throne, a violent wind arose, and smote the summit of the palace. There was merely a blue serpent seen, which flew down from the roof, and coiled itself up on a chair. The emperor, affrighted, fell down from his throne, and was instantly borne by his ministers into the interior of the palace. All the man-

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darins fled, and in a moment the serpent also vanished. Suddenly there was loud thunder, rain, and great hailstones, which continued to fall till midnight, and destroyed houses without number.

"Also in the fourth year, second month, at Loh Yang, there was an earthquake; the sea overflowed, and the people on the coast were engulfed in the waves. At Kwang Ho, a hen was changed into a cock. And in the sixth month, first day, a dark cloudy vapour, above ten fathoms long, flew into the palace at Wan Tih. In the autumn, seventh month, a rainbow was seen on the Pearl Temple (palace). The Wu Yuan mountain precipice was hurled down and dashed in pieces. The emperor issued a proclamation, inquiring of all his ministers the cause of these calamities. The I Lang minister, Tsai Yung, brought up his answer. He considered the rainbow, and the metamorphosed hen, to be the eunuch ministers, who had perverted the government. His words had some truth in them. The emperor, looking at the writing, sighed, and immediately rose and changed his clothes. Tsau Tseet was watching behind, and told all to his companions, and immediately resolved to find an occasion of accusing Tsai Yung on other grounds, that he might be discarded and sent home. Afterwards these ten men, Chang Yang, Chan Chung, Fung Si, Tuan Tui, Tsau Tseet, Hou Lan, Kien Shit, Chin Yung, Hia Tan, and Kwoh Shin, banded together for evil. They were entitled 'The Ten Chang Shi.' The emperor honoured and confided in Chang Yang, calling him 'My father!' The government daily worsened, so that, throughout the empire, men's hearts were meditating rebellion. Thieves and robbers sprung up like bees. At that time there were at Chi Luk Fu, three brothers; the elder was Chang Kiok, the second, Chang Pau, the third, Chang Liang. This Chang Kiok was not originally a Siu Tsai. He went on the mountains to gather medicinal herbs, and met with an old man, blue-eyed, and of a youthful countenance, holding in his hand a staff of the Li tree, who called Kiok to come to a cave, and gave him the Tien Shu (heavenly book), in three volumes, named the *Tai Ping You Sut*; saying, 'Take this, and on behalf of Heaven, teach and reform and save all the people: if there spring up (in you) a different heart, you will assuredly be punished.' Kiok respectfully inquired his surname and name; the old man said, 'I am a Nan Hwa-Laou Sien' (an ancient spirit). Having thus said, he was transformed into a gentle zephyr, and vanished.

"Chang Kiok's army first revolted on the borders of I Chiu. Liu Yen was the Tai Shiu of I Chiu, a man of Kiang Hia King Ling. When he heard of the rebel troops coming, he sum-

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moned the Kiau Wei Tsou Ching to consultation. Ching said, 'The rebel soldiers are many, mine are few; your Excellency ought immediately to call out a force equal to the enemy.' Liu Yen assented, and forthwith issued a proclamation for mustering all the militia. The proclamation reached Tuk Hien, and drew forth a brave man. This person was not fond of reading, but of a large and generous disposition; a man of few words, in whose countenance joy and fear were not expressed; naturally of a noble mind, and one who loved to form an alliance with all the wise and good men in the empire. He grew up to eight feet (six feet eight inches English) stature. His ears hung down upon his shoulders; his hands reached to his knees; his eyes could regard his ears; his countenance resembled the light pink jade-stone; his lips seemed painted with vermilion. He was a descendant of Liu Shin Chi, of the family of Ching Wang of Chung San, and a great grandson of the Emperor King of the Han dynasty; his surname was Liu, his name Pi, and his literary name Hiuen Teh. Hiuen Teh's grandfather was Liu Hiung, his father Liu Fung, who filled the office of Hiau Lien, afterwards that of Li, and died early. Hiuen Teh being deprived of his father while young, served his mother with filial piety. The family being poor, he sold shoes and made mats for a livelihood. He dwelt at the village of Lau Sang Lin. On the south side of the house was a large mulberry-tree, above five changs (fifty Chinese feet—forty-one feet eight inches English) high, umbrageous like the cover of a carriage, and visible at a great distance. A sagacious person said, 'This family will certainly give birth to an honourable man.' Hiuen Teh, while a boy, was one day playing with the children of the village, under the tree, and said, 'I will be emperor!' His uncle, Liu Yuan Ki, astonished at his saying, said, 'This is no ordinary child;' and, seeing Hiuen Teh's family was poor, frequently gave him money. When fifteen years old, his mother sent him to school. His teachers were Chin Hiuen and Lu Chit. The celebrated Kung Sun San, with his companions, were his friends.

"When Liu Yen issued the proclamation for mustering the army, Hiuen Teh was in his twenty-eighth year. On reading the proclamation he heaved a sigh; a person immediately behind him said with a loud voice, 'Young man, you are not putting forth your strength in the cause of the emperor, why then do you sigh?' Hiuen turning round, saw a person eight feet (six feet eight inches English) high, having a leopard's head, round eyes, a swallow forehead, and a tiger's beard, whose voice was like a peal of thunder, and his carriage like a running horse. Hiuen Teh, perceiving his strange appearance,

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inquired his surname and name. The man said his surname was Chang, name Fei, literary name, Yeh Teh. His family dwelt at Tuk kun; he had a farm, sold wine, and killed pigs, and loved to have intercourse with all the wise and good in the empire. 'Just now,' said he, 'perceiving you looking at the proclamation, and hearing you sigh, I asked the cause.' Hiuen Teh said, 'My kindred are of the honourable house of Han: my surname is Liu, and name Pi: having just heard the Yellow Turbans are in open rebellion, I wished to crush the insurgents, and to tranquillize the people, but regretting that my strength is inadequate, therefore I sighed deeply.' Fei said, 'I have a little money; we must muster all our brave townsmen, and then, can we not together achieve something noble?' Hiuen was much delighted; they entered the village tavern together, and drunk wine. While over their cups, they saw a stout man pushing a hand carriage up to the tavern door, where he halted, and entering, sat down and called the landlord to be quick and bring him some wine to drink, saying, 'I must immediately go into the city and join the army.' Hiuen Teh looked upon this man, who was nine feet high, had a beard two feet long, a face like a ripe date, and ruddy lips, eyes of the scarlet fung, and eyebrows like sleeping silkworms. His aspect and form were noble and majestic. Hiuen beckoned him to sit down with them, and inquired his surname and name; he replied, 'My surname is Kwan, name I, literary name, Siu Chang, afterwards changed to Yun Chang, a Kiai Liang man, of Ho Tung province. Because a rich man of my place, presuming on his power, insulted me, I slew him and fled, and have been wandering about the country five or six years. I have just heard that the army is mustering here, and have merely come at the call of duty.' Hiuen Teh then opened his mind to him, which greatly delighted Yun Chang. They went together to Chang Fei's house, and consulted about this important affair. Fei said, 'There is a peach tree behind my house, and a garden in full bloom; to-morrow, let us sacrifice to heaven and earth, and let us three men enter into a covenant of brotherhood, uniting our strength and hearts; afterwards we may take counsel and achieve some heroic deeds.' Hiuen Teh and Yun Chang, with one voice, approved, saying, 'This is very good!' On the following day, a black cow and white horse were prepared and sacrificed in the garden. The three men burned incense, reverently worshipped, and took an oath, saying, 'Liu Pi, Kwan I, and Chang Fei; although of different surnames, are now united as brethren, joined hand and heart, to save in affliction, and to support in peril. We will uphold the emperor and give peace to the people. We do

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not inquire if we were born in the same year, the same month, or on the same day; we only desire to die the same year, the same month, the same day. May the supreme heaven and the deep earth behold and establish our hearts; he that proves treacherous and ungrateful, may heaven and men join in his destruction!' The oath being ended, they honoured Hiuen Teh, as elder brother, Kwan I, as second brother, and Chang Fei, as younger brother. The sacrifices to heaven and earth being completed, they again killed a cow, brought wine, and assembled all the valiant men of the district, amounting to above three hundred. All drank freely. Next day, they prepared their weapons, and only regretted they had no horses to ride: while thinking about this, a man reported that two strangers, attended by servants, leading a troop of horses, had just come up to the house. Hiuen Teh said, 'Thus heaven helps us!' The three brothers went out to receive the strangers, who were merchants from Chung Shan; the name of one was Chang Si Ping, the other, Su Sang. Every year they travelled northward to sell their horses; this year they returned, on account of the rebels rising up. Hiuen Teh invited the two men to his house and treated them with wine, telling how they wished to punish the rebels. The strangers were delighted to hear of it, and gladly made them a present of fifty horses, and also gave them five hundred taels of gold and silver, and also a thousand pounds of steel for making weapons. Hiuen Teh thanked the strangers, and ordered a skilful smith to make a pair of double-edged swords. Fung Chang made an azure coloured dragon and moon ornamented scimitar, and named it Ling Yen ki (*i. e.* cold-shining cutter); the weight of it was eighty-two catties. Chang Fei made an 18-feet well-tempered spear. Each being equipped with his weapons and a coat of mail, they assembled all the brave men of the village, amounting to more than five hundred persons, and came to see Tsou Ching. Tsou Ching took them to see the Tai Shiu, Liu Yen. The three men being introduced and the surname and name of each announced, Hiuen Teh said, 'They (*i. e.* himself and the Tai Shiu) were branches of the same family;' Liu Yen was very glad, and immediately acknowledged Hiuen Teh as his kinsman. Not many days after, a man reported that the chief of the yellow-turbaned robbers, Ching Yuan Chi, with a band of fifty thousand men, had come to open insurrection at Tuk kun. Liu Yen ordered Tsou Ching to lead Hiuen and his two companies, with their band of five hundred men, and go forth to subdue the robbers. Hiuen was well pleased to receive orders to advance first to attack the rebels, and immediately came to the foot of the

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Tai Hiu mountain, in front of the rebels. All the rebels had dishevelled hair and yellow handkerchiefs bound about their foreheads. The two armies immediately joined; Hiuen Teh pushed on his horse, having Yun Chang on his left, and Yeh Teh on his right; then shaking his whip with great indignation, said, 'You rebellious and traitorous robbers! why have you not submitted before?' Ching Yuan, in great anger, ordered his Fu Chang Teng Mou, to go forth to battle. Chang Fei, grasping his 18-feet serpent spear, met him, and at one thrust pierced Teng Mou in the pit of the stomach, who reeled and fell down from his horse. Ching Yuang Chi seeing Teng Mou fall, struck his horse, brandished his sword, and made directly for Chang Fei. Fun Chang, brandishing his scimitar, spurred his horse, and flew to meet him. Ching Yuan Chi seeing him coming, was panic-struck, lost his grasp, and, by one stroke of Fun Chang's scimitar, fell, severed in two pieces.

"The rebel troops seeing Ching Yuan Chi killed, threw down their weapons and fled. Hiuen Teh wheeled his army and pursued them; those who submitted were innumerable. Having gained a great victory, he returned: Liu Yen himself came out to meet him, and rewarded the meritorious soldiers. The next day he received a letter from Kiung King, the Tai Shiu, of Ching Chiu, saying, that 'The Yellow Turbans had besieged the city; the danger was imminent, and he begged for assistance.' Liu Yen and Hiuen Teh consulted together. Hiuen Teh said, 'I will go to save him.' Liu Yen ordered Tsou Ching to take five thousand soldiers, and accompany Hiuen Teh and Kwan Chang to Ching Chiu. When the rebels saw a rescuing army approach, they divided their soldiers and fought confusedly. Hiuen Teh having few soldiers, and not being able to conquer, retreated thirty Li, and halted. Hiuen Teh spoke to Kwan and Chang, saying, 'The rebels are many and we few, we must send forth soldiers for surprise, then we may get the victory.' They immediately divided. Kwan Kung took a thousand men and lay in ambush in the mountain, on the left side; Chang Fei led a thousand men, and lay in ambush in the mountain on the right side. The beating of the gong was the appointed signal for a general attack. The next day, Hiuen Teh and Tsou Ching led on their divisions, the drums beating as they advanced. The whole of the relief army gave battle. Hiuen Teh falling back with his division, the rebels, confident of their strength, pursued them. Having passed the summit of the mountain, Hiuen Teh's soldiers beat the gong. Suddenly, from the left and right, two armies came forth. Hiuen Teh wheeled his army round, and the slaughter commenced. An

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attack being made on the rebels on three sides at once, they were completely routed, and fled down to the city of Ching Chiu. The Tai Shiu, Kiung King, led forth the people and soldiers from the city, and strengthened the battle. The rebel force was greatly cut up, and a vast multitude was wounded and killed. Ching Chiu was thus speedily relieved from the siege.

"Kiung King having rewarded the soldiers, Tsou Ching wished to return; Hiuen Teh said, 'I have just heard that the Chung Long Tsian, Lou Chit, is fighting with the rebel chief Chang Kiok, at Kwang Tsung; Lou Chit was formerly my teacher, and now I should like to go and help him.' On this, Tsou Ching returned with his army; Hiuen Teh and Kwan Chang, led their band of 500 men to Kwang Tsung; finding Lou Chit with his army, they entered his tent and saluted him. On telling him wherefore they were come, he was much pleased, and detained them in front of his tent to hear the news. At that time, Chang Kiok's rebel multitude was fifteen myriads, Lou Chit's soldiers five myriads; on joining battle at Kwang Tsung, it could not be seen who was conqueror. Lou Chit, addressing Hiuen Teh, said 'I am now besieging the rebels here; the two younger brothers of the Chief are fighting with Fang Pu Siang and Chu Tsin, at Yin Chuan. You may take your own men and horse, and I will assist you with 1000 imperial troops, and go forth to Yin Chuan, to reconnoitre; at an appointed time seize, and destroy.' Hiuen Teh received the orders, led his army by night and came to Yin Chuan. Where Fang Pu Siang and Chu Tsin engaged with the rebels; the latter gaining no advantage by fighting, retreated to Chang Shi, and made grass tents. Siang and Tsing consulted, saying, 'The rebels are making grass tents, we must attack them with fire,' and immediately gave command to all the army that each man should bind a wisp of grass and lurk in a secret place. The same night a great wind suddenly arose; about the second watch the fire burst forth; Siang and Tsin each led his soldiers to attack the rebel encampment, while the fire blazed up to heaven. The robbers were all in consternation; horses without saddles, and men without armour, fled in all directions. The slaughter continued till break of day. Chang Liang and Chang Pau led off the remnant of their force, and gaining the road, were escaping, when suddenly appeared a troop of horsemen with red banners, coming right ahead, to intercept the fugitives.

"The captain of this troop of horse was seven feet high, had small eyes and a long beard; he filled the office of Ki Tu Wei, a man of Pei Kwoh Chiau Kun, his surname Tsau, name Tsau, and literary name Mung Teh. Tsau, in his youth, loved hunting, and was fond

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of music and dancing; he was constantly playing his tricks, and full of mischief. Tsau had an uncle, who, perceiving him to be of a roving, unsettled spirit, was angry with him, and told his father, Tsau Siang, to rebuke him. Tsau's heart instantly devised a trick; seeing his uncle coming, he fell down feigning to be in a fit of epilepsy. His uncle was alarmed, and told his father Siang, who hastened to see him, when lo! Tsau was quite well again. Siang said, 'Your uncle tells me you are in a fit; how is it you are well so soon?' Tsau said, 'Aforetime your child had not this sickness, it is because I have lost all love for my uncle, and therefore seemed stupid.' Siang believed his words. Afterwards, his uncle merely said, 'Tsau is in fault,' and Siang paid no attention, therefore Tsau got his desires, and was indulged in evil. At that time there was a man named Kiau Hiuen, who spoke to Tsau, saying, 'The empire is breaking out into rebellion; there is no gifted hero of the present generation; none who is able to quell the rising spirit and give peace to the people, except your son.' Ho Yung, of Nan Yang, seeing Tsau said, 'The house of Han is falling, the tranquillizer of the empire is *this man*.' Hi Chiau, of Yu Nan, was a discerner of men's characters. Tsau went to see him, and asked, saying, 'What sort of a man shall I be?' Chiau making no answer, Tsau again questioned him; Chiau replied, 'You are an able minister for ruling the age; a daring hero in a rebellious generation!' Tsau heard his words with great delight. When twenty years old, he became Ki Hiau Lien, and also the Peh Tu Wei of Lang Chu Loh Yang. On entering into office, he immediately prepared ten cudgels of five various colours, and placed them at the four gates of Hien, and punished all that were disobedient and refactory, without respect of persons. The uncle of Kien Shih, a Chung Chang Shi Mandarin, was walking abroad by night with his sword. Tsau being on his nightly round, seized and punished him. On this account, no one, either in or out of the city, dared to be disobedient. Tsau's name was feared more and more, and afterwards he became Sun Ping Ling. Because of the rising of the yellow turbans, he was honoured with the title of Ki Tu Wei, and led an army of 5,000 horse and foot. He came first to assist in the war at Yin Chuan, and just as Chang Liang and Chang Pau were beaten and flying, Tsau Tsau surrounded them. A great slaughter was made, 10,000 heads were cut off; many standards and colours, gongs, and drums, and a multitude of horses, were captured. Chang Liang and Chang Pau fought desperately, and escaped. Tsau seeing Fang Pu Siang and Chu Tsin, immediately led their soldiers and pursued Chang Liang and Chang Pau. It is said that Hiuen Teh, on coming to Yin Chiu with Kwang

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and Chang, heard the sound of battle, and saw the fire blazing up to heaven, and while pressing forward with his force, the rebels were beaten and scattered. Hiuen Teh, seeing Fang Pu Siang and Chu Tsin, informed them of Lou Chit's intention. Siang said, 'Chang Liang and Chang Pau's force is greatly reduced and their strength almost gone; they will go to Kwang Tsung in hope of Chang Kiok's help. Hiuen Teh may go immediately to strengthen the battle against them.' Hiuen Teh received the command, and forthwith led his soldiers back. When half way, he saw a guard of horsemen accompanying a cage cart; the prisoner in the cart was Lou Chit. Hiuen, in great surprise, alighted from his horse and inquired the reason; Lou Chit said, 'I had surrounded Chang Kiok, and was on the point of capturing him, when he used divination, so that I could not conquer him. The emperor sent the Hwang Num, Tso Fung, first to go and inspect; he asked me for a bribe; I answered, saying, The soldier's pay is scanty, how should I have any money left to give to the imperial messenger? Tso Fung was angry and returned to the emperor, saying, I remained in a high fort without fighting, and had a lazy soldier's heart. On hearing this, the emperor's anger kindled, and he sent the Chung Lang general, Tung Tsuh, to take my place and command the soldiers. I was ordered back to the capital to be tried.' Chang Fei, hearing this, was very angry, and wished to kill the military escort and save Lou Chit. Hiuen Teh restrained him, saying, 'The emperor himself has given orders, how then can you act disorderly towards the soldiers who are escorting Lou Chit?' Kwan Kung said, 'Chung Lang has taken the command of the soldiers, let us go, for there is no one to depend on, otherwise return to Tukkun.' Hiuen Teh assented, and they immediately led their army northward; having scarcely marched two days, they suddenly heard a great voice behind a mountain. Hiuen Teh headed Kwan and Chang, and spurred on his horse to the summit of the hill, when he beheld the imperial army routed; behind the mountain and plain, was covered with the yellow turbans. On a banner was incribed, in large characters, Tien Kung Chang Kun. Hiuen Teh said, 'This is Chang Kiok, let us hasten to the battle.' The three men flew on their horses, at the head of their soldiers, and immediately Chang Kiok was beaten. Tung Tsuh, rallying his force, pursued the enemy, and joining the three heroes, renewed the attack with them. Chang Kiok's army was routed, and fled in confusion, fifty Li. The three men having saved Tung Tsuh, returned to the camp."

The emperor, it is said, at first loaded the brotherhood with

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honours, and bestowed on it as signal marks of his imperial favour, a sword weighing two catties and thirteen taels, with an iron seal; but afterwards, alarmed at their rising power and influence, he massacred most of them, and dispersed the rest, after a determined resistance on the part of the brethren. From the remnant that escaped the edge of the sword, the present numerous association has its rise. In the *Peking Gazette*, dated October 7, 1817, we find it stated that this society then prevailed much in Canton, and that the new viceroy, *Yuen Tajin*, had commenced with much severity against them; that two or three thousand had been recently apprehended, and that at the rite of initiation into the society, which is performed at night, they make a paper effigy of the reigning emperor, and require the novice to cut it into pieces. It is not unreasonable to infer that the Chinese colonists at Malacca, in Java, Borneo, and other parts of the Indian Archipelago, at an early period, after emigration, would find the advantages of binding themselves together as a means of defence and self-protection in a foreign land; many of them had probably been members of associations already alluded to in their native land Hence the numerous *kongsis*, or public clubs, into which we find them invariably linked, particularly at the mines and plantations in the interior. Be that as it may, the particular tenets of the secret society of *Tien-ti-huih* have, of late years, gained ground. According to the calculation of a Chinese (himself one of the fraternity), the number of sworn brethren in our settlements in the Straits, cannot be less than seven thousand. During the Dutch administration, it was nearly broken up, but has, however, again reared its head under the more lenient and perhaps too liberal policy of the English. Shortly after taking possession of Malacca, in 1825, they became so numerous and riotous, as to excite the attention of government, as the following extract from a *Malacca Observer* of 1826, will evince:—

"Towards the evening of Thursday, the 12th inst., an unpleasant occurrence took place, attended with some alarm, amongst the inhabitants of Malacca. There exists in China, and in all colonies where the Chinese settle, a society, or brotherhood, the nature and object of which we shall explain below. A party of this society, about forty in number, principally composed of men from the plantations, were assembled at a Chinaman's house, in order to celebrate the anniversary of the birth-day of one of their leaders, and after eating and drinking, became very noisy and quarrelsome. The constable of police understanding this, went in to quiet them, but met with a very unceremonious reception, as one of the Chinese struck him with a stick over the eye. The constable, however, seized one of

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them, and brought him to the fiscal's house. On hearing the circumstance, Mr. Minjoot repaired to the spot, but seeing so large a number exhibiting an unruly spirit, he proceeded to inform the resident, in company with the captains of the Chinese and Clings. Our resident immediately came himself, attended by a small guard of peons. Entering the house, he seized a man pointed out by the constable, and delivered him over to the custody of the peons. Two others were subsequently apprehended, and confined in jail. As one of the objects of the brotherhood is mutual defence and assistance, in similar and in all cases, government was apprehensive that the body would create some disturbance during the night, on which account the fiscal was allowed a small guard of sepoys at his house, while the watch was doubled, and the captains, or chiefs, of the Malays and Clings, had bodies of their own people to protect their houses. The night, however, passed over without any alarming occurrence taking place. On the following Saturday, the four Chinamen were examined before the court; one of them was released, there being no material charge against him, while the man who struck the constable was sentenced to two years hard labour in irons, another to six months, and the other to three. The Chinese may thank their stars for being dealt with so leniently, for had the circumstance taken place in China, and they known to be of the brotherhood, the whole body would have been been seized and decapitated. The law in China against them is very severe, and it is said that, last year, a society to the amount of four hundred, were apprehended and decapitated. The Chinese being freed from the oppression which they experience in their own country, imagine that when they come under British dominion, they are at liberty to act as they please.

"We understand that two men, who are known to be leaders, have been bound over to be answerable in case of any future disturbance. It is reported that the brotherhood are able to muster four thousand strong from the different plantations and tin mines in the interior, added to those at Malacca itself. They are all either Canton or Macao men, no Fokien man being allowed to enter their body, as the natives of that province speak another dialect. This society, of late, has increased so considerably in Malacca, as to assume an alarming aspect in the eyes of some. They carry on their plots and meetings with such secresy, that for years the local government have never been able to discover any clue whereby to apprehend them or their leaders, of whom, it is said, there are now five. It is well known that several murders have been committed by them;

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among which was one that occurred about two years ago, on the body of a Chinese barber; the murderer, it is said, was seized, but through the assistance of his brethren, effected his escape to the tin mines, without the Malacca district. Two of the leaders are also said to have hung up and beaten to death, at one of the plantations, two unfortunate Chinese, who were suspected of treason towards the brotherhood. An instance occurred a few months ago, within our own knowledge, which fully convinces us of the nature of this society. A Chinese became obnoxious to the chief leaders, on account of his taking part with the above mentioned barber, who was murdered. Being at the tin mines at Loocoot, the leader fixed a price on his head, and as mostly all the miners belong to this society, he became their marked object. Being apprised of their murderous designs, he contrived to make his escape, but not before notice was given to his enemies, who had previously dug a pit in the pathway to prevent the accomplishment of his design. Being hard pressed by two or three of them, armed with swords, he unfortunately fell into the pit of which he was not aware, but recovering himself by means of his arms, he was springing up again, when a man from behind made a deadly blow at his head, which, however, he avoided, by dexterously inclining to one side. The blow fell on his arm, and made a deep gash between the wrist and the elbow. He, nevertheless, got up, and after several more wounds, principally on his legs, finally escaped to Malacca. But even here he was not safe, for the diabolical vengeance of the bandit followed hard upon him, and he was obliged to conceal himself, most secretly, for several months. His wounds were seen, and he was taken before the police magistrate, who examined into the case, and from his previous knowledge of the brotherhood, had every reason to credit the man's story. At his own most earnest solicitation, he was conveyed on board the H.C.S. 'Java,' which delivered him from the murderous hatred of the brotherhood at Malacca.

"It is commonly reported of their chief leader, whose name is Kwang San, that in order to make himself ferocious, he once drank gall taken out of a murdered man's body, mixed with wine, and that his appearance in every way corresponds with his mind. He resides principally at the tin mines at Loocoot (Lukut), but occasionally comes down to Malacca, secretly."

The finances of this branch received a severe shock in the attack which the Malays made upon them at the tin mines of Sungie-ujong in 1828, by which was lost the whole of the common treasure, and many lives. In consequence of this blow, the brethren could not

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afford to keep up the large house where they were accustomed to hold their meetings at Malacca. In September, 1834, they revenged themselves on the Malays, by rising upon the inhabitants of Lukut one rainy night, firing the houses and plundering and murdering every man, woman, and child they could lay hands upon. Twanku Boosu, the chief of the tin mines, in which the Chinese were employed, and a near relation of the present king of Salangore, fell under their butchering hands. The whole of his property, amounting, it is said, to upwards of twenty thousand dollars, in gold dust and cash, besides a large quantity of jewels, and trinkets of gold and silver, were carried off to Malacca, where the law not being able to reach them, in consequence of the crime having been perpetrated beyond the British frontier, they enjoyed the fruits of their villany with impunity. It is said that great part of the property, acquired by such nefarious means, went to enrich the common treasure of the fraternity. A portion was employed in erecting two houses for their public use, one at the second Trangueira bridge, and another at Kubu. The day on which the tidings of this successful outrage was conveyed to Malacca appeared, from the way in which the houses of many of the members were illuminated, to be one of common rejoicing. The mines of Lukut have again been occupied by a set of miners of the same fraternity. *Akwan*, the head, or *Tai-ko*, has been lately at Lukut, organizing them.

In Java, Rhio, and many other Dutch settlements, they have, from time to time, concocted dangerous conspiracies against government, and risen into open rebellion. At our own settlement o Penang, in 1799, the Kongsis uniting, set government at defiance, and were only reduced to subjection by the most vigorous measures. It came to light on the trial of the ringleaders, that they had bound themselves by the most solemn oaths to stand by each other to the last, in an attempt to shake off the British subjection, and render themselves an independent community. According to Major Low, Superintendent of Province Wellesley, the Chinese at the Battu Kawan sugar plantations nearly all belong to one Kongsi, and were very turbulent before 1829, having turned out on several occasions to the sound of a buffalo horn against the civil power. They were then armed with long wooden spears, the ends of which were hardened in the fire, and also with iron missiles, resembling a trident, the middle prong being longer than the other two. They are now comparatively quiet. The same intelligent observer, whose functions as a magistrate gave him many opportunities of observing the practical effects of these organizations at Penang, remarks, that

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when a Chinese is apprehended for, or accused of, a crime, however atrocious it may be, his whole Kongsi are unanimous in their endeavours to get him off. Subscriptions for counsel, high bribes to adverse witnesses to keep them away, and to forthcoming ones, to perjure themselves; dreadful threats to conscientious witnesses; and connivance at the escape or secreting of the accused, are the means resorted to as matters of course. When one Kongsi is opposed to another by the criminal accusation of an individual of one of them, no bounds can be assigned to the use which is made of these illegal means.

These combinations have not unfrequently interfered with the ends of justice, by deterring witnesses from giving evidence, or suborning false testimony, by persons declining to come forward themselves in cases where the interests of a member might be affected; and by screening and sheltering any of their fraternity, though guilty of the most heinous crimes. They are even strongly suspected of concerting and executing most daring robberies and murders, particularly at Singapore, where a large body resides among the jungles and fastnesses in the interior of the island. This body consists chiefly of the emigrants from Canton, and there does not exist much good-will between it and the Fokien society, lately established in the town of Singapore.

In Siam they were, till lately, strong enough to resist the exorbitant demands of the Siamese; but, according to Mr. Gutzlaff, a few years ago they conspired and seized upon some native craft at Bamplasoi, a place near the mouth of the Meinam, where they commenced retaliations on the Siamese, but were compelled to put to sea, on account of their provisions failing. They were pursued by a small Siamese squadron, overtaken and compelled to surrender; their leader escaped to Cochin China, but most of the brotherhood were either massacred or sent to prison for life. The Chinese who reside in the mother-country, affect to entertain a thorough detestation for these associations in the colonies, as the following curious statement (taken from the *Chinese Repository*) of a Chinese, will show :—

"This season a number of emigrants were returning from the 'Straits,' in an European ship. They saw the great Ladrone island, and their bosoms beat high with hope, that ere long, they would tread their native shores, meet their kindred, fathers, mothers, wives, children, sisters, and brothers; but a storm came on, and drove them out to sea; the masts were broken, and the spars killed a number of the high aspirants.

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"Those who lived to come on shore, tell a sad tale of the state of Chinese society in the Archipelago. Secret societies have arisen up in all the settlements, but they are all emanations of the Triad Society. They have secret signs and dark phrases, a circumstance that identifies them all with that odious fraternity. Of late, there has arisen a very large stock of this society, consisting of a great many men, extremely powerful and violent. They have assumed the names of the *hae-shan-hwuy*, 'the sea and land society,' and the *e-ching-hwuy*, 'the righteous[1] rising society.' These two associations are scattered over all the settlements, and they all obey the orders and restrictions of the heads of their respective societies, whom they call 'the great brother.' This stock is divided into four, eight, or twelve great stems, as the case may be, and from these stems there issue scores of branches. Every stem and every branch has its headman, who is designated senior brother.

"Emigrants from the hills of Tang (China), are called *Sinkih* (new comers—griffins). As soon as they arrive at any settlement, the brotherhood send persons to invite them to join the confederacy. If they decline, they are forthwith persecuted. However, the two above-named societies often wrangle, and if you belong to the one and not to the other, you are equally persecuted.

"Chinese coming from Bengal with a few hundred dollars, or a few thousands, which they may have saved, are inveigled by these banditti, to go to the hills and enjoy themselves in pleasure. When the strangers are brought to a solitary place, they are, probably, destroyed, and their property plundered. One half goes to the society, and the other goes to the captors. Thus it has often occurred, and the local magistrates have got some slight tidings of it, and have sent to seize the offenders. But (says our native writer, who has himself been many years in the Straits), the customs of the settlements are defective. They require witnesses before they dare convict of guilt. They dare not urge the question by torture; so that having one or two witnesses on one side, and a great multitude of sureties for the accused, on the other side, they will never convict. But the new-comer is a solitary individual, and if his native townsmen feel for him and desire to redress his grievances, one person alone goes to the magistrate to lodge a complaint, and hundreds, or thousands

[1] "This word *e*, righteous, is used by rebels to denote their setting up the standard of right against their unjust governors. *Hing*, also, often signifies a rising of troops. That the 'Triad Society' is, as far as China is concerned, combined for the destruction of the reigning monarchy, has been fully proved by MS. documents belonging to them, which have been found in Macao."

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of the brotherhood will come afterward to be surety for the accused. Often have the local magistrates been thus deceived and hoodwinked. And afterwards, those Chinese who had indicated feeling in behalf of the stranger, have been forced to leave the settlement speedily, to avoid the secret malice of the brotherhood."

The following information was collected from one of the brotherhood :—

Rules and Customs of the Brotherhood.

The rules and penalties of the *Tien-ti-huih*, (or as they style themselves "The Peach Garden Association,") are contained in one book, which is kept by the head of the society, whose title is *Tai-ko*, which signifies elder brother, and under whom are two subordinates, with the titles of *Ji-ko*, second brother, and *San-ko*, third brother. The duty of the last two persons is to assist the *Tai-ko* in governing the brotherhood, and to bring the person to be initiated into his presence. The *Tai-ko* conducts the novice by night before their tutelary idol, to the place of meeting. The sacred book of rules is opened, and placed before the idol, on the right and left of which four persons are stationed to hold the "*Tat*," (an arch formed of a number of swords, or scimitars.) The book, with a chalice containing a mixture of ardent spirit, &c., is placed on a table and brought to the person about to take the oaths underneath the glittering arch. The *Tai-ko* holding a sharp knife and seated on a sort of throne, now demands from the novice what is his wish; he answers, "To be enrolled among the members of the society." The *Tai-ko* then asks, "How is it possible for thee to enter, thou hast much to undergo[1]?" The novice replies, "I am a stranger, without parents, brothers, or sisters, therefore I entreat that you will henceforth be to me in their stead." The *Tai-ko* having demanded whether this asseveration be true three times successively, and having received affirmative responses, exclaims, in an impressive tone of voice, "If thou truly desirest to enter our brotherhood, it is necessary to take the solemn oaths before

[1] Amongst the secret tribunals of Germany, the candidate appears before the assembled brethren, and kneeling down bareheaded, takes a solemn oath of secresy on a naked sword and halter. After a variety of questions and the rites of initiation have been concluded, the president reveals to him the secret signs of recognition. The inauguration of the Templars was conducted in secret; none but the knights of the chapter were allowed to be present. Questions, similar to the above, were put to the candidate by the master, and an address made to him, warning him of the difficulties he would have to encounter.

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the idol." The *Bring-Brings* (large species of gongs) are now beaten; yellow paper is heaped up and set on fire,—the votary advances and prostrates himself thrice before the blazing pile in front of the idol. This done, the *Ji-ko* and *San-ko* approach and raise him up. The *Tai-ko* then descends from his seat and presents him with the chalice and knife; and having advised him that he will have to mingle his blood with the ardent spirit, administers the thirty-six oaths of the society, of which the following is a translation by Mr. Tomlin[1].

1st Oath. You must observe the rules [of the society], if you do not, may you die by the bite of a serpent!

2. You must not trust to your own strength and ill-treat a weak brother; he who does presume on his own strength and ill-treat a weak brother, let him die and no one bury him!

3. If brothers, nourished at the same breast, quarrel with brothers of the Hung family, you must help the Hung brethren, if you do not, may you die under 10,000 swords[2]!

4. If a brother come to your house and you have conjee[3], give him conjee to eat; if you have rice, let him eat rice. Treat him [according to your circumstances], if you do not, may you perish by a great ulcer!

5. If you go into a brother's house, and the brother have rice, eat rice; if he have [only] conjee, eat conjee, and do not speak disrespectfully [of his poor fare], if you do, then may you die a headless spirit! (*i. e.* decapitated.)

6. If a brother be in distress, relieve him; if calamities befall him, support him; if you do not, then may you perish in the great sea!

7. If a brother of the Hung family be gambling, you must not, agreeably to the rules [of the society], gamble at the same place; if you do, may you vomit blood and perish!

8. It is not permitted to speak carelessly about the affairs of the brotherhood, or to divulge the principal matters: he who acts thus disorderly, let him die by a random arrow!

9. (N.B. The place of the ninth oath was left blank in the Chinese copy.)

[1] Original in the Society's Library.

[2] An imprecation, taken from the *San Kwoh*, vol. ii. p. 13, small edition. The book of oaths is headed with the following preface:—"From the time of entering the *Hung-Mun* (door of the society) the customs and rules must be observed and the thirty-six oaths, and handed down to the descendants of the Hung-Kia." *Hung-Kia* literally signifies "the flood-family," and is a favourite name by which members of the *Tien-ti-huih* designate their society.

[3] Thick rice-water—the poor man's fare.

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10. If an aged mother hand down a girdle, you must not, through covetousness, sell it to another person; if you do, may you perish by a rocket (or great gun)!

11. If a brother be poor, you must help him; otherwise may you die on the road!

12. If you do not receive a brother's child, may you die!

13. He who behaves disorderly towards a brother's wife, let him die by divine justice (Tien Kung), or may he be struck by a thunderbolt!

14. If a brother on a journey have business (or be in distress,) and you do not help him, may you perish at the bottom of the sea!

15. If a brother be sick and supplicate help; if you do not help him, may you die by divine justice (*i. e.* by a thunderbolt)!

16. If a brother be dead and you are earnestly invited to come; if you do not come [to the funeral] may you die at the bottom of the sea!

17. If a brother love wine and is not obedient to the headman, cut off the rim of his ear!

18. If a brother sell opium, and the Kung Sze (headman) be informed of it, cut off both ears!

19. If one brother doubt [the veracity of] another, give him 108 strokes!

20. If a brother die in a foreign country and there is not sufficient money for funeral expenses, whoever does not contribute something to assist, let him die childless!

21. If a brother, in distress, come to the house of another, they must eat and drink together; he who does not assist, let him die midway on his journey!

22. If a brother do not take care of his mother, give him thirty-six strokes of the bamboo!

23. He who commits adultery with a brother's wife, let him be run through with a sword!

24. Brethren should be harmonious and not fight with each other; if they do, give them ninety-six strokes!

25. If a member act meanly and do not respect a brother's word, let him have 108 strokes of the red wood[1]!

(N.B. The twenty-fifth seems a mere repetition of the nineteenth.)

26. If a brother wish to borrow money to send to China, and you do not lend him some, may you die an orphan's death!

27. If a brother when travelling act disorderly, and be not

[1] A heavy wood, well known at Malacca.

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obedient [to his superiors or the rulers] give him thirty-two strokes of the red wood !

28. If a brother be disobedient, after being taught and admonished, give him ninety-six strokes !

29. A member who does not attend a brother's marriage when he has leisure, shall receive twelve strokes !

30. If a brother send a letter by another brother, and the latter do not deliver it to his family, may he fall into the water and the fish eat him up !

31. A brother must nourish another brother [in time of need], if you have food, you must share it with him ; if you do not, may a tiger devour you !

32. If you come and lodge for a night at an inn kept by a brother, and do not pay him two cash, when you die may no one receive your corpse !

33. If you have a junk, and a brother be going to another country, you must give him a passage !

(N.B. No penalty is annexed to this and the following.)

34. If a brother be disabled in his hands or feet, you must draw out your purse and help him to buy food !

35. If a brother die and have no money to erect a tombstone, each brother must contribute something ; he who refuses, let him die solitary !

36. He who mentions these thirty-six oaths of the brotherhood, must have two hundred and sixteen strokes of the red wood.

The book of rules is then read as follows[1] :—

1. " Be careful not to divulge the customs of the society.

2. " In business, do not transgress the customs or violate the rules."

A person who has some knowledge of the society, says, the import of this rule is " you must not be idle."

3. " Take care not to steal.

4. " Hands and feet are intimately connected," *i. e.* members of the society must render mutual assistance, like hands and feet.

5. " Don't form improper connexions," *i. e.* with each other's wives.

[1] " This book of rules is kept by the *Tai-ko*. The strict and often literal sense of the original Chinese, is first given within inverted commas, their explaining paraphrases by myself, or others, are subjoined. Such as are regularly headed by the word ' comment,' were given by an initiated Chinese to Lieut. Newbold."—*Note appended by Mr. Tomlin to his translation.*

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6. "He who has [money] must assist him who has none.

7. "Support the sick.

8. "It is not allowed to give privately."

Comment of an initiated.—In all cases to assist with the knowledge of the *Tai-ko*, or head brother.

9. "Foundation and summit must be carefully concealed," or from beginning to end, all must be kept secret.

Comment.—Carefully keep the seal and do not show it, nor explain the order of its symbols.

10. "All must give alms.

11. "Guard the door-way, and every one keep a watchful eye [upon it]."

Comment.—Take care of a brother's house in his absence.

12. "When anything is stolen, do not go and secretly conceal it."

Comment.—To restore property stolen from a brother.

13. "Take care of, and nourish, what is entrusted to you.

14. "If [a poor brother] be gone amongst the spirits (*i. e.* dead), assist to bury him.

15. "Wives and children of superiors [being members of the society] must be treated with respect.

16. "On entering the door, remember what quarter [of the compass] it faces."

'Cautioning a thief for his escape," says one who has some knowledge of the society.

17. "Do not presume on your strength and despise the weak."

Comment.—A rich brother not to despise a poor one.

18. "Without respect to great or small, maintain justice, and do what is right."

Comment.—The *Tai-ko* always to decide with impartiality.

19. "Lend to the poor; turn over your chest [of money] and help him."

Comment.—Lend a tenth of all you possess to a poor brother.

20. "The little book do not deliver to others."

N.B. The Chinese characters bear two interpretations, "your own child" and "little book."

Comment.—Not to allow any person to see the seal or the rules.

21. "When brethren are in distress, do not make it known."

Comment.—In case of the intended apprehension of a brother, or any evil likely to befal him, give him timely warning, and discover not his place of retreat.

22. "The red flower, you must not receive and wear it."

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Comment.—Not to take a bribe to apprehend a brother.

23. "If a brother come from a distance, treat him hospitably with wine and beef.

24. "If wife and children [of a brother] be entrusted, receive them with due respect, and treat them hospitably.

25. "Coming or going, going out or entering, you must give evidence," (*i. e.* probably) must show a sign of brotherhood.

26. "Carefully remember any secret intelligence."

The full meaning probably is, remember not to divulge any important communication made to you which ought to be kept secret.

Comment.—Not to mention any transaction which takes place with the *Tai-ko* and yourself.

27. "A treasury must be accumulated for necessary repairs."

Comment.—The treasure not to be used except for public purposes—repairs of society's house, &c.

28. "The custom is two dollars. Those who are rich, may give as much [more] as they please."

Comment.—To pay not less than two dollars as an admission fee.

29. "Must not sell your clothes."

Comment.—When speaking of the rules and seal to call them "a jacket;" for instance, if one ask another whether he has got these articles, he must ask him if he has got "a jacket."

30. "If a brother be running away in distress, assist him with all your strength, to escape through the city gates."

Comment.—If a brother commit murder, or any great crime, you must not deliver him for apprehension, but afford him the means of escape from the country.

31. "[Brothers] meeting on the road, and not recognising each other, must inquire the year and month."

Comment.—Two brothers meeting must recognise each other by signals, such as mentioning the days and months fixed for meeting, &c. &c.

32. "First month, fifteenth day, make offerings [to the gods].

33. "Seventh month, fifteenth day, rejoice and make offerings.

34. "On the appointed day, the headman must come before the offerings be made."

Comment.—The *Tai-ko*, or elder brother, to be present first on these occasions, and to conduct the ceremonies.

35. "Go up to the hall of public assembly and let [a matter] be there first judged."

Comment.—In all cases of quarrels, to apply to the *Tai-ko*, before bringing any matter to be judged by the authorities of the place.

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36. "When a person has entered this society, he must not turn and go out."

Comment.—Never to forsake the society, nor to become a member of another.

Such are the thirty-six rules. The novice then declares, "If I violate any of the rules contained in this book, may my days be shortened."

With the knife he makes an incision into his finger, and allows three drops of blood to fall into the chalice of spirit. The three officials do so likewise, and, having mingled the blood and spirit together, drink each a portion thereof, all standing. This concludes the ceremony. It has been said that a cock is sacrificed on this occasion, a solemn mode of imprecation among the Chinese, though by no means so terrible as the oath taken over human blood.

Secret Signs.

Among the secret signs of recognition, is—the mutual production of the seals impressed on red cloth, which are generally carried concealed about the person; but signs are more frequently resorted to, known only to the initiated, viz. that made on entering a house with their queue (Taou-San), by taking it in the right hand and twisting it from left to right; the method of setting an umbrella down, or of pulling on their clothes, of lifting up a cup to drink tea or arrack, which they have been observed to do invariably with three fingers[1]. To these signals the owner of the house replies by asking the traveller if he has come from *Tien-fung* (the East). Should the answer be in the affirmative, they become sworn friends. It has also been said that when two strangers meet on the road, the one, if a brother, will accost the other with "From whence come you?" the other, if a brother, will answer from *Ko-kay* (literally, brother's family), and will inquire, in his turn, "How heavy is your load?" The other will then give the countersign, "Two catties and thirteen taels," *i. e.* the weight of the sword presented to the emperor of the celestial dominions to the society in China, or, according to others, the weight of the vase of ashes which originally stood in front of the idol. A brother is also known, when he wishes to be recognised, by taking his right arm from its sleeve, and thrusting it through the opening in the front of his *baju*, or vest, (the empty sleeve is confined under the left arm,) or, by stating that he prays on the ninth, the fifteenth, and the twenty-fifth of every month. On the interchange of one or

[1] One of the secret signs of the Fehm-Gerichte, of Germany, was turning the point of their knives when at table towards themselves.

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more of these signs, a brother is recognised in whatever country he may be travelling, and entitled to every hospitality and assistance he may require. Should he wish to borrow money from another, on entering the house, he will take up a cup of tea or arrack (of which a Chinaman's house is seldom destitute), and, without drinking, place it at the corner of the table. If the owner of the house be willing to lend the sum, he must take up the cup and drink off its contents, if not, he places the cup in the middle of the table without tasting.

Constitution of the Malacca Ramification.

The brotherhood, as stated before, is ruled by three heads, *viz.* the *Tai-ko*, the *Ji-ko*, and the *San-ko*; there is also a treasurer, whose duty is strictly confined to the charge of the funds of the society, under the direction and superintendence of the three named officials, but who has no power or voice in the general direction of affairs. The functions of the three first named officers are, as far as can be learned, the charge of the book of rules and records, the settling of disputes, the management of the funds, the election, instruction in the rules, and swearing in of the new members, and the conducting of the public meetings, and religious ceremonies. They have power to punish as the rules lay down. In their records the name of every person initiated, the sum paid, and the date, are all carefully entered. Over the different branches of the society at Lukut, Sungie-ujong, &c., are *Hiuyens*, or headmen, who communicate regularly with the head quarters at Malacca. The brotherhood at Malacca possess three houses, one of which is used as their place of rendezvous, and the receptacle of the idols and treasure. The treasure is accumulated by donations of two dollars paid by each member on entering. The funds are appropriated to keep the place of meeting in repair, to defray the expenses of their orgies, and for the objects previously mentioned. They have an annual general meeting during the ninth Chinese moon, to celebrate the anniversary of their tutelary hero's birth-day. The expenses of the entertainment on this occasion are defrayed by voluntary contributions from the members, not less, it is said, than one Java rupee from each individual. I am not aware of their having any other public meetings, except at the installation of a new member, which is always done at night. Each member has a copy of the rules, and the impression of a seal filled with Chinese characters and emblems: the latter are described on a piece of red cloth or silk, which they are obliged to produce on

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stated occasions, and which, in fact, constitutes their diploma. Their oaths, it is said, are renewed every year.

The rendezvous at Malacca, at which I gained admittance in 1835, is a large house having no windows on the lower story, the apartments of which were unfurnished, and appeared to be unoccupied. Passing up a flight of stairs I was ushered by the officiating Chinese into a spacious apartment, opening out, on one side, on a planked terrace: this admitted the light, there being no windows. The walls were ornamented with long slips of variously coloured paper, covered with inscriptions and devices, in the Chinese character. On the side facing the terrace, was suspended the picture of the usual three personages to whom oblations are made; in front, enclosed in a glass case, stood a burning lamp, the flame of which, I was told, is never allowed to expire. Several vases of incense and ashes stood before it, with many fantastic devices. From the roof were suspended a number of lamps, and a handsome glass chandelier. Round the walls were ranged a variety of implements, among which I observed the frame of an enormous umbrella, wooden spears, swords, poles, &c., used in the nocturnal rites.

By Mr. Tomlin's translated extracts from the *San Kwoh* and the official MSS. of the brotherhood, it is evident that its origin is intimately connected with important political events narrated in the annals of the Chinese empire, which occurred at the downfall of the *Han* dynasty, about the commencement of the third century of the Christian era, in the person of *Hien-ti*, who eventually was deprived of his dominions by *Tsau-Tsau*, and the empire divided into the three kingdoms[1], viz. the northern kingdom named *Wei*, under *Tsau-Tsau*;

[1] "Il est vrai que du tems de Tchim-khis-khan, la Chine étoit partagée en septentrionale qui comprenoit environ le tiers de cet Empire, et en méridionale qui étoit composée des deux autres tiers. La septentrionale étoit possedée par un Empereur Tartare, et la méridionale par un Empereur Chinois, qui payoit un gros tribut au Tartare, qui par ce moyen pouvoit se dire Souverain du Khathaï, ou de la Chine entière. Pour bien comprendre ce partage de la Chine, il faut reprendre les choses de plus haut. Tçao-tçao, le plus fin politique de son siècle, pour m'exprimer à notre manière, et le plus grand fourbe qui fut jamais, pour parler comme les Chinois, s'étoit rendu maître de la personne de l'Empereur Han-hien-ti et de l'Empire. Les Hioum-nou (ce sont, à ce que je crois, les Huns), étant déchus de leur ancienne puissance, et divisés entre eux, vinrent se jetter entre ses bras, et lui demandèrent des terres. Tout le rafinement de sa politique ne put l'empêcher d'être la dupe des Tartares. Il fit pour lors à l'égard des Hioum-nou, en leur assignant des terres dans la partie septentrionale de la Chine, la même faute que fit l'Empereur Valens, 160 ans après, c'est-à-dire l'an 376, à l'égard des Gots, qu'il reçut dans la Trace. Tçao-tçao leur fit distribuer des terres dans d'excellens pays, l'an 216 de l'Ere Chrêtienne, pensant en faire un rempart à l'Empire, et à lui

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the eastern named *Woo*, under *Sun-Kwan*; and the western named *Shuh*, under *Liu-Pi*. *Liu-Pi* himself was of the *Han*, or Royal family, and the chief of the three original founders of the fraternity who entered into the solemn compact with the powers of heaven and earth in the peach garden. Many points of relation between old historical facts and the present rules, &c., of the society, have already been touched upon, and I scarcely need advert to the gross perversion that exists between the original and present principles, as apparent in the *San-Kwoh*, the record, the present rules, and the thirty-six oaths. The interpretation now given to certain passages will be more particularly obvious in the comments to the rules which were grounded on *vivâ voce* information, obtained from one of the initiated. The peach garden record is a document artfully put together, composed of such historical scraps as might tend to give a colouring of plausibility and authority to the rules and oaths, to which it is no doubt intended as a necessary prelude.

Oaths and Record.

With respect to the mode of administering the oaths, no authority for drinking human blood has been adduced from the *San-Kwoh*, or other historical works: it is therein merely stated that the three heroes sacrificed a black cow and a white horse in the peach garden[1] of Chang Fei to heaven and earth, and took a solemn oath to unite as brethren, in hand and heart, to save in affliction, to support in peril, to uphold the emperor, and to give peace to the people. The oath was concluded by the following solemn appeal: "May the supreme heaven and the deep earth behold and establish our hearts: he that proves treacherous or ungrateful, may heaven and men join in his destruction." The drinking of blood however (whether of man or beast, is not specified) is broadly assumed by the record, as a part of the ceremony preparatory to the horrid rite now in practice mentioned in p. 142. The rest of the brethren in partaking of and

un degré pour monter au Trône, ou son ambition le portoit depuis longtems. Ils se tinrent, près d'un siècle, en repos; ils rendirent même de bons services à l'Etat. Mais dès qu'ils virent leur nombre multiplié, et qu'ils eurent pris une connoissance parfaite des affaires de la Chine, ils deferèrent de pleine autorité à leur Chef le titre de Roy, l'an 304. Le succès enfla le courage au Chef, et il se fit proclamer Empereur quatre ans après."—*Observations sur la Chine, par* M. Claude Visdelou, p. 16.

[1] It is not a little curious that the secret societies of Germany used formerly to hold their meetings in orchards, gardens, or the neighbourhood of trees, from which they derived their distinctive appellations. For instance, the pear tree tribunal, &c.

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mingling the candidate's blood with their own, are supposed thereby to become, as though born of the same family, or of the same blood.

The following is the translation of the record by Mr. Tomlin :—

"*Record of the Ancient Peach Garden Association*[1]."

Page 1.

"The Peach Garden compact was between Liu-Pi, Kwan Kung, and Chang Fei; subsequently Chau Chi Liung entered the society.

"Perhaps some one may inquire about the origin of this association: it happened in a former year and there was a solemn oath taken.

Page 2.

"Kwan Kung takes leave of Tsau-Tsau.

"At the provincial city of Hi Chang, Kwan Kung took leave of Tsau-Tsau; having passed (forcibly) five city gates, and bravely slain six captains, he returned to Ku Shing, and there met the brethren with a pure heart and open countenance, indicative of sincerity.

Page 3.

"The Associated Brethren.

"The elder brother was Liu-Pi, his literary name, Hiuen Teh; the second brother was Kwan Kung, his literary name, Fun Chang; the third brother was Chang Fei, his literary name, Yih Teh.

Page 4.

"Heaven, Earth, Man.

"Heaven first produced water; earth next produced fire; man holds a middle place. These are the three ruling principles, called heaven, earth, man.

Page 5.

"A Map of the Three Kingdoms.

"Tsau-Tsau's kingdom was Wei[2]; Sun Kwan's kingdom was Woo[3]; Liu Pi's kingdom was Shuh[4].

[1] This is the title of the original MS. which evidently embodies the principal rules of the Tien-ti-huih, artfully interwoven with frequent allusions to the three celebrated heroes and their famous exploits, as recorded in the history called the *San Kwoh, or Three Kingdoms*. The whole is thrown into a poetical form, made up into a little book of twenty-four pages, as a convenient vademecum of each member of the Triad Society. (A copy of the original is in the Royal Asiatic Society's Library.)

[2] On the North. [3] On the East. [4] On the West.

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Page 6.

"If money come (or be obtained) dishonestly, the matter must be disclosed to the headman; the offender must be seized, strictly examined, and transported [returned to his own place]; then an oath must be taken as a proof of sincerity.

Page 7.

'Man's life, although long, does not fill up a hundred years. If he obey the laws of heaven and earth, when the day arrives that he sleeps in Nan Ho (Hades) his posterity [children and grandchildren] will have abundance of gold.

Page 8.

"If you meet a person travelling and do not recognise him, on coming home together and conversing about former events[1], if you clearly discover that his conduct is good, you may eat and drink together, and show him all due politeness.

Page 9.

'Before the gods let an oath be taken (of a person) that there is not a double mind [two hearts]; and (let it be ascertained) that previously, his conversation has been good, then from birth to death, he, as those that dwell in the same cottage, and become honourable brethren, are nearly related as bones and flesh.

Page 10.

"When there is not sufficient money to defray expenses, let there be mutual borrowing and lending. Brethren should assist one another in such a case, and make no inquiries except about the affairs of a former year and day. Do not assist sparingly, but liberally.

Page 11.

"On passing out of the province, or leaving the kingdom, I entrust my wife and children to a brother, after consulting about rendering mutual assistance, he takes care of my wife and children with a single heart. On returning, I have only to thank him for the favour

[1] The words "events or transactions of a former year" often occur in this MS. and therefore have probably a secret meaning. Perhaps they primarily refer to the ceremonies of the Peach Garden Association of the San Kwoh; and, secondarily, to those of the Triad Society of the present day; in both cases, they would be signs of recognition, understood only by the initiated.

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Page 12.

"(If a brother) be taking a journey of a thousand li, and has no money for expenses, the brethren must consult for his speedy departure; and having conversed about the affairs of a former year and day, he may cheerfully fly to any part of the world.

Page 13.

"If, when abroad, we do not recognise each other, you and I are like strangers; but, on speaking about certain events of a former year, we become related like streams from the same fountain head.

Page 14.

"At Hi Chang (Tsau-Tsau's residence), Kwan Kung reined his horse, passed five gates, and with his sword rushed on to battle and spread his fame abroad. Afterwards he attacked Tsau-Tsau's country, performed exploits, and released Tsau-Tsau[1] as a reward for former kindness.

Page 15.

"Koh Liang passed the river to form an alliance with all wise and good men. The good and bad came under the edge of his sword (*i. e.* submitted to him willingly, or reluctantly). Thy military exploits (O! Koh Liang) have come down to the present day. Afterwards at Si Chuen, he met with Luh Liang.

Page 16.

"The binding and Sacred Oath.

"Heaven is father; earth is mother; ancestors are stems; children and grandchildren are leaves. Trees have a root; waters have a fountain. The root (or rather stem), flowers and fruits, all spring from the [foundation] root.

Page 17.

"When the three surnames (Liu Pi, Kwan Kung, and Chang Fei), met on the road and made mutual inquiries at the peach garden, they became intimate relatives, like those nourished at the same breast; and (subsequently) though removed ten thousand li, they were harmoniously united in one family. Meeting again (after a long separation) they did not recognise each other's face, but on

[1] Tsau-Tsau had previously conquered and taken Kwan Kung captive, but released him. On the present occasion, Kwan Kung requites the favour by releasing Tsau-Tsau.

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asking about their respective families, and speaking about former events, discovered that they were the peach garden family.

Page 18.

"Although persons may not be born of the same father and mother, yet, when they drink blood and take the sacred oath, they are relations (*i. e.* become brethren), even when scattered abroad to the capital cities[1] and thirteen provinces[2], and travelling about to every place they have a sign of recognition.

Page 19.

"(When Liu Pi's) wife and children were made captives, and driven out of their district, Kwan Kung (being shut up in a small room with them) lighted a candle, (and sat reading at the door) till morning, and thus spread his fame (for valour and chastity). When the brethren (afterwards) met at the Peach Garden, they related past events[3].

Page 20.

"The Peach Garden has been renowned both in ancient and modern times. The fame of the brethren is like a perpetual spring. (The hero of) Chang Shan afterwards entered the Society, and made the fourth brother. The three kingdoms (or rather their fame) have endured to the present time.

Page 21.

"Kwang Kung protected his brother's (Liu Pi) wife, and kept a candle burning till break of day. Afterwards coming to Ku Shing, Chang Fei, the third brother, doubted the truth of his story, but after an oath being taken, dismissed his doubts. Ten thousand ages have recorded this in vermillion characters[4].

Page 22.

"(In the present degenerate times) if you have plenty of wine

[1] Peking and Nanking.

[2] Formerly the Empire was divided into thirteen provinces, but now into eighteen.

[3] The above illustrated from the San Kwoh. "Tsau-Tsau having conquered Liu Pi, and taken his wife and children captives, he shut up Kwan Kung with them in a small room, hoping to tempt the latter to commit adultery with Liu Pi's wife; but Kwan Kung virtuously resisted the temptation, having lighted a candle, he sat down to keep watch at the door while the mother and children slept, and amused himself by reading."

[4] In modern imperial phraseology "recorded with th vermillion pencil."

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and flesh, you will have many brothers, but in distress and calamity, hardly one brother. Let us swear to be like the ancient and sacred society of the three surnames.

Page 23.

"My house is at the Fu Sang, where the sun rises, (*i. e.* very remote,) yet we are all brethren, and mutually regard each other, whether near or at a great distance. We do not ask if a person be a yellow-haired child, or a hoary-headed old man. We keep them in our hearts and are not slow to treat them as brethren.

Page 24.

"At Kwa Sung, on the road, I (Kwan Kung) released Mang Teh (Tsau-Tsau) having obtained permission from Liu Pi. For, Kung Ming sagaciously perceiving I wished to requite Tsau-Tsau's former kindness, persuaded Liu Pi to allow me to go alone and repay the favour[1]."

SECRET SIGNS, ARCH OF SWORDS, &c.

I am not aware whether any subsequent passage of the *San-Kwoh* may serve to illustrate the origin of the secret signs, but it is distinctly averred in the Peach Garden Record (p. 136), that the three surnames, *Liu-Pi*, *Kwang-Kung*, and *Chang-Fei*, meeting after a long separation, did not recognise each other's faces; but, on asking about their respective families, and speaking about former events, they discovered they were of the Peach Garden family; and that brothers, even when scattered abroad to the two capital cities and thirteen provinces, and travelling about to every place, have a sign of recognition. In lieu of other historical authority, it is on this passage of the record and a few other similar ones, that the present system of secret signs has been established. The ceremony of passing under the arch of swords has its origin, no doubt, in the weapons used by the three heroes against the yellow-turbaned rebels, *viz.* the two-edged swords of *Liu-Pi*, the *Ling-Yen-Ki*, or cold shining-cutting, moon and dragon-ornamented azure-coloured scimitar of *Kwan-Kung*, and the well-tempered weaving-headed spear of *Chang-Fei*. These in shape resemble the weapons I saw in the meeting-house of the brotherhood at Malacca.

[1] The above illustrated from the San-Kwoh. "Liu-Pi having conquered and shut up Tsau-Tsau with his army, resolved to put him to death, but his wise counsellor, Koh-Liang, knowing that Kwan-Kung wished for an opportunity to requite Tsau-Tsau's former kindness, in allowing him to escape, he advised Liu-Pi to send his second brother Kwan-Kung."

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Seals.

The circumstance of each member being provided with the impression of a seal, is by no means remarkable: the seal ("*chop*") is in almost universal use among the Chinese, as a mark of delegated authority, or diploma. It has been already noticed that the original seal of the brotherhood was presented to it by the Emperor himself, of which the seal in the possession of the *Tai-ko*, or elder brother, is presumed to be a copy. It is impressed on red silk and marked A in the plate, and is an octagon contained in a square: within the octagon is a sort of pointed arch, which possibly has some reference to the arch of swords. The whole surface of the seal is inscribed with a number of Chinese symbols, which have hitherto baffled the efforts of my friend Mr. Tomlin and his Chinese pundit to make out, probably from not having a clue to the order in which they are disposed. I was informed by one of the initiated that there is a certain order in the symbols which they are bound by oath not to divulge (*vide* Rule 9, and Comment). Three small seals, *a*, *b*, *c*, are seen on the right of the silk. The symbols and characters on two large circular seals, B and C, in the opinion of Mr. Tomlin's Fokien Pundit, are arranged astrologically, and resemble horoscopes. I obtained them from two of the initiated, whose scruples, and dread of the bastinado, a bribe of a few dollars was sufficient to set at rest. They belong to the two branches of the brotherhood at Penang and Malacca, and contain Chinese characters and symbols within circles. B contains the names of the eight Genii and an astrological diagram in the centre. C consists of three concentric circles, divided into eight parts. The following is Mr. Tomlin's explanation of the characters on these seals:—

Explanation of the small seals, *a*, *b*, *c*, on the red silk. Seal *a* is used in matters of importance: the character within this seal is Kwang, which signifies *light*, *splendour*, &c. &c. Seal *b* is of the same form as the seal used by Civilians, Literati, or Mandarins, of the fifth and sixth classes. The character, Tai, means *great*. Seal *c* is after the military model, having a sword, rope, and goglet, similar to the vessel in the hand of the Sien *Li Kwai Lu*.

Explanation of seal B, which may be called the circular seal of "the eight Sien," or Genii[1]. The characters on the seal are grouped in triads.

[1] Some remarks on "the eight Sien" or Genii, of the Chinese, extracted from a native work on the subject.

"The Sien are benevolent and virtuous; frequently interpose in human affairs

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1. Han Li Pau. Han, is the surname of one of the "Sien." Li, part of his name—in full it is Chung Li. Pau, intimates his treasure of pearls and jewels.

2. Li Kwai Lu. Li, is the surname, and Kwai the name of the second Sien. Hu Lu Pau, name of the goglet which he carries in his hand, as depicted on the small seal *c*.

3. Tung Pin Kien. The surname of the third Sien is Li; his name Tung Pin; Kien is the pearl sword which he wears at his side or behind his back.

4. Lan Tsai Ho. Lan is the surname of the fourth Sien. Tsai Ho, his name—he delighted to pluck the Ho Hwa, or Lotus, otherwise called the Lien Hwa.

5. Kwo Lau Tau. Chang the surname, and Kwo Lau the name of the fifth Sien. Tau intimates that he delights to lead in the way of virtue.

6. Siang Tse Siau. The surname of this Sien is Han; his name Siang Tse; Siau, a flute, intimates his fondness for music; he is usually represented playing on the flute.

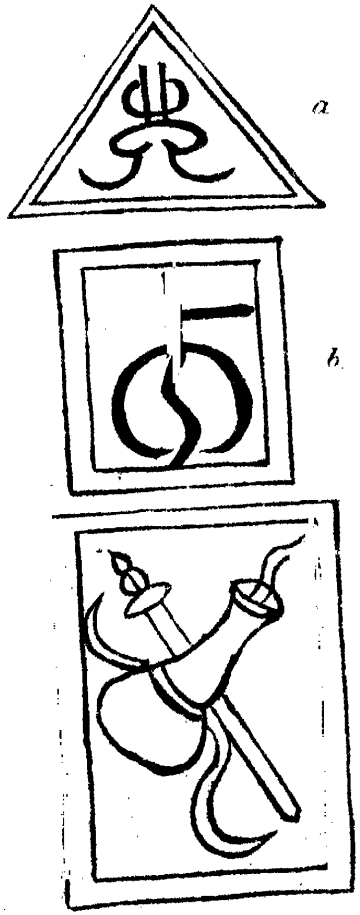
7. Kwoh Kiu Pan. Kwoh Kiu is the surname of the seventh Sien; his name, Tsau; he plays upon two wooden musical pallets, called Pan.

8. Sien Ku I. Sien Ku is the name of a female Sien, whose surname is Ho; I, intimates that she obtained her will or desire to become a Sien.

The diagram in the centre represents five stars, situated in the zenith and four cardinal points, having the various qualities of the five elements, metal, wood, water, fire, earth, and may be exhibited according to Chinese philosophy and astronomy, as below.

Water
N.
*
Zenith.
Metal. W. * * * E. Wood.
Earth.
*
S.
Fire

for the benefit of good men, and to encourage them in the path of virtue. They have been known from the earliest times, under all the dynasties, but none of them are worshipped except one—*Tung-Pin*, the tutelary God of Barbers. Their resi-



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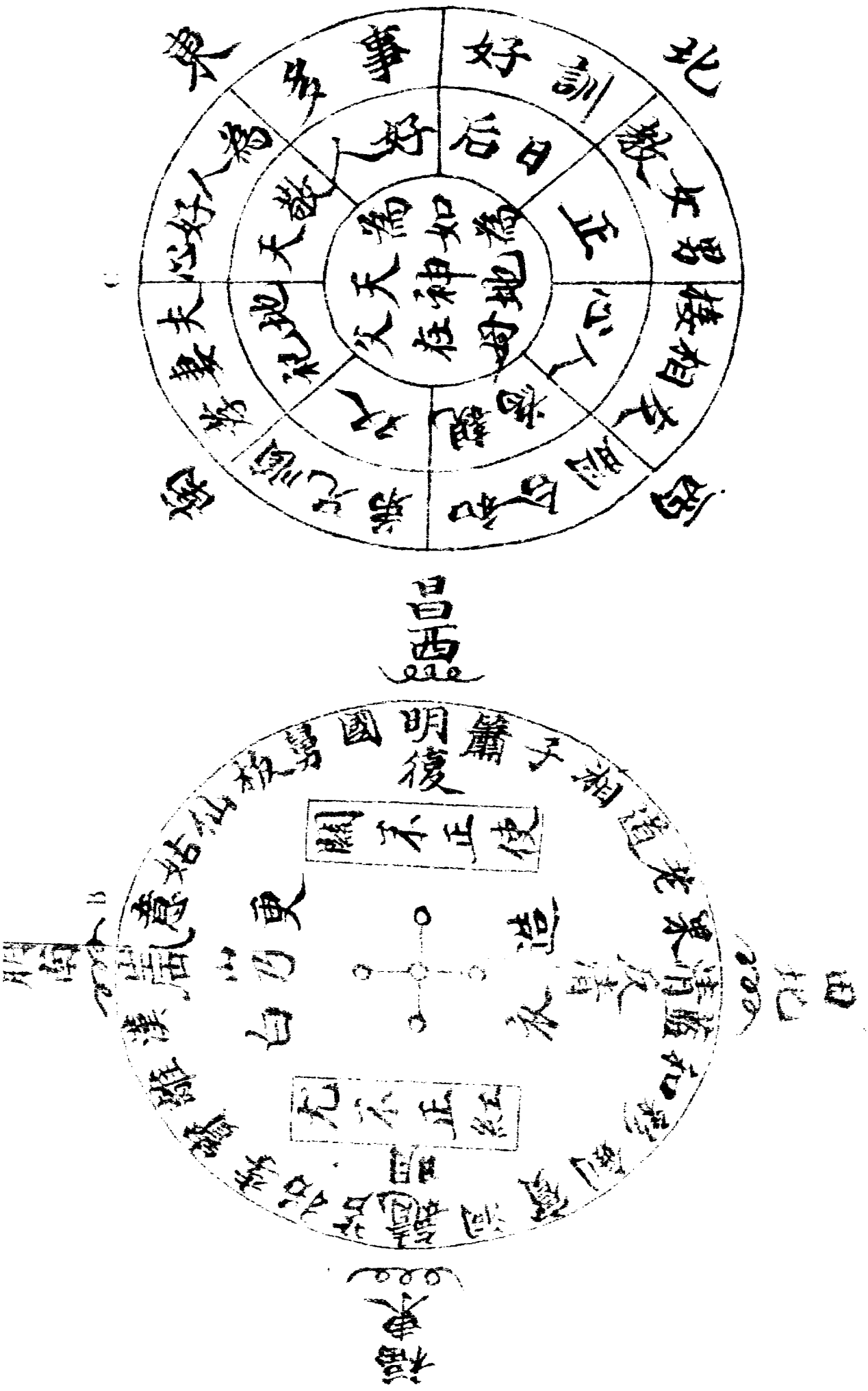

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Explanation of seal C :—

The characters running from right to left between the two outer concentric circles, have a secret meaning, and are to be interpreted by the characters between the two inner circles. Arranged as below, the lower line in each bracket is the explicative of the upper line, or its synonyme.

A man of a good heart. To reverence Heaven.	According to the prevailing opinion of the Chinese that Heaven is the Father, and Earth the Mother, of all men; and to honor and worship Heaven is the best proof of a good heart: therefore the two phrases are considered synonymous.
Husband, Wife, and Filial Piety. To adore the Earth.	From the analogy between filial piety to parents and the respect due to mother Earth, the latter phrase becomes an apt explicative of the former with the Chinese.
Obedience and respect due by a younger to an elder brother. Two men, or a pair.	The resemblance and union of two brothers suggests the notion of equality and a pair.
Harmonious friendship. Love.	Since the strongest bond of union amongst friends is love, the latter, or essence, is taken from the former.
Friendly intercourse. Man's heart.	By long acquaintance we may know a man's heart.
Son and daughter's instruction. Rectitude.	In training up children, it is of the greatest importance to lead them in the path of Rectitude.
Instruct well. To-morrow, or a future day.	What is taught to day must be practised to morrow.
Many affairs. A good man.	The good man will have many coming to consult him about various affairs; or, a good man will be consulted in many affairs.

Heaven, the Gods, and the Earth, are constantly present, and see a man's heart; therefore he ought to reverence Heaven as his Father and Earth as his Mother.

dence is various, usually on lofty mountains, or in the clouds; sometimes they lightly tread the waves, and can penetrate to the remotest verge of heaven, and the bounds of the sea. They can soar on the clouds and ride on the misty vapour, travelling ten thousand *li* in a day.

"They can transform themselves into men, and occasionally appear in the character of a priest of Tau, or of Buddha; and even condescend to become beggars (Fakirs?) and Lepers! and thus unknown to men, they do many virtuous deeds and encourage good men to imitate them, and rise to the dignity of Sien."

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The following is a free translation of the writing, which, in the original, accompanies the seals, A, *a*, *b*, *c* :—

"Let us constantly think of the three generations or (dynasties[1]) whose rules of government were excellent, and framed by U Ti[2]. If he had not appointed five shepherds (*i. e.* principal rulers), how could he have governed the nine orders of subordinate Mandarins and obtained an illustrious name? There were the spring and autumn ministers for managing the affairs of those seasons, and the summer and winter ministers for governing the people. Although these ministers were of different grades, they were all obedient to the commands of their superiors. When their various talents were ascertained, distinct and appropriate offices were assigned them under the six boards (or classes of rulers), *viz.* the *Li-Pu*, *Hu-Pu*, *Li-Pu*, *Ping-Pu*, *Hing-Pu*, and *Kung-Pu*. When a man of talent was found, he was immediately appointed to office. For instance, one might be qualified for an ambassador, another for an eminent teacher. When sent forth, each had a diploma[3] to show, so that all men might know their name, rank, extent of their authority, &c. All important affairs were determined by a general council. Throughout the eighteen provinces and in the two capital cities, every person may know the surname of each. Although a person should cross the sea, his name will be illustrious, and if he go to a foreign country and take this paper with him, all may know that he is a brother on presenting this to the headman. Take care of this paper, and you will become famous and honourable; your name will flourish during ten thousand springs (*i e.* years). This is a letter of the honourable assembly."

Name and Origin.

Tien-ti-huih, the term by which the society is generally known, literally signifies the heaven and earth brotherhood, and evidently has its origin from the incident related in the *San Kwoh* of the sacred compact entered into by the three heroes, with the mysterious powers or influences presumed to be connected with the celestial and terrestrial orbs. In some Chinese theories of cosmogony, the supposition of a sexual intercourse of the universe obtains. The great first and unknown cause acting upon chaos, produces the heaven and earth: the

[1] The three renowned dynasties, viz. the Hia, Shang, and Chiu.

[2] U Ti, *i. e.* the Emperor U, otherwise called Shun, one of the earliest and most celebrated of the sages and rulers of China.

[3] Probably this indentical writing with the seals is given to a member of the Society on going to another country.

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former is supposed to be endowed with the male or active principle, the latter with the female or passive; from the union and separation of which, continually recurring as the universe revolves, all animate and inanimate things are created, decay, and are reproduced, until the final separation of these principles shall take place, at the end of time. They are known to Chinese metaphysicians by the monosyllabic terms *Yin* and *Yang*, and, besides the generative powers resulting from their union, exert a separate and independent prerogative in the mundane phases. *Yang*, the male principle, has a benign influence, and presides over the growth and youth of the universe—to *Yin*, the female principle, is attributed gradual decay, old age, and death. In Eastern theories of the creation, a remarkable resemblance may be traced. In the Book of Genesis it is expressed in words simply sublime, that in the beginning the Spirit of God moved upon the chaotic waters, and produced the principles of light and darkness. In the second act of creation, we behold the birth of heaven and earth from the vast womb of the waters: vegetable productions, the great luminaries of the firmament, animals, and lastly man followed in regular succession. The Chaldæans, according to Berosus, imagined that, in the beginning, there existed nothing but a vast abyss and darkness, peopled by monsters, produced by a two-fold principle. Over these presided a female principle, called Thalath, a Chaldæan word, equivalent to the Greek *θαλαττα* the ocean, from whom, by the agency of the first cause, the heavens and earth, &c., were created. If we turn to the mythology of the Greeks, we are told that chaos was a rude and shapeless mass of matter pre-existent to the creation of the world, gods and men: from it sprang *Erebus* and *Nox*, the female personification of night and darkness—the first result of whose union was light, and subsequently the fates, sleep, discord, dreams, death, &c., also heaven and earth, typified by the god *Cœlus*, or *Ouranos*, and the goddess *Terra*, the parents of time, gods, men, and all things. The Pythagorean system recognised a monad, or active principle, and a duad, or passive principle, from whose union resulted, not only a triad but a sacred quaternary embracing the sciences, morality, &c. We may clearly trace, I think, the creative and destructive attributes of the Chinese *Yang* and *Yin*, in the *Erebus* and *Nox* of the Greeks, and in the *Lingam* and *Yoni* of the Hindus[1]. The followers of Zoroaster and Manes acknowledged two principles under the

[1] The ancient Greeks sacrificed a cock to *Nox*—the Chinese do so at the present day to *Yin*, the destructive, or female principle, as a most solemn imprecation of divine vengeance, in case they violate their word, or declare what is not true.

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symbols of light and darkness; one, the source of all good, the other, the fountain of all evil; to the co-agency of which, all animate and inanimate matter owes its creation, decay, and reproduction. The similitude could be pursued further even into the Northern and Western systems of mythology, but I have already digressed too far, and must now return to the *Tien-ti-huih*. It has been called by the Chinese, the three united, from being composed of the members of a sacred triad; viz. heaven, earth, and man, to whom equal adoration is offered, being all considered of equal dignity and rank; but to man, only after death, under the name of ancestors. Heaven and earth are worshipped as the father and mother of mankind. They are styled the three dominant powers, and supposed to exist in perfect harmony. There appears to be some mystic importance attached to the number three by the Chinese; it is related in the Peach Garden Record, that *Chang-Shan* afterwards entered the society, and made the fourth brother; still his name is rarely, if ever adduced. Three is the number also of the officials, or elder brethren, of the drops of blood shed during the inaugural rites, of their days of meeting during the month, and of the prescribed prostrations before the idol, viz. *pae*, *kwei*, and *kow*, bowing, kneeling, and placing the forehead in the dust; the last in some ceremonies is thrice repeated. The grand day is the ninth of the moon, equal to three times three. The secret manual signs are made with three fingers. The characters on some of the secret seals are grouped in triads. One of the smaller seals *a*, is in the form of a triangle. The symbol in the small seal *b*, appears to have been selected for its triune character, resembling the *trisula* of the Hindus, and three is generally the number of the personages forming the group in the picture worshipped by almost every Chinese.

Resemblance to Freemasonry, &c.

The resemblance between some of the rites observed by the *Tien-ti-huih*, their principles of mutual support in all parts of the world, their conventional signs of recognition, the mystery observed at their meetings, their styling themselves brothers, the oath of secrecy, and the mystic importance attached to the number three, remind us of the western system of Freemasonry, whose disciples, finding "tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, and sermons in stones," in a spirit of speculative research, well exchanged perhaps for by-gone Rosicrucianism, trace in the mythologies of idolatrous nations, various symbols of the Trinity. *Ashtaroth*, *Chemosh*, and

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Milcom, the triad, worshipped by King Solomon on Olivet's triple peak—the Indian, Orphic, Eleusinian, Egyptian, Platonic, Persian, Celtic, and Mexican triads of deities—the trilithic piles of the Druids—the three mysterious words of the Brahmans to express earth, sky, and heaven—the triliteral monosyllable, the sacred *Aum*, did not escape their masonic eye. The trowel which is identified with the trigon hieroglyphic for darkness, or secresy, of the Egyptian priests—the Tetragrammaton of the Jews, expressed by an equilateral triangle, having the mystic *Jod* in its centre—the *Trigonon mysticum* of the Pythagoreans—the square—the point within the circle—the royal arch, the ne plus ultra of masonic perfection—the three governors of the lodge—the principle of light, &c., might be compared to the triangular square and circular seals—the arch of swords, or that in the middle of seal *a*—the three governors of the principal lodges, and the ever-burning lamp of the *Tien-ti-huih*. But setting aside these similarities, when we consider that the Chinese fraternity originally was formed for political purposes, that its objects in the mother country, as stated by a talented writer of undoubted authority, Mr. Davies, are still to upset the present Tartar dynasty, and that even in the colonies, as I have shown, its combinations are not unfrequently exerted to defraud justice of its victim, to defeat the laws, to commit with impunity robberies, murders, and massacres by wholesale, and rebellion against the government, under whose fostering protection it has been permitted to branch forth; we shall, perhaps, be inclined to classify the *Tien-ti-huih* with the secret tribunals of Germany, between which a few resemblances in minor points have already been traced. Accusations of secret crimes, of as deep a dye as those preferred by Philip the Fair, of France, against the Templars, have been uttered against the *Tien-ti-huih*, but with what justice I know not. Suffice it to observe, that the eyes of our Colonial police should be set carefully upon them. In their weakness lies their harmlessness; and the little good they can effect by mutual assistance to each other, is more than counterbalanced by the injustice and injury caused to those around. As a means of mutual defence, adopted by emigrants among savage and hostile tribes, such associations are undoubtedly useful; but among civilized states, governed by just and equitable laws, applicable to all alike residing under its protection, the necessity no longer exists: the increase of power, that is the natural result of all similar confederations, here becomes highly deleterious to the community at large, which possesses not similar advantages, and should be got rid of as a monstrous anomaly in our social and

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political system, in the certain eventual evils of which both theory and experience concur.

Secret associations prevail among the negroes of Western Africa, termed Parrahs, of whose proceedings the French traveller, Goberry, gives us frightful accounts. It is not generally known in Europe that a secret fraternity obtains among the Brahmans of India. The late C. M. Whish, Esq., of the Madras Civil Service, whose profound knowledge of Sanskrit, general acquirements, and spirit of research, rendered his premature death an incalculable loss to Indian literature and science, was, I am assured on the best authority, deeply versed in the arcana of this society, and even possessed a copy of their most secret signs. This he once showed to a Syrian Jew who was travelling over India with antiques: the Jew at the first glance of the mystic characters started back with amazement, as though he had beheld a sudden apparition. It is highly probable that the talisman, which called up these strong emotions in the wandering Israelite, was no other than some symbol, which, by its resemblance, brought vividly to his mind the great Tetragrammaton of his nation. This, as already observed, bears a close affinity to the triangular seal of the *Tien-ti-huih*, having the symbol of light, equivalent to the mysterious and radiant god of the Tetragrammaton in its centre. A paper was prepared, I believe, by Mr. Whish, on the subject of the Brahmanical brotherhood, but has never been published.

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ART. VII.—*On the White-haired Angora Goat, and on another species of Goat found in the same province, resembling the Thibet Shawl Goat; by* LIEUT. ARTHUR CONOLLY, *of the Bengal Cavalry*, Cor. M.R.A.S.

(*Read January* 18, 1840.)

ON a recent excursion through part of Asia Minor, being accompanied by a friend who spoke Turkish and Armenian perfectly, I noted some information that he collected, first regarding the long famed silvery white-hair goat of Angora, and next about a goat resembling the shawl goat of Thibet, that exists throughout the country to which the first beautiful animal is peculiar. I was about to forward the said notes from Constantinople, with a box of specimens for the Society, when learning that the second species of goat alluded to abounded in other parts of Turkey, through or near which I should shortly travel, I put my memorandums aside in the hope of being able to extend them. I now beg to offer the result of the whole inquiry thus far, having for the convenience of illustration separated the details concerning each race of the animal under remark.

The goat of the first race, peculiar to the province of Angora and certain adjoining districts, is *invariably white*, and its coat is of one sort, *viz.* a silky hair, which hangs in long curly locks[1]. The general appearance of this animal is too well known to need mention here. The country within which it is found, was thus described to us: "Take Angora as a centre: then the Kizzil Ermak (or Halys). Changeré, and from eight to ten 'hours' march (say thirty miles) beyond; Beybazar and the same distance beyond, to near Nalahan; Sevree Hissar; Yoorrook[2], Tosiah, Costambool; Geredeh, and Cherkesh,"—from the whole of which tract the common bristly goat is excluded. Kinnier did not see a long-haired goat east of the Halys: we marked the disappearance of this animal on the westward, a little before Nalahan[3]. Our Angora informants

[1] See Spec. A., Nos. 1 and 2.

[2] A village named from Nomade families so called, who inhabit the mountains above it.

[3] This probably is the point noted by Kinnier, as "Wullee Khan," for we met no person who knew a place of the latter name.

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agreed that the boundary is decided on all sides, and remarked, that if taken out of their natural districts, these goats deteriorate, in point of coat especially, till scarcely recognisable, adding, that it is difficult even to keep them alive elsewhere, particularly if they are taken to a low or damp soil, after the high and dry land to which they are accustomed[1].

The greater part of the area described above, consists of dry chalky hills, on which there are bushes rather than trees, and those chiefly of the dwarf oak, or else of vallies lying from 1500 to 2500[2] feet above the level of the sea, which are quite bare of trees, and but scantily covered with grass. In this expanse of country there are spots which produce finer fleeces than others, *e. g.* Ayash, Bey-bazar, and Yoorrook. These are districts where the goats are mostly kept on hills, and the natives attribute a general superiority to mountain flocks, which have, first, a rarer atmosphere, secondly, more leaves, and a greater choice of herbs, for which, nevertheless, they are obliged to range widely, and so are kept in health, on which the quality of their coats mainly depends. The finest fleeces in the aforesaid country are said to come from the *Yoorrooks*, roving tribes who keep their flocks out day and night throughout the year, except when an unusual quantity of snow falls, so that not being enclosed and crowded together, they do not soil their coats by the heat and dirt of each others' bodies. The latter flocks too are more or less kept upon fresh food in winter, as they are then led down from the mountain heights to the tops of the lower hills, from which a little herbage can be gleaned, as the strong winds that prevail at this season drive the snow off them, while the plain flocks must be folded, and fed upon hay and branches.

The fleece of the white Angora goat is called "*Tïftik*[3]," the

[1] It is remarkable that wherever these goats exist, the cats and greyhounds have long silky hair also; the cats all over their bodies, the greyhounds chiefly on their and ears tails. Some of the natives would refer this peculiarity to their "air and water," but are perplexed to account for the nonparticipation of other animals who eat and drink the same fluids. A similar difficulty attends those who would attribute the peculiarity to diet; as sheep's food differs entirely from that of cats and dogs. Possibly hares and other furry animals in this region, have their coats altered also, more or less. Our native friends did not seem ever to have inquired. The sheep dogs are fine animals, with thick shaggy coats, but we did not think their hair unusually fine.

[2] This rough calculation is made from the measured height of Angora, by Dr. Ainsworth, (*i. e.* 2769 feet,) and native statements about the variation of climate in the different provinces above named.

[3] Originally a Persian word.

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Turkish for goat's hair, in distinction to "*Yún*," or "*Yapak*," sheep's wool. After the goats have completed their first year, they are clipped annually, in April, or May, and yield progressively, until they attain full growth, from 150 drachms to 1½ "oke[1]" of Tiftík. The female's hair is considered better than the male's, but both are mixed together for market, with the occasional exception of the *two-year-old she-goat's* fleece[2], which is kept with the picked hair of other white goats (of which, perhaps, five pounds may be chosen from a thousand), for the native manufacture of the most delicate articles; none being ever exported in any unwrought state. An oke of good common Tiftík of this year's shearing, is now selling in the Angora bazar for nine piastres, or about 1*s.* 8½*d.*, and the finest picked wool of the same growth is fetching fourteen piastres per oke.[3]

A curious statement made to us at Angora was, that only the white goats which have horns, wear their fleece in the long curly locks that are so much admired; those which are not horned, having a comparatively close coat. We were at Angora shortly after the shearing season, so could not observe the difference stated, which our informants seriously attributed to the circumstance of the animal's continually combing itself with its spirally twisted horns[3]. A merchant, not of Angora, remarked, that probably there, as elsewhere, the finer the fleece naturally is, the more readily it curls, and he added, that good flock-masters keep their goats' hair as fine as possible, by carefully washing it, and combing out all impurities.

Surplus he-goats, and barren females, are killed in the beginning of winter, when their flesh is parfried, and potted by the poorer classes as a store for the cold season. The skins are sold to curriers, who, after removing the hair by a preparation of lime, cure them for export to Constantinople, where they are dyed of different colours, and chiefly used for the manufacture of Turkish boots and slippers. The fleece is then five or six inches long, but as it is "harsher" than that which is shorn in spring, and is thought to be more or less damaged by the currier's lime, it is sold at an inferior price, under the name of "deri" or *skin* Tiftík, a term answering to what English staplers call "dead wool."

The hair of the Tiftík goat is exported from its native districts raw, in yarn, and in the delicate stuffs for which Angora has long been famous. The last are now chiefly consumed in Turkey; a little yarn, and a large quantity of the raw material, goes to Europe.

[1] A weight of 400 Turkish dirhems, or drachms, equal to about 2¾ lbs. English.
[2] See Spec. B.
[3] See the pair in the box of specimens.

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A few well-cured entire skins, with the curly fleece upon them, are used in Turkey as seats by religious doctors and chief derwishes, and others are exported to Europe, where they are fancied as rugs and saddle-cloths. A fine skin of this sort costs one hundred piastres (or 1*l.*) at Angora, and one hundred and fifty at Constantinople.

When the Tiftik fleeces have been shorn in spring, women separate the clean hair from the dirty, and the latter only is washed, after which the whole is mixed together and sent to market. That which is not exported raw, is bought by the women of the labouring families, who, after pulling portions loose with their fingers, pass them successively through a large and fine teethed iron comb, and spin all that they thus card[1] into skeins of yarn, called "*iplik*" (the common Turkish word for all thread), of which six qualities are made. An oke of Nos. 1 to 3, now fetches in the Angora bazar from twenty-four to twenty-five piastres, and the like weight of Nos. 3 to 6, from thirty-eight to forty piastres. Threads of the first three numbers have been usually sent to France, Holland, and Germany; those of the last three qualities to England.

The women of Angora moisten their carded goats' hair[2] with much spittle before they draw it from the distaff, and they assert that the quality of the thread much depends upon this; nay more, that in the *melon* season their yarn is incomparably better, as eating this fruit imparts a mucilaginous quality to the saliva. "Divide (said they) a quantity of Tiftik into two parts; let the same person spin one half in winter and the other in the melon season, and you will plainly see an important difference." In winter (they added) the thread cannot be spun so fine as in summer, since, owing to the state of the atmosphere in the cold season, it becomes more harsh (crisp).

Before this yarn is used by the weaver, it is well saturated with a glutinous liquor called "*Chirish.*" This is made from a root like a radish[3], which comes to Angora from the neighbourhood of Konia. It is dried and pounded, mixed with water, and well shaken in a bag. Then the liquor is strained off, and small skeins are steeped in it, while large hanks are watered by the mouth when they have been spread out, according to the following process, which I may describe as witnessed by us at Angora.

"We found the workmen before sun-rise on a level space by the

[1] See Spec. C. [2] Spec. D.

[3] A medical friend describes it as a plant of the *Asphodoly* family, which grows on all the high table lands of Armenia. Shoemakers are said to use the dried flour as "*size*" where the plant is common; but I found a different article in use at all the shoemakers' bazars in Constantinople.

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banks of the Angora stream. Upon a centre and two end cross trees was rather loosely stretched a double web of yarn, 70 feet by 7, which was kept extended and separate by sliding cross sticks. Two men walked up and down the sides of this frame at the same time nearly opposite to each other, holding bowls of "Chirísh" liquor made into a thin yellow mucilage: of this they continually squirted, or rather blew out, mouthfuls in alternate showers[1], all over the web, while others followed them to press the threads together for a moment, and then to change their position relative to each other, by means of the sliding cross bars mentioned, so that all might be equally moistened, as well as to rebind any threads that had given from the tension. The Chirísh liquor had a sweetish and not unpleasant taste, but the squirters complained that it totally destroyed their teeth, and showed bare gums in proof. They distributed their jets with singular dexterity, in broad casts of the minutest drops, and expressed doubts whether, considering the clammy nature of the liquor used, any watering pot could be made to do their work as well, and save them from its inconvenient effects."

This operation is repeated several times[2]: the work is always commenced in the cool of the morning, so that it may be completed ere the heat of the sun can operate to dry the thread quickly. A long web, like the one described, having been sufficiently moistened, its threads are divided into breadths of the sizes ordered; the weaver sends his comb that one end of a portion may be fitted into it, and carries the rest away rolled up on a stick, to be drawn out as his work advances.

The women of Angora knit gloves and socks[3] with the Tiftík yarn, working them both furry and plain, and making some socks of the latter sort so fine as to cost one hundred piastres the pair. The surplus of their yarn they sell to native weavers of stuffs. The weaver seeks threads of equal thickness and takes the skeins that he matches back to the women spinners, who reel them into one thread, assisting this operation with Chirísh mucilage. The connected thread being returned to the weaver in large hanks, he, with a hand wheel, winds off small portions through a pan of water on to bits of reed cut to fit his shuttle.

[1] Tobacco for the Turkish pipe is damped by a similar process.

[2] Moorcroft shows that the preparers of goats' wool and yarn for the Kashmere shawl manufacture, take pains to impart mucilage to each; first kneading the cleaned wool with damp rice flour, and afterwards dipping the yarn into thick boiled rice water.

[3] See Spec. F.

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The cloths woven from Tiftík at Angora, are of two kinds, "Shalli" and "Sôf," or twilled and plain cloth, and the manufacture of these is confined to men. The weaver sits with nearly half of his body in a small pit, at the bottom of which he works two or four treadles with his feet, according as he wishes to make plain or twilled cloth. Part of this loom is fixed to the floor before him, and the rest is suspended nearly over it from the ceiling. He contracts to work a piece of thirty *Piks*, or rather more than twenty-one yards, for a sum which varies according to the texture required, from fifteen up to one hundred piastres, and by working steadily he may finish a piece of this regular measure in six days.

These stuffs are dyed at Angora[1]. Indigo and cochineal, with tartar, nitric and sulphuric acids, were mentioned as articles imported from Constantinople and Smyrna. Yellow berry[2] grows to perfection in the neighbourhood, and some spoke of a grass yielding the same colour as indigenous to the soil. Coffee colour, a favourite among the Turks, they obtain by mixing cochineal with the dried rind of the fresh walnut. They remarked that cloth made of dyed thread keeps its colour till it falls to pieces, while that which is dyed in pieces, fades with comparative quickness.

Angora has always been the chief, if not the only, town in which Tiftík has been manufactured into cloth; the other towns of the area described sending their hair to its looms[3]. Now not even thread is spun at the latter places, their goats' hair being exported in a raw state, and Angora itself has, from the latter cause, quite declined, there being "perhaps fifty" looms where there were one thousand two hundred in the best days of this provincial capital, and not more than from one thousand to fifteen hundred pieces of stuff sent out instead of twenty thousand that used to be required before the Greek revolution. The citizens take the last event as a point from which to date their decline, remarking, that before that period, there was a prohibition against the export of Tiftík from Turkey, except when wrought, or in the form of iplik, or homespun thread, so that the interests of the native spinners and weavers were protected against the machinery of Europe. Up to that time, however, it would seem that there was little demand for the raw material in Europe. Tournefort, indeed, in 1701, speaks of this hair being used in England for *wigs*, and particularly states, that it was required un-

[1] See Spec. G. [2] See Spec. H.

[3] A near village named Stenzes, at which fine Sôf is made, was mentioned to us as the only other place at which looms were known to exist, and these did not number a dozen.

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spun. According to the information that was kindly procured for me by an English merchant at Constantinople, when some bales of white Angora goats' hair were shipped thence to England, in 1820, the article was so little appreciated, that it brought only 10*d.* per lb.; since that period the English demand for the raw hair has been annually increasing, and the ordinary price for many years, has been 18*d.* per lb., though, from unusual causes, it has fluctuated from 27*d.* to 14*d.* Permission is now freely given by the Turkish government to export raw Tiftik, and as European manufacturers find it more convenient to make their own thread by machinery, the demand for Angora handspun yarn has almost ceased, and its value in Turkey has fallen one half. The following list of exports from Constantinople, for the last three years, will show how one article has superseded the other, and what is the present state of the trade.

	Mohair Yarn.	Tiftik.
1836	bales 538	3841.
1837[1]	do. 8	2261.
1838	do. 21	5528.

No yarn has been, and probably none will be, exported this year. 2679 bales of Tiftik have been already shipped, and it may be expected that fully 3000 more will be exported before the end of the season, from the supply of this year's produce, which is just arriving from the interior[2]. The bales that are brought on horses weigh sixty okes, those that come on camels, one hundred ditto; but the proportion of the latter is small, and seventy okes may be taken as the average weight.

My latter informant thought that from 1000 to 1500 bales might be shipped annually for England at Smyrna.

The native demands for Shalli and Sôf, is said to have decreased since the adoption of an European style of dress by the Turkish grandees, who used to wear full summer robes of these stuffs; but though this change of costume has, doubtless, had some effect upon the Angora manufactures, they have probably been chiefly injured by the introduction of cheap French and English merinoes into the Turkish bazars. Owing to these causes and to the recent large European demand for raw hair, the value of Angora shawl stuffs has gone down so quickly, and so completely, as to entail great loss upon

[1] Year of commercial distress, therefore exports much diminished.
[2] June, 1839.

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the wholesale and retail merchants who dealt in them[1], and little short of ruin upon the weavers, hand spinners, dyers, and others who were connected with the manufacture at Angora itself[2]. But though the city has thus suffered, the province must gain largely by the change, if the Sultan can be made sufficiently aware of his own interest to treat it fairly.

I will now speak of the second race. This goat has an unchanging outer covering of long bristle, between the roots of which comes in winter, an under coat of downy wool[3], that is naturally thrown off in spring. A remarkable fine breed of this species exists throughout the area to which the Angora white-hair goat is limited, but similar breeds prevail all over the highlands of Turkish and Persian Armenia and Kurdistan, in the neighbourhood of Kerman, and probably in other elevated parts of Persia. Moorcroft, in speaking of the shawl wool which is used in Kashmere, says, "It was formerly supplied almost entirely by the western provinces of Lassa and by Ladakh; but of late, considerable quantities have been procured from the neighbourhood of Yarkand, from Khoten, and the families of the great Kerghiz Horde;" and he elsewhere remarks, that although some districts of those countries produce finer fleeces than others, "the breed is the same in Ladakh as in Lassa, Great Thibet, and Chinese Toorkistan." I quote these remarks because I have little doubt, from Moorcroft's description of the wool brought from the just named different countries to Kashmere, and from actual comparison of London samples, marked "Cashmere wool," with specimens collected in Asia Minor and Armenia, that the double-coated goats which are pastured on the table lands of Thibet, and those which range the shores of the Euxine, are but varieties of the same species.

As far as my recollection goes, the double-coated breed that en-

[1] Formerly there were thirty-six merchants in Constantinople who traded exclusively in Angora stuffs and Mohair yarn; now there are but six, and the Angora "Khan" is nearly deserted.

[2] Tournefort, in 1701, rated the population of Angora at about 45,000 inhabitants. Kinnier, in 1817, estimated it at 20,000. Our accounts give now but a total of 13,000, of whom many hundreds would instantly emigrate if permitted. We saw but twelve looms at work, because the Sultan had ordered a levy of 150 Christians as pioneers to his army, and all able-bodied weavers were hiding themselves.

[3] See Spec. I.

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joys the favoured districts of the white Angora hair goat, is of larger size than any in the more southern Turkish provinces that I passed through; and I should say that its wool is the finest, but I had not sufficient means of comparison to give a positive opinion on the latter point; and leaving others to investigate at leisure, for the benefit of natural history and commerce, the circumstances which favour the production of a valuable article that seems to be easily procurable from many countries, I proceed to communicate the few notes regarding it, which my friend and myself were able to make during short and hurried journeys[1].

The double-coated race of goat in the Turkish and Persian districts, which have been specified above, is coloured black, brown, golden and light dun, gray, and piebald. The colours of the two coats do not necessarily correspond, black bristle commonly overlies brown wool, and other double coats which are of the same general tint, differ more or less from each other in depth of shade. Goats of this breed in Angora, are occasionally mixed with the white-*hair* goat first described, either by the shepherd's inattention, or when a remarkable flock-leader is desired. In such cases, that influence, of which we read in the Bible history of Jacob, and in the *Georgics* of Virgil, always predominates strongly; the produce, we were told, having, invariably, a *double coat* of some *colour*, commonly of piebald. White goats, with both bristle and under wool[2], are now and then seen in Angora, but this is said by the natives to be almost always, when, after two or three partial crossings, the issue of a white-hair, and of a coloured double-coated goat, is being brought round to the first race[3]. At most places out of Asia Minor, the people said that white was a rare colour for shawl wool. At Mosul, however, the only sample that I could obtain from the bazar, was white, hair and bristles mixed, and I was assured that it was the colour most commonly brought there. This could hardly have resulted from a cross with the Angora hair goat.

The outer coat is called "Küll" or "Kill," the general Turkish

[1] You cannot make satisfactory inquiries in these countries without time to put repeated questions. A Constantinople merchant told me, on the authority of his brother-in-law, that the best Angora "dehrem" was exported to *India* for the shawl manufacture in *Kashmere*. The brother-in-law being appealed to, said that he had only expressed wonder that it was not so exported, and it came out that he conceived Hindostan to lie somewhere in the vicinity of England.

[2] See Spec. J.

[3] We noticed after shearing time, that all the flocks we saw were led by piebald goats that had not been clipped like the rest; but our information regarding the first mixture and subsequent crossing of these two breeds, was imperfect.

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word for bristle, and the under coat is called "*dehrem*," at *Angora*, a term, which, according to our informants there, is also applied to the soft down with which nature clothes the camel in winter. In Meninsky's Lexicon, there is a word signifying the same thing, but spelt "*Derhem*," whereas, it was remarkable that the Armenian merchants at Angora pronounced the first syllable with a strong aspirate. I mention this because the word appears to be little known in any shape beyond Angora; indeed, only persons in that province who affect correctness, make a point of using it, the common people giving the general name of *Tiftik*, to their goat flocks of cloth species, which, except at breeding seasons, are kept together, and talking of *ak* and *kara* (white and black) Tiftik. Beyond those provinces of Asia Minor, to which the white Angora hair goat is peculiar, the Turkish as well as the Persian shepherds apply the term Tiftik to the double-coated goat, and under this name, I imagine, has been sold all the shawl wool that has hitherto been exported to Europe through Constantinople and and Smyrna, or by any port on the coast of Syria[1]. I was assured by merchants in the Angora "Khan" at Constantinople, who gave me the specimens of "*deri dehrem*" or "*skin wool*," which will be found in the box forwarded[2], that no Angora goat's wool of this second sort had, until the present year, been exported to Europe through the capital. They took the parcels, they said, from a few bales for the first time invoiced by them, and sold to an English merchant, adding that *Smyrna* had hitherto monopolized the export trade of all their "dehrem" that was not consumed at home, for their women use it also to a considerable extent, in knitting warm socks and gloves that are esteemed all over Turkey[3].

In other "Khans" at Constantinople, used by Turkish and Persian merchants, I found men packing, for Europe, bales of goats' "skin wool," that was similar in kind, but inferior in quality, and so full of lime, that much dust was raised when any quantity of it was stirred. This, it was said, came from Kurdistan, according to long custom. The Nomade tribes who possess these double-coated goats, sell many of them when they come down from the mountains, in the most convenient villages and towns, to which certain wool traders make circuits. The men of *Kaiserea* appear to be great collectors of shawl wool, and

[1] In the interior of Persia this sort of wool is called "*Koark*."

[2] See Spec. K.

[3] Spec. L. I did not ascertain whether any are exported to Europe. Probably not, except as occasional presents, as their price would not enable them to compete with our lamb's wool fabrics of similar kind.

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I have heard of their going as far east as Diarbekir for it. The flesh of these animals, like that of the Angora hair goats, is everywhere sold as winter provision for poor people, and their skins are likewise transferred to curriers, who prepare them for Morocco leather. The bristles are for the most part first removed, by a weak solution of lime, rubbed on the inside of the skin, which loosens them without bringing away the under down, and this, more or less mixed with the finer bristles that remain, is next taken off by a stronger solution of the same substance. The separate bristle, like that of the common goat all over Turkey, is made into ropes and girths, and into hair cloth, which is used for sacking and the packing of merchandise. The wool, mixed as it is with bristles, is either sold to the travelling merchants above mentioned, or used in the country for the manufacture of felt caps, tent coverings, and horse clothing.

When the warmth of spring causes the under coat to leave the skin, it works gradually off towards the end of the bristles, and on which it hangs in small lumps. We arrived too late at Angora to see there any wool in this state, but I forwarded some specimens from Erzroom, which I cut from the back of a double-coated goat that had several remaining on its back in that elevated valley, as late as August. The Kurdish shepherds, I was told, do not think it worth while to collect these lumps of down when they clip their goats in spring for the bristle. At Angora, where this sort of wool is put to a separate and profitable use, one would imagine that there could hardly be the same indifference, yet the "dehrem" gloves and socks knitted there have all some bristle in them, and I cannot say whether this results from the use of dead wool obtained from curriers, or from a difficulty in freeing the spring coat from the bristles with which it is closely associated. Moorcroft thus describes the way in which the Thibetan shawl wool is obtained in spring:—"The goat's bristle having been cut short with a knife, in the direction of its growth, or from the head towards the tail, a rude comb, made of seven willow pegs, is passed in the reversed direction, which brings away the finer wool almost unmixed with the coarse hair, or bristle." Though not positive, I do not think that the Angora shepherds use similar means to collect their spring shawl wool. It seems certain that the other flock-masters who furnish the article, obtain it only from the skin of the dead goat in the beginning of winter, when the coat cannot have attained full growth, and when it probably becomes deteriorated for manufacturing purposes, by the quantity of lime that is mixed with it, the currier principally regarding the skin, and carelessly removing the bristle and down from it as something that

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will help to make up the price that he has paid the butcher. Thus it may be doubted whether European manufacturers have yet known the article in its best state. From the little that I have been able to learn about it, I am induced to think that all the shawl wool hitherto exported from Turkey to Europe, has been used for felting purposes. My idea is, that it will become a valuable commodity to English imitation Kashmere shawl manufacturers, if it can be imported at a moderate price, and in a clean state. It is short in staple as now generally obtained, and probably is so at its fullest growth, but it is described at Angora as "spinning well[1]," and the socks which the women there knit from the thread they make of it, seem to combine in a great degree, the qualities which are so much desired in shawls, viz. lightness, softness, and warmth. I find among my notes a memorandum that the full grown *Angora* double-coated goat, yields fifty or sixty drachms of wool, but I do not know who gave the information, as we were hurried away from Angora in the midst of our inquiries regarding "dehrem." An English friend at Erzroom, whose attention had been directed to the shawl wool of Armenia, calculated, after native report, that 120 goat skins in that country yield nine okes of rough wool: when the bristle has been tolerably picked from this, there remain six okes, which again will not give more than three okes, when it has been carefully picked and carded. Picking included, an oke of the last would cost eighteen piastres, or four shillings; add two shillings more for freight, &c., and the wool might be delivered in London at six shillings per oke, or two shillings and twopence per pound[2]. By degrees, the different flock masters may be induced to pick their wool, so that it can be exported without further delay, and Englishmen in Turkey, interested in the trade, may not only persuade the shepherds within their reach to collect their spring down by the Thibetan process, but to improve their breeds by crossing. Mr. Southey, in a letter that he was good enough to send me with some samples of Indian and other wools, mentioned that a French gentleman of Versailles, crossed the Angora hair goat with white Kashmere, and that the wool of crosses three, four, and five, was worth double the price of gray Kashmere, or four shillings a pound. It would be easy to import the double coated as well as the hair goat from Turkey, into European countries, in which

[1] It would be easy, by writing to some resident in Constantinople, to get a measured quantity of the best rough "dehrem" cleaned as perfectly as possible at Angora, by handpicking, finespun, and then woven into a piece of shawl stuff in one of the looms used for the hair Shalli, or Sof.

[2] The refuse might sell for something at the picking place.

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the elevation of the land and the pasture most resembles that of Asia Minor or Armenia; we might try districts in our own Welsh or Scotch highlands, and, if after the most judicious crossings, it should prove impracticable to acclimate a race at home, our experiments could hardly fail to determine how the best hair and wool can be grown in Asia. Now that the Indus has been opened, English manufacturers may look for an additional supply of shawl wool from the countries which have hitherto been obliged to send their produce by fixed land routes to Kashmere, and we might, perhaps[1], with success import the best Thibetan breeds into many parts of the Himalayan mountains that are subject to British control.

The friend whom I mentioned in the beginning of this letter, is Dr. P. Zohrab, of the British College of Physicians, who is at present residing on his estate near Broussa. He will esteem it a real pleasure to carry out any inquiries that may be made regarding either race of goat in Asia Minor, and there is nobody, who, from his talents or local acquaintance, can do it better.

Appendix.

I saw at Bagdad a remarkable sheep, having a very thick, long, and fine fleece of a slightly reddish hue. This breed is called "*Mürguzeh*," and it is found in the North-Western district of the province of Ardelan, named Sekkez. Rams of this race might improve our fleeces at home, in India, or in Australia, and a few should be obtained for trial. The animal that I saw belonged to Colonel Shee, commanding the Persian detachment, but Colonel Taylor, the British resident at Bagdad, who is a member of the Asiatic Society, said, that he would be happy to get any that might be applied for.

Revised Note to explain the Specimens sent from Constantinople.

A. 1 and 2. A whole white-hair goat's skin, and a sample of hair. *a* extra—a white kid's skin.
B. A two-year-old female goat's skin; esteemed the best.
C. Specimen of carded Tiftik.
D. Six numbers of Angora "Iplik" or yarn.
E. Some dried and pounded Chirish.

[1] The heavy periodical rains on the southern side of the great Himalayan Chain, might injuriously affect animals accustomed to a dry climate.

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F. A pair of common plain white hair socks. Price 30 piastres.
G. Patterns of dyed Shalli and Sôf, (the latter both plain and watered.)
H. Angora yellow berry.
I. A black double-coated goat's skin, with down beneath the bristle. Also extra—a black kid's skin of this species.
J. A sample of white bristle and wool.
K. A packet containing samples of differently coloured "Deri Dehrem," or "skin wool."
L. Some gloves made at Angora from "Dehrem."

Sent from Erzroom.

A and B. Two shades of brown goat's wool.
C. Gray ditto.
D. White ditto.
E. Bristle, with lumps of wool attached.

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ART. VIII.—*Copy of an Arabic Inscription in Cufic or Karmatic characters, on a Tombstone at Malta; with remarks and translation, by* JOHN SHAKESPEAR, Esq.

A FAC-SIMILE in plaster, from which the accompanying lithograph is copied on a reduced scale, having been presented by Sir Grenville Temple, Bart., to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, it has been submitted to the inspection of the members of the Society as well as of visitants: and, attempts have subsequently been made, in this country, at deciphering and translating it.

In the first volume, however, of the *Fundgruben des Orients*, or *Mines de l'Orient*, printed at Vienna, in 1809, and commencing at p. 393, some account has before been given of this tombstone, together with what is there considered a translation of the inscription; and, part of that account it seems advisable here to transcribe, which is as follows:

"Della dimora dei Saraceni dominanti in quest' isola di Malta ne rimane qualche monumento. Nel cortile della casa d'uno dei nostri principali cittadini si trova incastrata nel muro una pietra quasi quadrata, essendo di palmi due e tre once di larghezza, ed un pajo d'once più lunga, nella quale a gran caratteri arabici è scolpita una lunga epigrafe. Di essa presero più copie diversi forestieri eruditi. Noi ne mandammo una, presso a cinque lustri sono, al proposto Giovannantonio Goti, il quale ci scrisse averla inviata a Monsignor Assemani, per farla da lui spiegare, ma poi non ebbimo verun riscontro. La communicammo anche al nostro Camillo Falconet, membro pensionario dell' Accademia reale delle iscrizioni e belle lettere di Parigi, versato in più lingue e scienze, il quale ce ne diede la spiegazione. Questa è, che il contenuto nel cerchio di mezzo è un epitaffio d'una figliuola d'un Arabo (e questi tra uno de' principali Saraceni che quì dominavano) di nome Hassan, e che le altre parole scolpite ne' tre lati esprimono alcune sentenze sopra la morte, tolte dall' alcorano. Fin quì il Conte Ciantar, nella Malta illustrata, T. I. p. 691."

"Questa indicazione sommaria e poco soddisfacente di ciò che è contenuto nell' iscrizione, è tutto quello che si potè sulla stessa sapere dopo gli studj fatti dai dotti citati dal sudetto Conte. Molti altri insigni eruditi se ne occuparano in seguito, ma sempre invano.

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Nessuno riuscì mai a darne una traduzione ragionevole e compiuta. Alla fine noi abbiamo il vantaggio di averla attualmente, e ci facciamo piacere di communicarla agli amatori dell' antichità. Siamo tenuti di questa traduzione a S. E. il Cav. d' Italinsky, fu Inviato Straordinario e Ministro Plenipotenziario di S. M. l' Imperatore di Russia presso la Porta Ottomana, il quale, condotto dalle vicende de' tempi a Malta, e dietro alle sollecitazioni di molti maltese e stranieri, s' indusse ad occuparsi nel deciffrare questo antico monumento, la di cui interpretazione sembrava impossibile. Egli osservò che realmente era impossibile che si potesse tradurlo nei paesi esteri, poichè tutte le copie tratte dall' originale erano scorrettissime. Asserì di più che malgrado le molte sue osservazione fatte sull' originale, trovò due lettere, che, o per i guasti cagionativi da tempo, o per la singolarità dei caratteri, sono assolutamente indeciffrabili. La parola *giace* e la frase *preda della morte*, sono più presunzioni che spiegazioni di caratteri che non si poterono, per quanto si facesse, deciffrare."

After some farther remarks, the writer continues, "Ecco una copia esatta di questo rimarchevole monumento del duodecimo secolo, col testo in caratteri arabici, colla traduzione e note, tali quali ce le communicò il sudetto Sigr. Cavaliere."

Notwithstanding, however, the hopes of a correct reading and translation, which might have been entertained from the attempts made, on the spot especially, as above related, yet the "copia esatta," as afterwards given in modern Arabic characters, and ascribed to the Cav. d' Italinsky, is too far remote from the original to merit being again submitted to the public; and the like observation may be fitly extended to the lines subsequently given as a translation.

In the *Maltese Penny Magazine*, of the 19th Oct. 1839, this tombstone is again noticed: and, though the observations there made, are chiefly taken from the *Mines de l'Orient*, as above referred to, yet some little new is added, especially a Maltese version; the modern Arabic and the translation, however, are founded on the productions attributed to the Cav. d' Italinsky, and approach but in few particulars, if in any respect, nearer than his to the truth.

Soon after the fac-simile of the inscription reached the Society, a translation of the introductory and historical part, contained in the centre and hereafter marked (A), was effected, and for the most part with exactitude, by the skill and care of Mr. Norris, as read before the members at their meeting, on the 3rd of Nov. 1838. Other attempts have subsequently been made, not only of the central part,

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but of the marginal portions also: and Mr. Lane, the learned translator of the *Arabian Nights*, must be especially mentioned, as having made great advancement towards ascertaining both the correct reading and the real sense of the epitaph. That gentleman discovered the versification of the lines marked (B) (C) in the following transcript, an important aid, nay, on some occasions, a sure guide in the research. Mr. Lane's success, too, in other particulars, which will hereafter be noticed, evinces his intimate acquaintance with the language of the original. Still doubt remains as to the correct reading of a few words; and, consequently, as to the strict meaning intended. This chiefly arises from the indeterminate nature of the characters, void of the diacritical points as well as of the marks for short vowels and other purposes, which facilities occur in more modern Arabic writings.

Judging from the copy before us, the original must have been carefully engraved in the character called Karmatique by le Chevalier Marcel, in his *Paléographie Arabe*, being a florid style of writing, founded on the more ancient Cufic. The lady, to whose memory the tablet was executed, was doubtless of a high family: and, the first patronymic attached to her father's name, shows him to have been an Arab of the celebrated tribe *Hudhail*, to individuals of which tribe poetical effusions of various kinds may be found attributed in the Hamása: so, to Abu Sakhr Alhudhalí, in grief for the loss of his mistress, is among others ascribed a short ode, of the force and beauty of which the following lines may impart some faint idea:—

What, and I swear by Him whose will must be,
Death follows life—grief joy, at whose decree,
Since She, whose friendship once what bliss to share!
Leaves me a prey to anguish and despair,
Do I not envy brutes the life they lead?
See, mates with mates at peace the desert tread:
Then, love for Her! let each successive hour
Double thy fervour and augment thy power;
No rest I covet till I reach the tomb,
No consolation ere the day of doom.
Wondrous, with Her, how light time winged his way,
Without Her, now, how heavy hangs the day!

In addition to what is mentioned above relative to this monument, we find in the Malta *Penny Magazine*, before noticed, that the "stone belonged originally to the noble family of Sciara, in whose possession

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it yet remains, being still to be seen in the wall of a house situated in Strada Stretta and Str. Brettanica, appertaining to the Baronessa Parisi, and at present occupied by the Judge G. B. Satariano."

At the end of the first volume of *Mines de l'Orient*, is an attempted fac-simile on a reduced scale, as well as in the Malta Magazine above quoted: it will be evident, however, from a comparison of them with the plaster impression now owned by the Society, that both the former are very deficient in correctness.

Transcript of the Epitaph in Naskhi or modern Arabic characters.

(B)

اني الموت احرجني قصرا فيا اسفي لم تنجني منه ابواي و اغلا

(C) (C)

يامن را القبر اني (A) و مقامي في البلا

قد بليت به و باسم الله الر عبر و في

التراب غبر حمن الرحيم و صلي الله نشوري

اجفاني و علي النبي محمد و علي اذا ما جيت

اما قي في اله و سلم تسليما لله خلاقي

مضجعي العز و البقا و علي خلقه كتب الفنا اخي فمد

ولكم في رسول الله اسوة حسنة هذا قبر وده

ميمونة بنت حسان بن علي الهذلي و [1]عدابر السوسي

توفيت رحمة الله عليها يوم الخميس السادس

عشر من شهر شعبان الكابر من سنة تسع و ستين و خمسماية

و هي تشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحد لا شريك له

(B) انظر بعينيك هل في الارض من بيت او حافر الموت او عاش من

(B) و صرت رهنا بما قدمت من عمل محضا على و ما خلفه بيا

The middle part (A) of this inscription presents no great difficulty to the translator, except as to the word above marked (1) apparently a proper name, which, from the indefinite nature of the characters

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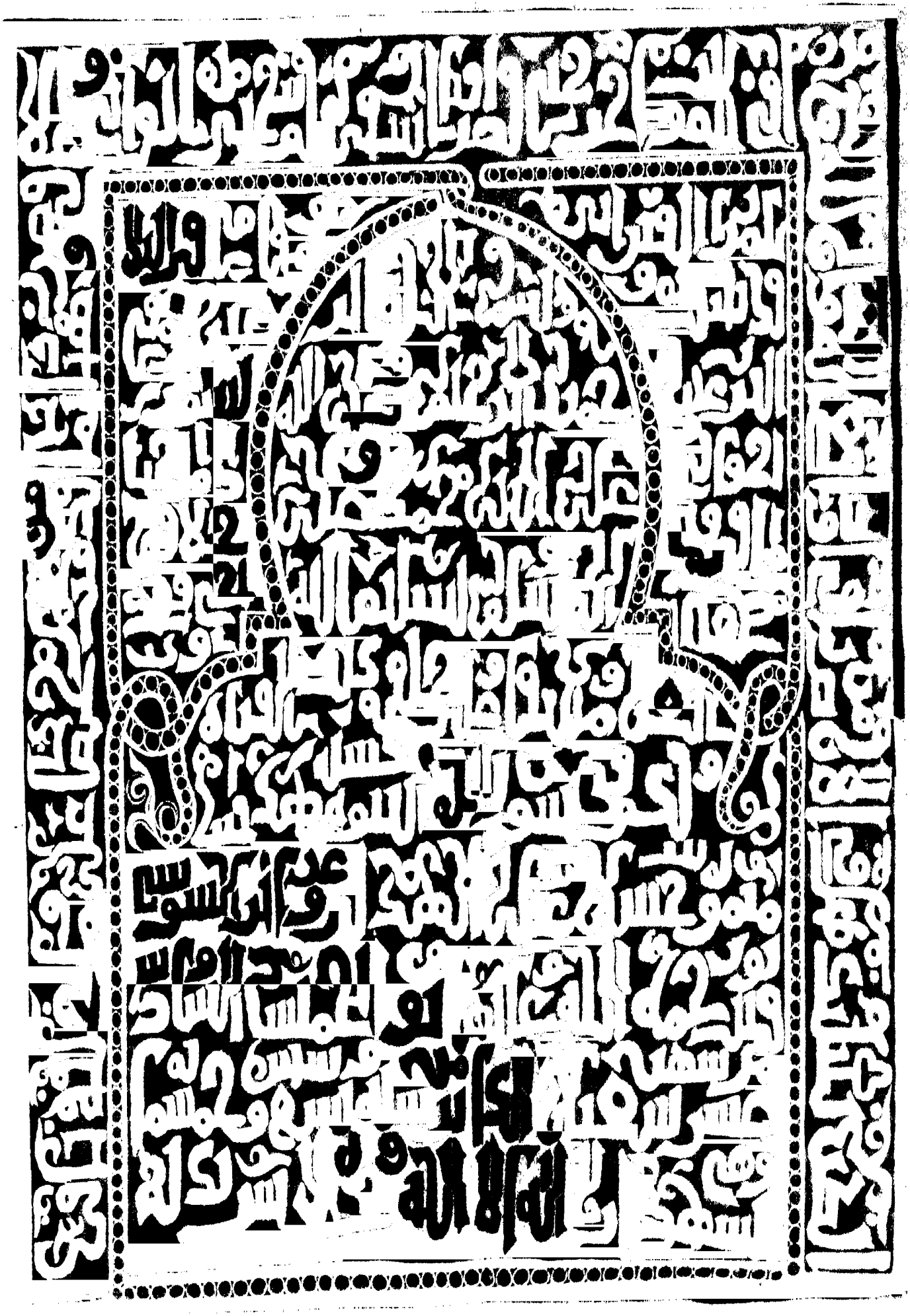

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has not yet been ascertained: and the sense of this portion may be the following:—

In the name of (the[1]) God, the merciful, the merciful: and (the) God bless the prophet Muhammad and his family, and with salvation save! To (the) God (belong) glory and immortality; but, on his creatures is written[2] perishableness: and, to you in the messenger of (the) God is an excellent example. This is the tomb of Maimúna, daughter of Hassán, son of Alí, of the tribe Hudhail and of Sús: she resigned life, the mercy of (the) God upon Her, thursday the sixteenth of Shaabán the great[3], in the year five hundred and sixty nine[4], testifying that there is no God but (the) God, one, to whom there is no companion.

Of the marginal portions (B) (C), which are almost wholly poetical, it is more difficult to ascertain both the reading and meaning; for which reason, it may be of use to write them again, distinguishing the verses, and exhibiting the diacritical marks now usual in Arabic. And, though it is not clear which portion of the two was actually designed to precede, yet the lines marked (B) may, without inconvenience, be first noticed.

انظر بعينيک هل في الارض من باقي

او دافع الموت او للموت من راقي

الموت احرجني قصرا فيا اسفي

لم تنجني منه ابوابي و اغلاقي

و صرت رهنا بما قدمت من عمل

محضا علي وما خلفه باقي

[1] The article is used in the appellation of the Being adored by Muhammadans, by way of distinction from the indefinite الٰه *iláh* (any being) adored; which latter words occurs towards the end of this part of the inscription.

[2] Doubt may be entertained as to the correctness of كتب in the fifth line, here translated "is written"; yet, this reading seems fully sanctioned by the Koran; so, in سورة آل عمران we find كُتِبَ عليهم القتل *killing is written (destined) upon them.*

[3] The reading الكابر in the ninth line, here rendered by "the great," is questionable. Mr. Lane writes it الكابين

[4] Twenty-first of March, 1174, of our era.

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The measure, as Mr. Lane discovered, is بسيط *basit.* In the first hemistich of the second verse, is a doubtful reading, احرجني قصرا which, probably, should be, اخرجني قصرا. The first, which Mr. Lane adopts, might be rendered *made (too) narrow for me a palace*, or, according to that gentleman, *has prohibited me a pavilion*; and, the latter may be translated, *made me depart in the evening*, or *expelled me (as to) a palace*; yet this last cannot well be justified by Arabic grammar. In the first hemistich of the third verse, the reading سرت رهنا as given by Mr. Lane, though apparently, in regard to one letter, difficult to reconcile with the original, conforms to the measure of the verse; and, with respect to meaning, is sanctioned by the Koran[1], from which the phrases here throughout, are borrowed as much as possible. The first word of the last hemistich is read عصا by Mr. Lane, though he notes his doubt of it: and, عضا *solely, only*, as written above, may, perhaps, suit better with the context.

Of these verses, then, a translation, nearly literal, may be:—

Look with both thine eyes, is any one on earth immortal[2]*?*
Or (is there) a repeller of death, or any enchanter against him?

[1] So, in سورة و الطور we find وكل امرئ بما كسب رهين *every man is pledged in what he has wrought*: again in سورة المدثر we read كل نفس بما كسبت رهينة *every soul is pledged in that which it has wrought.* And, in a note appended to the first of these passages, at p. 424, of his translation, Sale says, "Every man is pledged unto God for his behaviour: and if he does well, he redeems his pledge; but if evil, he forfeits it." The latter part of the same hemistich resembles much the passage ذلك بما قدمت ايديكم *this is for what your hands have before done*, which occurs in سورة آل عمران.

[2] In the سورة النحل we find ما عندكم ينفد وما عند الله باق *whatever is with you shall vanish; but, what is with (the) God is eternal.*

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Death made (too) narrow for me (or straitened to me) a palace; for, woe is me!
My gates and bars protected me not from him:
And, I became a pledge for the deeds I (should) have done previously (to death),
Solely[1] *(remaining) upon me; and, what follows is immortal.*

The verses marked (c) on the two recesses, may be thus transcribed :—

يا مَن رَا القبر إني قد بِلِيتُ بِهِ
و التربُ غيرَ اجفاني و آماقي
في مَضجعي و مَقامي في البلا عِبرٌ
و في نشوري إذا ما جِيتُ خلاقي
أخي فحدوده

[1] That good works alone remain of value after death, is frequently testified in the Koran; so, in the سورة النحل the angels are represented as saying to the righteous ادخلوا الجنة بما كنتم تعملون *enter the garden with what (or for what) ye have wrought:* again, ولنجزين الذين صبروا اجرهم باحسن ما كانوا يعملون *and we shall certainly reward those who are patient with their reward, according to the utmost good which they shall have performed.* Again, in the سورة و الصفات it is said, و ما تجزون إلا ما كنتم تعملون *and ye shall be recompensed only as to what ye shall have done:* and, in the سورة الجاثية we find, من عمل صالحا فلنفسه و من أساء فعليها *whoever does that which is right, (it is) for himself; and, whoever doeth evil, (it is) upon (him) self.* The preposition, to which the primitive sense, *upon*, is given in the passage just quoted, is rendered by Sale *against*, which may be correct, being probably designed as the opposite to the preposition used in the foregoing sentence; and Mr. Lane renders the same word, *against*, in translating the last hemistich of these verses; yet, the meaning here preferred, seems best to fit the reading adopted: so, in سورة والطور we find فاصبروا أو لا تصبروا سواء عليكم *then be patient, or be not patient, it is equal upon (or in regard to) you.*

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In this part, Mr. Lane's endeavours were mostly successful: the ast words, however, appended at it were to the verses, he left undeciphered; and, the reading here ventured on, is, in a great measure, conjectural. The expression in the latter part of the first hemistich may refer to the trial by Munkar and Nakír, immediately after the body is deposited in the tomb; or, perhaps, rather to the state of probation continued even in death: so, in the سورة الملک we read

الذي خلق الموت و الحيوة ليبلوكم ايكم احسن عملا

who created death and life, that He might prove you (as to) which of you is best in act[1]. The idea expressed in the second hemistich, probably refers to the Eastern practice of painting the eyes. The meaning of the latter hemistich may be borrowed from the Koran, as in سورة الملک we read و اليه النشور *and to Him is the rising again.* The last word, too, if rightly transcribed, is, no doubt, derived from the like source; so in سورة البقر it is said و من يتعد حدود الله فاولئك هم الظالمون *and whoever transgresses the limits (statutes) of God, then those, they are the wicked.*

A translation of the portions marked (c) may literally then be:

O thou, who beholdest the tomb, in which my trial I have borne,
And the earth has filled with dust the lids and corners of my eyes,
In my bed and my abode in trial (or in wretchedness) is warning,
And in my rising again, when I come before my Maker.

O brother (take warning, for) then are the limits (statutes, ordonnances or punishments[2]*) of Him (the Creator).*

For the English reader, the Arabic verses have been paraphrastically attempted as follows:

(B)

Death comes resistless; look this globe around,
What art averts him? Who immortal found?
Goodly my mansion, death expelled me thence;
'Gainst him my gates and bars a vain defence:

[1] Maracci, in a note, says, that the souls of the dead, according to Muhammadans, remain with the bodies in their tombs till the resurrection, after which, they go to heaven or to hell.

[2] Among lawyers, حدود is generally applied to the punishments fixed by a judge.

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Pledged for my deeds, the good I'd done my store,
Now all I claim, exposed to death no more.

(c)

O thou, who view'st the tomb, where suffering lies
My altered body, filled with dust mine eyes,
Know this my wretched state is soon thy own;
And both must stand before our Maker's throne:
Then come, for deeds as done, so Heaven ordains,
Eternal pleasures or unceasing pains.

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ART. IX.—*Observations on the Expediency of opening a Second Port in China, addressed to the President and Select Committee of Supracargoes for the management of the Affairs of the Honourable East India Company in China, by* SAMUEL BALL, Esq., Inspector of Teas.

INTRODUCTION.

THE following Memoir, bearing date the 2nd July, 1816, was written on the occasion of Lord Amherst's Embassy to Pekin. A few copies were printed at the Company's press at Macao, early in the year 1817, for private circulation only, and were very sparingly distributed, so that this memoir has now become scarce, and not to be found, except in a few public and private libraries. The publication of it, therefore, at the present moment, when our relations with China are exciting an intense interest, seems highly desirable. The time is now come when we are called upon to decide what new privileges we have to demand of the Chinese: and since a more unrestricted intercourse with that country is looked for, it becomes an object of the first importance to ascertain at what Ports these privileges may be best obtained; for on that decision the future interests of the trade depend. It will be found that this memoir enters upon that subject with a minuteness of detail and fulness of illustration, not even attempted in any other publication. And though the principles laid down and course of arguments employed, may seem exclusively confined to the state of the trade under the control of the East India Company, yet they will be found, in fact, equally applicable to the circumstances of the trade at the present moment, and to contain matter eminently worthy of the attention of the public. It has been deemed advisable not to alter the original text, but to add a few notes, marked thus ☞, where any change of circumstances in the trade, or matter furnished by more recent information, seemed to render such observations necessary. For greater ease of reference, the Chinese names of places have been altered and adapted to the orthography of Arrowsmith's map.—EDIT.

THE importance of opening a second port in China, as connected with the Company's interests, has escaped the attention of few persons who have given the least consideration to our connections with

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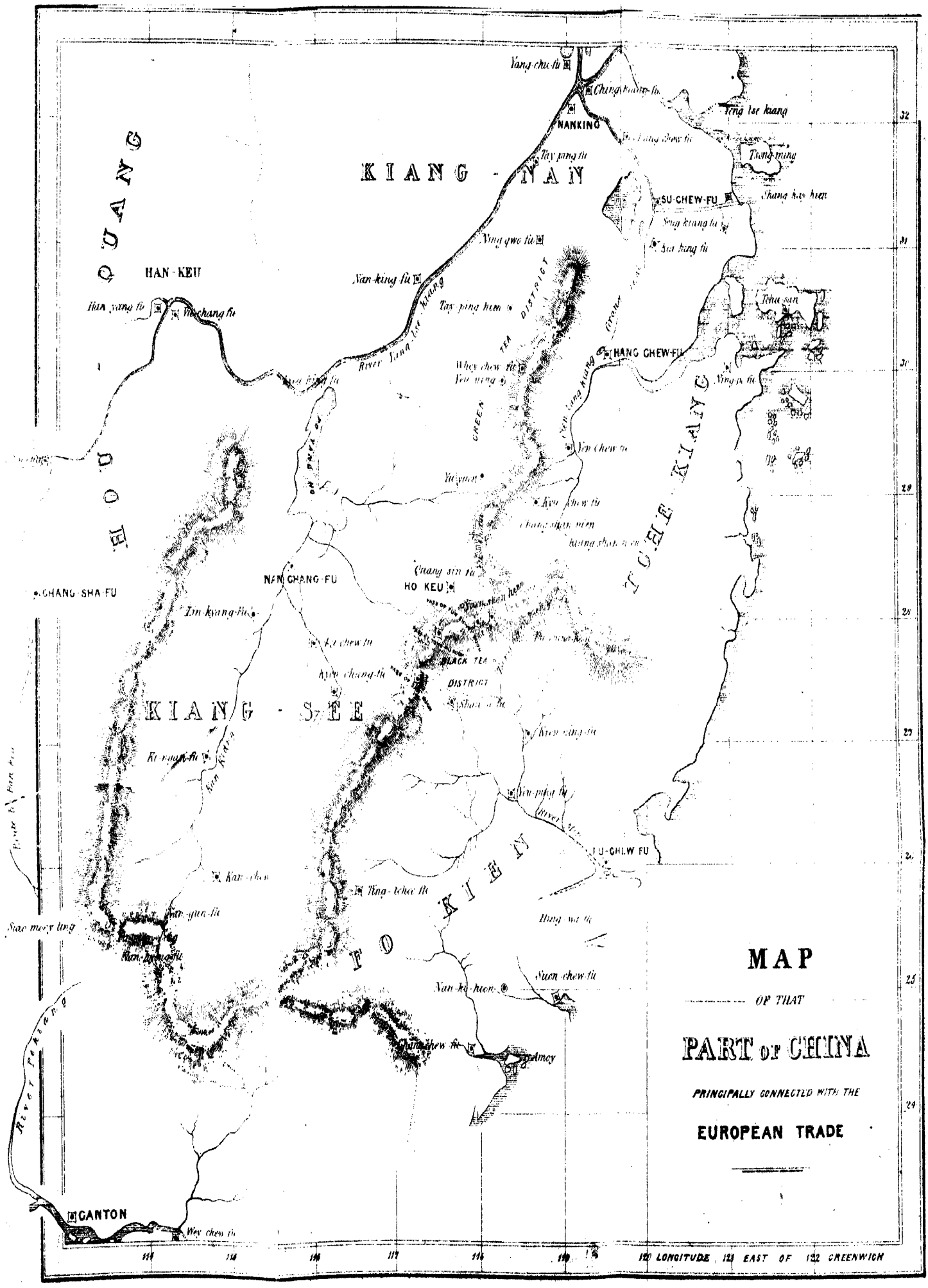

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that country. Unfortunately, however, there exists so much diversity of opinion as to which port would be the most favourable, that we are involved nearly in the same doubt and perplexity, as if nothing had been written upon the subject. Some have fixed on Amoy; others on Ning-po; some on Shang-hay-hien, in Kiang-nan; some on Chusan, and Formosa; and some even on Cochin-China. It is to be regretted, that none of the advocates for those ports have stated their reasons of preference more at large; nor is it easy to perceive upon what principles they are grounded. If they be tried by the first great rule in commerce, viz., to choose the point where we are best enabled to buy the cheapest and sell the dearest, none will appear to have much weight.

Tea may be considered as the only valuable branch of our trade, and all our imports are subservient to the purchase of this article. Let it be remembered, that scarcely a single article of the Company's imports, except cotton, would ever be brought to China, but for the purchase of tea*. It therefore appears probable, even without any examination, that the port to which the teas can be sent at the least expense must be the best situation for the Company's trade.

If the trade were perfectly unrestrained, no inquiry would be necessary; but since it is diverted from its natural course by the arbitrary regulations of the Chinese Government, if we seek any amelioration, we must endeavour to determine what the natural channels would be, provided the trade were left free.

Many preliminary objects must therefore be discussed before we can arrive at any solid conclusions upon this subject. We must first determine:—Which are the great rivers of the empire; through what provinces they flow; where they disembogue into the sea; how they are connected with other smaller rivers; and whether, and where they form a junction;—what are the most populous districts;—what cities or towns are principally connected with the consumption of our imports; and which are the seats of the growth and manufacture of the goods we export.

When we have determined the relative importance of these, we shall then be enabled to ascertain which port will be the most favourable for the trade.

The present inquiry will therefore be conducted upon these principles; and I think I shall be enabled to prove, that Canton is, of all other ports, the most unfavourable for the trade; and that a port

☞ * This observation, though true at that period, must now be received with some allowance.—See Appendix K for loss on British imports, which, in 1814-15, amounted to tales 247,112, or 82,370*l.*

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hitherto unknown, or unnamed, that of Fu-chew-fu, in the province of Fo-kien, in the immediate vicinity of the tea country, is the most favourable.

The two great rivers in this vast empire are the Yang-tse-kiang, and the Yellow River.

The Yang-tse-kiang is the finest and most navigable river in all China. It flows from west to east through the provinces of Se-tchuen and Hou-quang, and skirting the northern part of the province of Kiang-see, disembogues into the sea in Kiang-nan. These provinces are the central, and have, in all ages, been the most celebrated and populous provinces in the empire[1].

The Yellow River, though large, is not very navigable. This river also bends its course from west to east, and disembogues itself into the sea in the province of Kiang-nan, though it can scarcely be said to enter China until it divides the two provinces of Shen-see and Shan-see[2].

In the same part of the empire, (the province of Kiang-nan,) where these two rivers disembogue into the sea, is also found that stupendous work, the Grand Canal. It extends from the city of Hang-chew-fu, situated on the borders of the two provinces of Tche-kiang and Kiang-nan, in an irregular line of 500 miles to the northward, through the populous provinces of Kiang-nan and Shan-tung; and forming a junction with the Ouey-ho, or Eu-ho, and the Pei-ho, thus unites the two provinces of Kiang-nan and Tche-kiang, with the imperial city of Pekin, the present capital of the empire.

Upon inquiry, I find that the direct inland communication between the southern provinces of the empire, and the celebrated city of Su-chew-fu, the capital of the eastern division of Kiang-nan, is not by the Yang-tse-kiang*; but in that tract pursued by the embassy under Lord Macartney, by the city of Hang-chew-fu, where the Grand Canal terminates, and along the rivers Tcheng-tang-kiang, Kan-kiang, and Pe-kiang, in the provinces of Tche-kiang, Kiang-see, and Quang-tong.

Thus, as the great river, the Yang-tse-kiang, running through the centre of the empire, connects its western and eastern extremities in the province of Kiang-nan; so also do the Yellow River and the Grand Canal unite this province with the city of Pekin, the capital of the empire, and the provinces of the north. The Tcheng-

[1] See Appendix A. [2] See Appendix B.

* The reason is—the route by this river is more tedious and uncertain in the present state of navigation in China. See Sir G. T. STAUNTON'S *Notes on the Embassy to Pekin*, 1806, pp. 273, 274.

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tang-kiang, which flows past the city of Hang-chew-fu, connects this province again with the rivers of Tche-kiang, Kiang-see, Quang-tong, and Fo-kien, thus forming a grand communication with all the great rivers and canals of the empire; and uniting in the eastern division of the province of Kiang-nan, the northern and southern, as well as the western and eastern extremities of the empire: a circumstance which has, in all ages, rendered this particular district eminently populous and commercial. No less than five cities of the first order —among which are the celebrated ones of Su-chew-fu and Hang-chew-fu—are seated on the banks of that part of the Grand Canal which lies between the basin at Hang-chew-fu, and its junction with the Yang-tse-kiang, a distance of only 200 miles; besides Nankin the ancient capital of the empire, the cities of Song-kiang-fu, and Heu-chew-fu, and innumerable towns and hamlets in its immediate vicinity.

The population of China was estimated in the year 1777[1], by the Père Amiot, not to be overrated at 200,000,000. The amount furnished by the Père Allerstain, in the same memoir, is reckoned for the several provinces as follows:—

Pe-tche-lee	15,000,000	Ho-nan	16,000,000
Shen-see	7,000,000	Hou-quang	17,000,000
Shan-see	10,000,000	Se-tchuen	3,000,000
Shan-tung	25,000,000	Quey-chew	3,000,000
Kiang-nan	46,000,000	Kan-sou	7,000,000
Tche-kiang	16,000,000	Yun-nan	2,000,000
Fo-kien	6,000,000	Quang-see	4,000,000
Kiang-see	11,000,000	Quang-tong	7,000,000

Total, 197 Millions.

Thus the population of the province of Kiang-nan exceeds that of any other in China; whilst that of the provinces with which it has a complete water communication, perfectly uninterrupted, and unimpeded by mountains or land journies[2], would amount, including Kiang-nan itself, to seven-tenths of the whole population of the empire; and whatever diversity of opinion there may be respecting the whole population of China, all are agreed, that these provinces have had a vast superiority in relative population at all periods[3].

[1] Date of Memoire. See *Memoires des Chinois*, tom. 6, p. 275.

[2] The provinces above alluded to are Kiang-see, Ho-nan, Hou-quang, Se-tchuen, and Quey-chew, all within the influence of the Yang-tse-kiang; and those of Pe-tche-lee, Shan-tung, and Tche-kiang, connected with the navigation of the Grand Canal.

[3] The provinces of Kan-soe, Shen-see and Shan-see, are not included in the above seven-tenths of the population, because I have no accurate information of

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The principal places known to the merchants at Canton, as the great marts of trade, whence European commodities are diffused over the empire, are the cities of Su-chew-fu, in the province of Kiang-nan; Hang-chew-fu, in the province of Tche-kiang; Vu-chang-fu, or Han-keu, the capital of the northern division of the Hou-quang; Chang-cha-fu, the capital of the southern division of the same province; Nang-chang-fu, the capital of Kiang-see; and Canton, the capital of Quang-tong.

The most celebrated of these are Su-chew-fu, in Kiang-nan; Hang-chew-fu, in Tche-kiang; and Han-keu, or Vu-chang-fu, in Hou-quang[1]. The other places, and those indeed of the first importance to our trade, are the districts in which the green and black teas are produced; the one situated in the neighbourhood to the west of Whey-chew-fu, in the province of Kiang-nan; and the other in the mountains of Vu-ye, situated towards the N. W. part of the province of Fo-kien.

Now the distance from the mouth of the Yang-tse-kiang, or from the city of Hang-chew-fu, is less to any of these places than from Canton to the same places. The navigation from Canton, through the provinces of Kiang-see and Hou-quang, is impeded by a chain of mountains that divides these provinces from that of Quang-tong (Canton), at the passes of Siao-moey-lin, and Ta-moey-lin, the former in Hou-quang, and the latter in Kiang-see. In the route to Hang-chew-fu, it is impeded a second time, by a short land journey at Yu-shan, on the borders of Kiang-see and Tche-kiang. A second land journey must also be performed into the black tea districts, at the Passes of Fun-shuey-kuon, and Tong-mu-kuon, where a lofty chain of mountains separates this province from the adjacent one of Kiang-see. The rivers in Kiang-see and Hou-quang have torrents which add somewhat to the expense of the navigation:—the boats which navigate these rivers, and that of the Tcheng-tang-kiang, in Tche-kiang, are small; those of Kiang-see, seldom carry more than seventy or eighty chests of tea; the goods are transhipped four or five times on their passage, and the navigation is tedious. But on that part of the Grand Canal, which lies between the city of Hang-chew-fu, and the river Yang-tse-kiang, Mr. Barrow speaks of having seen vessels of 200 tons; and Du Halde says the biggest barks

the inland navigation to and from these provinces. It is clear, however, from their being northern ones, they ought to be added. For the same reason, I have not included the province of Yun-nan, though the metals and other productions of this province are principally conveyed down the Yang-tse-kiang.

[1] See Appendix C. D. E.

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in the empire navigate the Yang-tse-kiang, as high as Han-keu, or Vu-chang-fu.

Thus it appears that the cities or towns, principally connected with the foreign trade are all within the influence of the Yang-tse-kiang and the Grand Canal; except those of Quang-tong, Quang-see, and Fo-kien; and that even the tea districts in this latter province are considerably nearer that river and the Grand Canal than to Canton:—also, that the facilities of communication with any of these cities or towns, by means of the Yang-tse-kiang and the Grand Canal are greater, and the navigation better, than from Canton to the same places.

The Company's imports into China consist of cotton, woollens, lead, iron, and tin. The exports of black and green tea, raw silk, and nankeens.

The Bombay cotton, is at present entirely manufactured, and principally consumed in the two provinces of Quang-tong and Quang-see. The Bengal cotton is partly consumed in the same provinces; but principally sent to Fo-kien, where it is manufactured and consumed.

By the accounts in the Appendix G it appears that the greatest quantity of woollens is sent to the two principal marts of commerce before described, viz. Han-keu, in Hou-quang, and Hang-chew-fu, in Tche-kiang; and that the whole quantity, except such part as is intended for the consumption of Quang-tong, Quang-see, and Fo-Kien, is sent to the before-mentioned provinces of Hou-quang, Kiang-see, Kiang-nan, and Tche-kiang, all within the influence of the great river, the Yang-tse-kiang, and the Grand Canal, or to the provinces north of these. Consequently, the river Yang-tse-kiang, or the city of Hang-chew-fu, would be more favourable situations than Canton for the diffusion of the woollens over the Empire, except such as are intended for the immediate consumption of the two provinces of Quang-tong and Quang-see.

The lead is chiefly consumed at Canton, this being an article that will not bear the expense of transport. A small quantity is sent annually to the green tea districts, but none to Fo-kien; the people of this province purchase their lead at Han-keu, and the expense of carriage being about one-half of that from Canton, is the reason why this lead is preferred.

Tin is also principally consumed at Canton; a small quantity, however, is also annually sent to the green tea districts. Iron will not bear the expense of transport, and is therefore consumed at Canton.

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Now supposing the trade with China to be rendered a free trade, it would probably settle itself into five ports, or divisions, viz. one in the Gulph of Pe-tche-lee; a second, at the mouth of the river Yang-tse-kiang, in Kiang-nan; a third, at Hang-chew-fu, in Tche-kiang; a fourth, at Fu-chew-fu, in Fo-kien; and a fifth, at Canton. The quantity and amount of Company's imports actually consumed in the present state of the trade, in each of these divisions, and the quantity and amount of exports that could be most conveniently shipped from the same places, are as follows:

IMPORTS[1].			EXPORTS.	
Districts.	Quantity of Woollens.	Amount of Sales at Canton.		Amount of Purchases at Canton.
Pe-tche-lee	one-ninth	270,552	... .	——
Yang-tse-kiang,	three-fifths	1,488,036	.....	——
Hang-chew-fu,..	one-ninth	270,552	Green Tea, Raw Silk, and Nankeens	1,759,023
Fo-kien[2], ...	——	——	Black Tea, consisting of two-thirds of the exports[3]	3,762,660
Canton, ...	one-sixth	1,051,708	.....	——
Ditto Cotton.....				
Ditto Lead and Iron				
	Tales,	3,080,848		
Add's. Long Ells, and other Woollens unaccounted for		171,632		
	Tales,	3,252,480	Tales,	5,521,683

Thus it appears that the port of Canton is not naturally connected with any part of the export trade, and is useful merely for the consumption of imports suited to this province and that of Quang-see. If so large a proportion of woollens as one-sixth, and imports generally are consumed in these two provinces, it arises merely from this principle—that whatever port is rendered the general emporium of the trade, there will there exist a greater consumption of foreign imports, compared with its population, than in any other part of the Empire.

[1] Imports for season 1814-15. See Appendix K.

[2] The woollens annually sent to Fo-kien have been added to Hang-chew-fu, the quantity being small.

[3] See Appendix L.

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A port in the Gulph of Pe-tche-lee could only be favourable for the introduction of articles suited to the consumption of the three provinces of Pe-tche-lee, Shan-see, and Shan-tung.

The city of Hang-chew-fu is the most favourable situation for the exportation of the green teas, raw silk, and nankeens, and is also a good situation for the introduction of goods for general consumption.

But the two most natural and best ports in the empire are the Yang-tse-kiang, which carries off three-fifths of the woollens, and the province of Fo-kien, which produces two-thirds of the exports.

Thus, so far as population, wealth, actual consumption, and easy transport of goods are concerned, a port in the Eastern division of the province of Kiang-nan, at that point where the river Yang-tse-kiang cuts the Grand Canal, is the best geographical situation for the introduction of all goods suited to general consumption; and might, perhaps, be the most favourable one for the trade, but for the bulk and great expense of transporting the black tea out of the province of Fo-kien[1].

Fo-kien is divided from the adjacent provinces by a chain of mountains that renders the transport of goods exceedingly expensive[2].

The passes over which the teas are carried into the province of Kiang-see, and from thence to Canton, lie to the north of Tsong-ngan-hien, where the river Min ceases to be navigable. The expense of porterage across these mountains, amounts to one tale, two mace, five candareens per pecul[3]; which is more than one-third of the whole carriage; though this pass is not one-seventh of the whole distance, nor the time occupied one-fifth of the whole time necessary for the transport of the teas to Canton. Such is the expense of this

1 It is doubtful whether the rivers Yang-tse-kiang and Tcheng-tang-kiang are accessible to ships of heavy burthen. In that case the port of Shang-hay-hien, recommended by Mr. Pigou, becomes exceedingly worthy of attention. This port, on account of its central situation between the two cities of Su-chew-fu and Hang-chew-fu, and its proximity to the Yang-tse-kiang, certainly combines many advantages*. See Appendix T.

2 See Appendix M. and N.

3 See Appendix Q b.

* The emporium of Shang-hay-hien has since been visited by Mr. Lindsay. He considers it a highly commodious port, and observes that "the advantages which foreigners, especially English, would derive from the liberty to trade to this port, would be incalculable." See further observations in note to Appendix T.

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land journey, which is the usual route for conveying the tea to the other provinces. Nor can the teas be moved out of this province, without incurring an expense of carriage of five times the amount necessary for shipping them from the port of Fu-chew-fu. But the greater the expense of crossing these mountains, the more necessary is a port in Fo-kien.

I have also reason to think that the porterage across these mountains is more expensive on tea than on other articles, owing to the inconvenient size of the package. It is more so than either silver or lead[1]; and it is certain that the woollens are unpacked at Canton and repacked into chests, which contain four or five pieces, in order to render the package more convenient for carriage[2].

Again, the route by which teas pass out of Fo-kien is considered as difficult and expensive, and is not the usual one from the coast into Kiang-see[3] and Tche-kiang. It is, therefore, no doubt dearer. Thus a further saving would be made in favour of woollens.

Until better information, however, be obtained upon these points, it would be useless to estimate the expense of transporting goods to the principal marts of trade. The advantage, or otherwise, will principally depend upon the navigation up the river Min; and the passage across the mountains.

The little information I possess upon this subject leads me to think that goods can be transported cheaper from Fu-chew-fu to Hang-chew-fu, than from Canton to Hang-chew-fu; to Han-keu also a trifle less; but to Nan-chang-fu, and the Green Tea Districts, the expense would be rather more.

But even supposing the expense of transporting woollens from Fu-chew-fu to Hang-chew-fu to be the same as from Canton to Hang-chew-fu—which is quite improbable,—still the bulk of the woollens is so small, compared with that of the black teas, that the

[1] The expense of transport between Ho-keu, in the province of Kiang-see, and Sing-tsun, in the mountain of Vu-ye, in Fo-kien, where the black tea is packed for the European market, is,

On silver..... .. 133 Candareens per peeul.
On lead ..... 70 ditto ditto

when carried the whole way by porters; but on tea, though part of the carriage is by water, it amounts to 180 candareens.

[2] What has been said of the woollens not being unpacked, is more particularly applicable to the external covering that envelops each piece of cloth, and not to the bale itself, for it may be said that not a single bale of cloth is sent inland in its original package. This, however, as it concerns the confidence commercially reposed in the company, is the same.

[3] See Appendix O and P.

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whole amount of duties and carriage of even five-sixths of the woollens would not amount to so much as the carriage of tea from the Vu-ye mountains to the city of Hang-chew-fu, which is only half the distance; and Hang-chew-fu is the nearest port to the Tea Districts, out of the province of Fo-kien.

It is not to be supposed, however, that any reduction can be effected in the transport duties. The Chinese are unlikely to grant privileges to foreigners, which necessarily entail a loss on themselves; and if no saving be made in the duties, then the carriage of the same quantity of woollens (five-sixths) would not amount to one-third of the carriage of tea from Fo-kien[1].

Again, the tea trade, though ostensibly a trade of barter, may really be considered a trade in cash. The advances made to the tea-men are in dollars, and not in long-ells; and the balance, though paid in long-ells, is converted as soon as possible into dollars, and sent to Fo-kien. Thus, at any rate, so far as the province of Fo-kien is concerned, from the early advances until the final returns of the tea, the trade is a complete cash transaction.

But if the tea-men sell their woollens for cash, how much more advantageous must it be to the Company to do the same[2]; and by sailing to Fo-kien with their dollars, save the expense of transport on tea; and still more certainly advantageous would it be to carry such dollars as we import ourselves, or procure by bills, and these amount to no less than one-third of the exports.

It is obvious also that these arguments are applicable to any part from which the tea-men are supposed to carry dollars to Fo-kien, whether it be from Canton, the Yang-tse-kiang, or the Gulph of Pe-tche-lee.

That, in an open trade, our ships would resort to Fo-kien carrying dollars, to prevent the inland transport of so bulky an article as tea, cannot be doubted; and since this is the natural state of the trade, in an open and unrestrained intercourse with China, it is what under any circumstances is much to be desired.

	PECULS.	T.	M.		TAELS.
[1] Long-ells, five-sixths,	18,000, at	5	0	per pecul,	94,500
Broad cloth, five-sixths,	1,200, at	7	5	——	9,000
Camlets, three-fourths,	3,000, at	8	7	——	26,100
				Total	129,600
Black tea, say Peculs	150,000, at	2	8	——	420,000

[2] See Appendix I.

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Such then is the importance of a port in Fo kien, on account of the great expense of crossing the mountains in that province.

But, with respect to a port in Kiang-nan, the advantages are all speculative; they depend upon nothing which is reducible to figures; they all turn on expected increased consumption of imports, or increased price, or both. Though as to what effect may be produced, either on price or consumption, I confess myself utterly ignorant. To me it appears a subject in its nature too complex to speculate upon, even if we possessed more accurate and extensive information than we are ever likely to obtain in our present restrained and limited intercourse with this country.

The only certainty distinctly to be seen is—that as far as population, wealth, actual consumption, and easy transport of goods are concerned, a port in the Yang-tse-kiang is the most favourable *geographical situation* for the introduction of all articles of general consumption. It is there where, probably, the most extensive consumption and highest prices may be maintained; but what that consumption or those prices may be it is impossible to conjecture.

Both ports are highly important to the interests of the Company, the one as it affects consumption or imports—the other, production or exports; and each may have its advocates.

Those who delight to frame magnificent schemes of an unlimited consumption of our imports, converting at the same time the woollens[1], and all other unprofitable articles, into profitable ones, will choose a port in Kiang-nan; but those who are unwilling to sacrifice

[1] The woollens consist principally of long-ells. The prime cost of a piece of long-ells, in England, exclusive of freight and other charges, may be estimated at 2*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* the piece, which at 6*s.* 8*d.* the tale, or 5*s.* 6*d.* the ounce of dollars, amounts to 6 tales 5 mace; so that long-ells, at 8 tales 5 mace per piece, and dollars at 5*s.* 6*d.* the ounce, are equally advantageous articles of import—supposing neither the Company nor the Chinese merchants to sustain loss. But long-ells, from the year 1811 to 1814, when sold by the merchant to the shopkeeper or draper, at Canton, have realized only 7 tales the piece, after paying 1 tale 5 mace duty; thus making the highest mercantile price to the importer, without loss to the purchaser, 5 tales 5 mace per piece. It therefore follows, that the value of a piece of long-ells, viz., 2*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*, or 8 tales 5 mace, if invested in long-ells, would produce 35 per cent. less in China, than if invested in bullion.

Again, if the prime cost of a piece of long-ells is 8 tales 5 mace, and the Chinese duties 1 tale 5 mace, long-ells must realize 10 tales in the shops at Canton, before they can be rendered so advantageous to the Company as silver.

That long-ells might be converted into a profitable article of import at Canton, or any other port of trade, can scarcely be doubted. From the year 1799

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a certain profit to speculative advantages will give the preference to the port of Fu-chew-fu.

I shall therefore now show the benefits that would result to the Company's interests from the opening of this port.

to 1806, they averaged 9 tales at Canton; and in consequence of the late reduced importations, they are again rapidly rising to that price. But if converted into a profitable article at the port of trade, is it not possible they may be thrown altogether out of consumption in the distant provinces of the empire; and establish the fact that, like cotton and many other articles, though profitable at the port of trade, they are unable to bear the expense of transport*?

It would be erroneous also to imagine, that the present prices could be maintained in Kiang-nan, supposing Han-keu and Nan-chang-fu, the great inland marts of trade, were supplied from a port in that province. The expense of duties and carriage from Canton to Kiang-nan, is 1 tale 8 mace; but to Han-keu it is only 1 tale 2 mace per piece. Long-ells must therefore be dearer in Kiang-nan than at Han-keu. Probably the lowest price, after making the necessary allowance of profit to intermediate dealers, may be estimated at 12 tales 7 mace per piece at the former place, and 12 tales at the latter.

Thus it is obvious that the supply of Han-keu, &c., must proceed, as at present, from Canton, unless the merchants of those inland cities derive the same advantage from a trade with Kiang-nan they have been accustomed to receive from Canton. But even supposing one half of the transit duty, as well as carriage, to be saved by the opening of a port in Kiang-nan, still long-ells must fall to 7 tales 5 mace at that port, to enable the merchants of that province to supply Han-keu, &c., at 12 tales per piece. And should an additional duty of only 5 mace per piece be levied as a compensation for the loss of transit duty between Canton and Kiang-nan, then Kiang-nan would possess no advantage over Canton as a mart for the supply of the inland provinces, though considerable gain would be effected on the woollens for the supply of its own consumption.

* This supposition seems to have been realized, in some degree, since the opening of the trade. In 1814-15, the long ells imported, amounted to tales 1,438,640, or dollars 1,998,111; but on an average, from 1835-6 to 1837-8, the annual amount (agreeably to the Canton Register), was dollars 490,533: again, the whole amount of woollens for the first period was dollars 3,933,384; and for the second only, dollars 2,056,410; thus making a diminution of dollars 1,507,578 on long ells, and 369,396 on other woollens; or total falling off in the importation of woollens, dollars 1,876,947, which, at 4*s.* 6*d.* the dollar, would amount to 422,319*l.* But this is only an additional proof of the great disadvantage of Canton as an emporium for the distribution of imports over the Empire. Moreover, it will be found that since the opening of the trade, the great increase has been in the products of India, as cotton and opium, and not in British manufactures. At the same time the importations of cotton yarn and piece goods have been considerable; and in a freer intercourse with China, would doubtless become a most important branch of our trade.

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FU-CHEW-FU[1].

The city of Fu-chew-fu is situated in lat. 26° 2′ N., lon. 119° 30′ E., in the province of Fo-kien. The distance from the city to the probable place of anchorage is about thirty miles. Horsburg says seven leagues[2], which is about the same distance as from Canton to the Second Bar. By the chart in the Appendix, the port appears a favourable one, and contains a sufficient depth of water for the largest of the Company's ships*. Among other advantages which this city possesses, is the important one of its being the residence, not only of the Fu-yen, but the Tsong-tu, or viceroy, who presides over this province and the adjacent one of Tche-kiang.

The sudden removal of a trade of great magnitude from the channels in which it has been accustomed to flow is neither easy nor desirable. But never, perhaps, was a change of this nature proposed presenting fewer difficulties, or apparently less pregnant with risk or inconvenience, than that of the removal of the export trade to the port of Fu-chew-fu. It is the capital of the province, and in the vicinity of the district where the principal article of export is grown and manufactured. It is in the native province of the merchants or factors who bring this article to Canton;—with whom of late years we have personally, in conjunction with the Hong merchants, entered into contracts;—to whom we have annually made considerable advances of money;—and who are consequently acquainted with our manners, customs, and mode of conducting business. A mutual confidence in and knowledge of each others character and resources is therefore established; and these people, who at present contract to bring their teas to Canton, with all the inconveniences of a tedious route—partly mountainous—suffering a long separation from their homes and families, would obviously prefer conveying them by the more natural and easy channels of Fu-chew-fu, where such inconveniences would be avoided, and consequent deprivations greatly diminished; so that, if it were deemed advisable, the necessary arrangements might be made with these people, and in one year the principal part of the export trade

[1] See Appendix S. [2] See Appendix S a.

* This port has since been visited by Mr. Lindsay in the Amherst. He states, "the river Min is navigable for ships of the largest burthen, to within ten miles of the town, perhaps nearer. Fu-chew-fu is also a more central situation than Canton for the distribution of British woollen manufactures." He also adds, "the passage called Woo-foo-mun is considered as forming the entrance into the port, though the anchorage is quite as good outside."

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removed to that port. The increased demand for warehouses and boats could form no impediment to such arrangements in a city so extensive and populous as that of Fu-chew-fu.

But where the principal advantages of opening a new port are expected to be derived from the import trade, it is equally evident the same facilities could not be afforded. Even if the Canton Hong merchants were to remove with their families to that part of the empire, as was the case with the Fo-kien merchants, when the intrigues and superior influence of the Canton Government occasioned the European trade to be exclusively confined to that port, still these people, though natives of China, would experience all the difficulties of new settlers in a strange province; and many years must elapse before that mistrust inseparable from all transactions with strangers could be surmounted, and that confidence established which is necessary to render the import trade important to the Company's interest.

Supposing it to be desirable to retain a part of the export trade at Canton, the articles that can be brought to that city at least loss are the green teas, raw silk, and nankeens.

I shall therefore divide the trade into two divisions, assigning to Canton the exports of green tea, raw silk, and nankeens; and imports of the present quantity of Bombay cotton, lead, iron, and woollens, for the consumption of all the provinces of the empire, except those named under Fu-chew-fu;—and to Fu-chew-fu, the exports of black tea, and imports of woollens for the provinces of Fo-kien, Tche-kiang, Kiang-nan, Shan-tung, Shan-see, and Pe-tche-lee.

The imports for season 1814-15 amounted to tales 3,252,480; and the exports may be estimated at 5,521,683. The quantity and amount of imports and exports at each port would therefore be as follows:—

CANTON.

IMPORTS.		EXPORTS.	TALES.
Woollens for all the provinces of the empire, except those named under Fu-chew-fu, say 5-ninths,	1,352,760	Green Tea	1,133,150
		Raw Silk	507,483
		Nankeens	118,390
Bombay Cotton	564,100		
Lead	18,607		
Iron	63,173		
Tales,	1,998,640	Tales,	1,759,023

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FU-CHEW-FU.

Woollens for Fo-kien, Tche-kiang, Kiang-nan, Shan-tung, Shan-see, and Pe-tche-lee, say 4-ninths,	1,082,208	Black Tea	3,762,660
Total,	3,080,848	Total,	5,521,683

Add to either of these ports the superior long-ells and other woollens unaccounted for, amounting to tales 171,632.

The difference between the imports and exports at the port of Fu-chew-fu, might be supplied as at present by Bills on India and England, and the amount sent in dollars from Canton in ships that would sail from thence to that port; or rather by means arising out of that increase of India and British trade, which I shall presently show would take place in Fo-kien, in consequence of opening a port in that province.

The tonnage necessary for the exports from Canton being less than that required for the imports, could occasion no material loss or inconvenience, and might be productive of considerable advantage. New sources of trade may be opened and a coasting trade established, either on freight or otherwise. That such a trade exists to a prodigious extent among the Chinese, is evident from the numerous Fo-kien junks in the Canton river, and the innumerable trading vessels daily passing to and fro at Macao, and along every part of the coast of China. And doubtless in a free and open intercourse with this country, the superior construction and security of European vessels, and knowledge of insurance, would enable foreigners not only to participate in, but perhaps monopolize, this branch of commerce, and even attract to the coast much of that still more valuable trade, which, from the risks and fears of a sea voyage, is at present conducted by inland carriage. A great part of the trade between Manilla and Macao is already carried on in Portuguese and Spanish vessels, freighted by Chinese. But even supposing no better expedient could be devised than paying double port charges on ships that would sail empty from Canton to Fu-chew-fu, still the loss would not amount to forty thousand tales[1].

[1] Supposing the cotton and woollen ships bound to Canton to be for each article six in number, the imports at that port would require twelve ships; but the exports would only require five or six. Say seven ships sail empty to Fu-chew-fu, the extra port charges, at 4500 tales per ship, would not amount to more than 31,500 tales.

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Nor would the expense of a second establishment be great. The trade of Canton will be comparatively small. The imports would arrive between the months of July and September; and even allowing that any favourable circumstances, occasioned by the removal of the trade to Fo-kien, should enable the green teas to be brought to Canton six weeks sooner than ordinary, still they could not be finally shipped before the first of January. Thus the length of time the ships must unavoidably remain at Canton, together with the smallness of the trade, would enable the business of the season to be managed by a few persons.

Ships bound to Fu-chew-fu ought not to come up the China seas after the middle of August, to insure a direct passage through the Straits of Formosa. At that season of the year, ships sailing to Macao would make the eastern part of the Macclesfield Bank. The course from thence to the parallel of Macao in a passage to Fu-chew-fu, lies as much to the eastward of north, as the course to Macao is westward of north—say the one is N.N.E., and the other N.N.W.:—then, with a southerly wind, the time required to sail to that parallel would be the same in both cases; and the difference of passage from this parallel to Fu-chew-fu could not occupy more than two or three days; for the voyage from Macao to Fu-chew-fu has often been performed by ships in three or four days, which is nearly double the distance[1].

The black teas would arrive at Fu-chew-fu from the months of September to November, so that the whole fleet might be ready again for sea by the first of December. They consequently would arrive and sail at the finest season of the year; and as the whole business of both ports would be completed by the month of January, there would be a saving of time, and consequently of expense.

I shall now estimate the saving that would arise on the carriage of black tea to the port of Fu-chew-fu. The teas that go from Fo-kien to Canton are brought almost entirely by inland conveyance

1 Captain Ross, of the Honourable Company's ship Discovery, engaged in the survey of the China seas, is of opinion that there are intervals until the end of September when the winds are southerly for many days, and would enable ships to proceed to the northward, in case they had been obliged to put into Pa-k-sa-ho, Lam-ho, Amoy, or other ports short of Fu-chew-fu, during an easterly gale, which usually blows from three to five days without intermission. He also observes, that he has seen junks bound to Chu-san still prosecuting, without apprehension, their voyage along the coast about the end of August, which has led him to conclude they must have southerly winds frequently in September to carry them up.

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through the province of Kiang-see[1]. The journey generally occupies forty days, and sometimes two months. The distance is about 750 miles; and the expense of transport, exclusive of duties, is three tales, six mace, and five candareens per pecul[2].

Such as are brought by sea, which are very few[3], are transported down the river Min, and in eight days they arrive at the city of Fu-chew-fu. The distance from the tea districts to this city is about 240 miles, and the expense about four mace three candareens per pecul. The difference of expense therefore between these two routes would be three tales two mace—a saving of fifteen per cent. on the present cost of the tea to the Chinese Hong merchants at Canton. The exports of black tea being 152,374 peculs, the saving in carriage alone would amount, at three tales two mace per pecul, to tales 487,597, or 162,532*l.* per annum*. Such is the advantage of this port.

There are, however, savings on other items, and those considerable, whose precise amount cannot be estimated—such as the teamen's personal expenses;—those of their clerks and others attending the boats;—loss of time, and loss of comfort in being separated so far from their homes and families;—the expense of transporting dollars from Canton to the amount at least of 2,500,000 per annum on the Company's account alone;—interest of money at a high rate;—and damage of goods. All these expenses fall either directly or indirectly on the price of tea, and would be greatly diminished by the Company's dealing near the spot where the principal article of export is grown and manufactured.

Besides these several savings on tea, the great accession of wealth that would accrue to Fu-chew-fu from its becoming an emporium of the trade, would occasion throughout the province of Fo-kien a considerable and almost immediate increased consumption of every article of European produce. Nor would this increase be a mere transfer of consumption from Canton; for however much the present prosperity of that part of the empire may be ascribed to its long connexion with the foreign trade, yet as it is simply the empo-

[1] See Appendix Q. [2] See Appendix Q c.

[3] Why the Chinese bring so few teas by sea is explained in the Appendix Q a. It may be stated to arise from the bad construction of their vessels, ignorance of insurance, and perhaps a natural timidity of character, added to an aversion to the sea.

☞ * The quantity shipped for two years, from July 1836 to 1838, would make the annual quantity, peculs 209,824, which, at tales 3·2 per pecul, would produce a saving of tales 650,454, or, at 6*s.* 8*d.* the tale, 216,818*l.* per annum.

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rium, and not the seat of consumption of more than one-sixth part of the woollens, nor the place of growth or manufacture of any of the exports, it is exceedingly probable that the trade has been principally important in determining a quantity of capital, talent, and domestic industry to the province, which is now altogether independent of foreigners. New manufactures may have risen up owing, indeed, their origin to the increased wealth of the province derived from foreign trade, but which have now taken too firm a root to be materially affected by its removal. Some diminution of consumption must take place, though not to the extent of the increase likely to be produced at Fu-chew-fu.

The increase of the trade, therefore, at a second port would be real, and not merely a transfer of consumption; and in whatever degree our trade may have nursed and reared up new domestic industry at Canton, the habits, the taste, and dispositions of the people being everywhere the same, similar effects would be produced at any port to which the trade may be removed.

If some articles of the Company's and private imports, such as Bombay cotton, lead, iron, tin, betel-nut, &c., seem almost exclusively confined to Canton, it is not that this province favours their consumption more than any other of the empire, but merely from its being the only port open to Europeans, and that such articles will not pay the expense of transport to other provinces. Much of the Bengal cotton is already manufactured in the province of Fo-kien; and as the Bombay cotton is principally employed in the manufacture of cloths for the poor, and other inferior purposes, it is evidently equally suited to general consumption.

Fo-kien is a more favourable place than Canton for the introduction of lead. I find, by particular inquiry, that the whole of the lead of which the tea-canisters for the black tea are made, has for some years been procured from Han-keu in Hou-quang,—not from any particular excellence of quality, but because the expense of transport from Han-keu to the tea country is considerably less than from Canton. The cost at Han-keu is about the same as that of the Company's lead in the country market at Canton, and the expense of transport to the tea country is about one tale three mace per pecul. But the expense of transport from Fu-chew-fu would be only one tale per pecul; consequently it might be procured cheaper from Fu-chew-fu than either from Canton or Han-keu. The quantity of canisters annually made in the tea country may be estimated at 500,000, which, at five catties per canister, would amount to 25,000 peculs of lead. The importation of 1814-15 amounted to less than 5,000 peculs.

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With respect to iron, it is exceedingly doubtful whether unwrought iron ever can become an advantageous article of import, though some articles of wrought iron may. If any provinces favour its introduction, it can only be such as have no mines. But Canton is well supplied with iron, and even lead, from mines in the immediate vicinity of the city. There does not then appear much reason to imagine, that iron would find a less favourable sale in the province of Fo-kien than in Canton.

Tin, betel-nut, rattans, and other articles of Strait's produce, already find a considerable consumption in Fo-kien, where they are carried by junks or vessels belonging to that province.

The remaining articles, as opium, woollens, skins, pearls, Beche de Mer, birds' nests, spice, pepper, and sandal wood, also find a sale in Fo-kien: and these being articles capable of bearing the expense of transport to distant provinces, Fu-chew-fu, from its proximity to the city of Hang-chew-fu, and province of Kiang-nan—the great seat of population and wealth, as well as point of union of the great rivers and canals of the country—is more favourably situated than Canton for the diffusion of these articles over the empire.

Thus, as no additional expense would be incurred for the carriage of goods to any of the principal marts of trade, the great saving will arise on black teas, which has already been shown to amount in boat-hire alone to tales 487,597, or 162,532*l.* per annum; to which must be added the other great savings on tea before enumerated*, the profits arising from increased consumption of imports, and any saving that may be made in the transport of woollens and other goods to Hang-chew-fu; from which must be deducted the expense of a second establishment, and double port charges upon such ships as sail to two ports.

Supposing then the port of Fu-chew-fu to be obtained, a saving would there ensue which is not attainable at any other port in China; and whatever contingent advantages may render other ports desirable, still these advantages can never lessen the importance of the port of Fu-chew-fu.

The advantages also to be derived from the change here proposed are not remote and speculative, but immediate and real; and whatever errors may have entered into this investigation, I feel fully confident

* Now amounting to 216,818*l.* per annum, on boat hire alone; and seeing the daily increasing consumption of tea from the increase of population at home, and the vast extension and rapidly increasing prosperity of our colonies, the total savings here alluded to may fairly be estimated at not much less than 300,000*l.* per annum.

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that the result will be nearly the same, and most important in its consequences to the Company's and British interests.

Nor are the obstacles to the opening of a second port relatively to the Chinese of a nature insurmountable. Perhaps it might not be difficult to show that a change would be mutually beneficial; and whatever may have been said of the jealousy and suspicion of these people, it may be doubted whether they are so bigoted to forms as to sacrifice even their smallest interests where a change seems to involve no radical injury to their institutions. They have no objection to the trade, if it can be carried on peaceably; and nothing can appear more reasonable on our part, or more intelligible to them, than our wishing to carry it on where we can purchase the articles we require the cheapest.

It is not, however, my intention to speculate upon this subject; but merely to elicit inquiry as to what port would be the most beneficial to the Company's interests, should we ever have it in our power to choose.

Objections to Ports previously named. *

Amoy is a most extensive and beautiful port, so free from dangers that ships may sail in and out without pilots. The principal danger is a rock at the entrance of the harbour. There is no river, however, of any magnitude in its immediate vicinity, which communicates either with the tea country or the neighbouring provinces. The teas that are brought to Amoy are chiefly transported down the river Min to Fu-chew-fu, and are carried by porters a great part of the way to Amoy. It consequently is a less favourable situation than Fu-chew-fu*.

Ning-po is also an excellent harbour; but as the teas must cross the mountains of Fo-kien, either by the route of Tsong-ngan, or Pu-ching, it is obviously also a less favourable situation than Fu-chew-fu.

* The importance of Amoy is exaggerated by nautical men, who are naturally struck with the great commodiousness of the port; but they are not sufficiently well informed of its disadvantages as a commercial emporium. The writer of this memoir once spent about a fortnight at this port, and saw fleets of thirty and forty small vessels or junks, sailing in and out daily, which induced him to think it was a place of great trade; but on a closer examination, it was found that often the same fleets which entered the port in the evening sailed out again in the morning, which led him to conclude that the port was employed more as a place of shelter than a port of trade. He does not, however, mean to deny that Amoy is a place of considerable trade, especially with Formosa, in rice.

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Of all ports to the northward, that of Chusan has of late years been deemed the most advantageously situated for the Company's trade. If preferred from any idea of security, it is not security of person or property that is meant, but security against insult—a kind of security that implies power of defence; but power is surely the last privilege that a jealous and suspicious people are ever likely to grant to foreigners. It may be wrested from them—so might a settlement on the main, which would be still more advantageous, if there be anything in a settlement really desirable. Examine the country to the eastward of the Grand Canal in that part of Kiang-nan which lies between the city of Hang-chew-fu and the river Yang-tse-kiang;—mark how it is intersected with canals, rivers, and lakes;—would an island be more defensible? Examine also the land that lies between the river Min, near the city of Fu-chew-fu in Fo-kien, and an arm of the sea to the southward of that river—it is almost an island. Observe the islands at the mouth of the same river, and the peninsulated form of the land that projects into the sea. If Chusan be thought desirable purely on commercial principles, it evidently must be less so than Fu-chew-fu*.

With respect to Formosa and Cochin-China, it may be observed, that whatever at present prevents the teas being brought to Canton in junks, would form a similar impediment to any port where the Chinese junks or vessels go by sea; and if we would overcome this impediment, we must pay for it accordingly. If the teas are in fact brought by land to Canton, and not by sea, it is obvious that when all the risks and fears are calculated, the sea conveyance is more expensive†.

* The taking actual possession of the Island of Chusan, or forming a settlement on the main land, was not contemplated when the above was written; because, however vexatious and embarrassing the position of foreigners in China had been up to that period, the security of their persons and property had always been respected: but the unprecedented proceedings of the Chinese authorities under the Imperial Commissioner, evidently show that an efficient guarantee in these respects will be absolutely necessary in future, either by an exclusive locality, or by a solemn treaty between the two governments.

† This was written before the shipments by sea were interdicted by the Chinese government.

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APPENDIX.

YANG-TSE-KIANG.

(A) The Yang-tse-kiang runs from west to east, rising in the mountains belonging to the country of the Tu-fan, in about the thirty-third degree of north latitude. It receives different names, according to the different places it passes through; and dividing into several branches, forms a great many islands full of rushes, which serve as fuel for the cities round about it. It consists of two distinct branches, which, separating from each other about eighty miles, flow in a parallel direction to the southward for the space of seventy miles, and then unite between the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh degrees of north latitude, just at the boundaries of the two provinces of Yun-nan and Se-tchuen; then striking off to the N.E. directly through the latter of these provinces, collecting the waters of the numerous rivers that descend toward it, from that and another province called Quei-chew; it continues in this direction about 600 miles, and then enters the province of Hou-quang, in the thirty-first degree of north latitude. Through this last province it takes a serpentine course, and receives the waters of the several lakes with which this part of the country abounds. Leaving Hou-quang it skirts the northern part of the province of Kiang-see, and with a little inclination from the east towards the north, its copious stream glides smoothly through the province of Kiang-nan, and is disembogued into the sea which bounds China to the east, in the thirty-second degree of north latitude. It is both broad and deep, and the Chinese have a common saying, "That the sea is without a shore, and the Kiang without a bottom." Its breadth at the city of Kyeu-kiang-fu, in the province of Kiang-see, is a mile and a half; and though this city is distant about three hundred miles from the sea, yet the tide ebbs and flows here at the full and change of the moon[1]. It flows through the richest and most fertile provinces of the empire, and upon its banks are situated the ancient capital of Nankin, the city of Vu-chang-fu or Han-keu, one of the great marts[2] of the empire, and many other

[1] Extracts from Du Halde and Barrow.

[2] This assertion is the result of accurate inquiry, and agrees with Du Halde and other authorities.

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famous cities, notable for the extent of their population and importance of their trade. Mr. Barrow makes the whole length of this river about 2200 miles.

Yellow River.

(B) The Yellow River, though exceedingly large, is not very navigable, it being almost impossible to sail up it without a strong as well as a fair wind. Sometimes it makes great havoc with places through which it passes, where, breaking its banks, it suddenly overflows the country, and lays whole villages and cities under water. The sources of this river are formed by two lakes, situated amongst the same range of mountains in which the Yang-tse-kiang takes its rise. They lie in about thirty-five degrees of north latitude to the westward of Pekin, in that part of Tartary known by the name of Koko-nor. The river after having passed through this division of Tartary, runs for a while along the side of the great wall, and then taking a sweep round the lands of the Ortos Tartars, re-enters China, between the provinces of Shan-see and Shen-see, and enters Ho-nan in the same parallel from whence it sprang. After running through the northern part of this province and that of Kiang-nan, in a course due east, it discharges its immense volume into the sea, to which it gives its name. This circuit is fully equal to an extent of 2150 miles[1].

"Thus these two great China rivers, taking their sources in the same mountains, passing almost close to each other in a particular spot, separating afterwards to the distance of fifteen degrees of latitude, finally discharge themselves into the same sea, within two degrees of each other, comprehending within their grasp a tract of land of above 1000 miles in length, which they contribute generally to fertilize and enrich, though by extraordinary accidents occasioning unusual torrents, they may do injury in particular instances. This tract includes the principal portion of the Chinese empire in ancient times, and lies in that part of the temperate zone, which, in Europe, as well as Asia, has been the scene where the most celebrated characters have existed, and the most brilliant actions have been performed that history has transmitted to posterity[2]."

Su-Chew-Fu.

(C) "The city of Su-chew-fu is the capital of the eastern division of Kiang-nan and residence of a Fu-yen or viceroy. It is

[1] Extracts from Du Halde and Mr. Barrow. [2] Staunton.

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one of the most beautiful and pleasant cities in all China. The Europeans who have seen it compare it to Venice. One may pass through the streets here both by water and land; the branches of the river and canals are almost all capable of bearing the largest barks, which may even sail through the city, and arrive at the sea in two days at most. This city, like Hang-chew-fu, in the province of Tche-kiang, is properly a city of pleasure; it wants nothing that can contribute to make life delightful[1]." "The fleet of the embassy under Lord Macartney was nearly three hours in passing the suburbs, before they arrived at the city walls, under which was drawn an innumerable number of vessels. In one ship builder's yard were sixteen ships upon the stocks close to each other, each of the burden of about 200 tons. The houses of the city were well built and handsomely decorated. The inhabitants, most of whom were clad in silk, appeared cheerful and prosperous; though it was understood that they still regretted the removal of the court from Nankin, in their neighbourhood, which had formerly been the capital of the empire. Nothing, indeed, but very strong political considerations could have induced the sovereign to prefer the northern regions of Pe-tche-lee, on the confines of Tartary, to this part of his dominions, on which all the advantages of climate, soil, and productions have been lavished by nature with an unsparing hand; and where nature itself has been improved by industry and ingenuity[2]."

Hang-Chew-Fu.

(D) The city of Hang-chew-fu is described by Sir George Staunton "as being situated beween the basin of the Grand Canal and the river Tien-tang-kiang, which flows into the sea about sixty miles eastward of this city. The tide, when full, increases the width of this river about four miles, opposite to the city. At low water, there is a fine level strand near two miles broad, which extends towards the sea, as far as the eye can reach. Goods are shipped and unshipped by means of waggons, with four wheels to each, placed in a line, and forming a convenient pier, which is easily lengthened or shortened, by increasing or diminishing the number of waggons, according to the distance of the vessels from the shore. Between the river and the basin of the canal there is no water communication. All the merchandise therefore, brought by sea into the river from the southward, as well as whatever comes from the lakes and rivers of Tche-kiang and Fo-kien, (to which might have been

[1] Extracts from Du Halde. [2] Staunton.

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added the provinces of Kiang-see and Quang-tong), must be landed at this city in their way to the northward: a circumstance which renders Hang-chew-fu the general emporium for all articles that pass between the northern and southern provinces. The population is, indeed, immense; and is supposed to be not very inferior to that of Pekin. The chief streets consist entirely of shops and warehouses; many not inferior to the most splendid of the kind in London." Mr. Barrow observes that in most of the shops were exposed to view silks of different manufactures, dyed cottons and nankeens, and a great variety of English broad-cloth, chiefly, however, blue and scarlet; and also a quantity of peltry, intended for the northern market. In some of these shops there were not fewer than ten or twelve persons serving behind the counter." The Chinese have a proverbial expression, "That heaven is above, but Su-chew and Hang-chew are the paradise below." It is the capital of the province of Tche-kiang, and the residence of the Fu-yen. It produces more silk than all the other provinces of the empire; and no less than 60,000 workmen of this article are employed within the walls of the city[1].

Vu-Chang Fu, or Han-Keu.

(E) The town of Han-keu, situated in the northern division of the province of Hou-quang, commonly called Hu-pe, ranks next the cities of Hang-chew-fu and Su-chew-fu, in the estimation of the Chinese at Canton, as a place of trade, both as it concerns European and Chinese merchandise. This town may be considered as forming part of the suburbs of the cities of Hang-yang-fu and Vu-chang-fu, from which it is separated by the rivers Han and Yang-tse-kiang. Du Halde gives the following description of these cities. "The city of Vu-chang-fu is, as it were, in the centre of the whole empire, and the place from whence it is the easiest to keep a communication with the rest of the provinces. This city, in conjunction with Hang-yang (which is separated from it only by the river Yang-tse-kiang, and the little river Han) forms the most populous and frequented place in all China. The city itself may be compared in size to Paris. Hang-yang (one of whose suburbs extends to the point where the rivers Han and Yang-tse-kiang meet) is not inferior to the most populous cities of France, such, for instance, as Lyons or Rouen; add to this an incredible number of great and small barks, part of which are spread along the Kiang and part along the Han, for

[1] Du Halde.

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above two leagues together. There are never reckoned less than eight or ten thousand vessels in this place, some hundreds of which are as long and high in the sides as most of those that lie at Nantes. Certainly were one only to consider the forest of masts arranged along the Yang-tse-kiang, which, in this place, though at least a hundred and fifty leagues from the sea, is three miles broad, and deep enough to carry the biggest ships, he would have reason enough to be surprised; but should he, from an eminence, view that vast extent of ground, covered over with houses, he would either not believe his eyes, or own that he saw the finest prospect in the world."

Nan-Chang-Fu.

(F) The city of Nan-chang-fu, the capital of Kiang-see, is situated a few miles to the southward of the great lake of Po-yang, which, after collecting the waters of the several rivers of Kiang-see, empties itself into the Yang-tse-kiang, and contributes in no small degree to the magnitude of that river. That which renders this city a place of so great trade is its proximity to this lake and the canals and rivers, by which it may be entered on every side. The chief trade consists in china ware, which is manufactured at, and brought from, the famous town of Tchin-te-king. It is here where the porcelain, so celebrated over Europe for its beauty and durability, is made; and which town, Du Halde observes, is as large and as populous as most of the principal cities in China, being reckoned to contain a million of inhabitants[1].

Kyeu-Kiang-Fu.

The city of Kyeu-kiang-fu is a place of considerable trade. It is situated on the south bank of the Yang-tse-kiang, near the place where the lake of Po-yang communicates with that river. It is the rendezvous of all barks that go and come from the other cities of the province, as well as those of Kiang-nan and Hou-quang. The river is about a mile and a quarter broad at this place, and the tide here regularly ebbs and flows at the full and change of the moon, although its distance from the sea is computed by Du Halde to be one hundred French leagues, or two hundred and eighty British miles[2].

Chang-Sha-Fu.

Chang-Sha-Fu, the capital of the southern division of Hou-quang, which the Chinese call Hou-nan, is also a place of great trade. It

[1] Extracts from Du Halde. [2] Ibid.

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stands on the Heng-kiang, which communicates with the great lake of Tong-ting-hu, which discharges its waters into the Yang-tse-kiang[1].

WOOLLENS.

(G) It is not to be supposed that an accurate account can be given of the quantity of woollens consumed in each province. The annexed statements, however, furnished by different persons, mark a considerable coincidence; and may be deemed a sufficiently near approximation to truth to answer all purposes of the present inquiry. The quantity imported is somewhat exaggerated in the account A, but not much, as it was grounded upon the importations prior to season 1814-15.

ACCOUNT A.

	B.Cloth.	*L.Ells.*	*Cam.*
Pe-tche-lee	1,000	4,000	300
Shen-see			
Shan-see	100	5,000	300
Shan-tung	700	5,000	300
Kiang-nan	5,000	40,000	8,100
Tche-kiang	700	10,000	500
Fo-kien	700	5,000	500
Kiang-see	400	30,000	1,000
Hu-pe, or Han-keu*	500	50,000	1,000
Hu-nan*	300	10,000	1,000
Se-tchuen	600	5,000	500
Quey-chew	100	3,000	100
Yun-nan	200	3,000	100
Quang-see	100	4,000	300
Quang-tong	2,500	24,000	4,000
	12,800	198,000	18,000

ACCOUNT B†.

	B.Cloth.	*L.Ells.*	*Cam.*
Kiang-nan	8,000	40,000	10,000
Kiang-see	800	40,000	10,000
Hu-pe, or Ha	1,000	50,000	1,000
Hu-nan*	500	10,000	500
Se-tchuen	500	10,000	1,000
Quang-see, Quang-tong,	2,000	30,000	2,000
	12,800	180,000	24,500

The quantity imported in 1814-15 amounted to—Broad Cloth, 8,600; Long Ells, 179,000, Camlets, 26,000 Pieces.

* Hou-quang. † In the Account B it is observed, that the whole of the woollens are sent to the above-mentioned places, in the proportions there noticed, whence they are spread over the empire; and that the remainder are consumed at Canton, which may be estimated as above.

The woollens for Kiang-nan and Tche-kiang in the preceding accounts, A and B, pass by the route of Hang-chew-fu, where they are obliged to be landed and re-shipped. Those for Kiang-nan proceed on to the city of Su-chew-fu, and are, I imagine, principally consumed in that city, and in the neighbouring part of the eastern division of Kiang-nan, north of Su-chew-fu and south of the Yang-tse-kiang. A few may find their way to the northern provinces, but not many. The quantity necessary for the supply of this district,

[1] Extracts from Du Halde.

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which may be considered as connected with the trade of the Yang-tse-kiang, may be estimated at 35,000 pieces, leaving 15,000 pieces for Kiang-nan south of Su-chew-fu and the province of Tche-kiang, connected with the trade of Hang-chew-fu. The consumption of long-ells in Kiang-see cannot be estimated at more than from 10,000 to 15,000 pieces. The surplus quantity in the accounts A and B must therefore be intended for the western division of Kiang-nan, the eastern division of the same province north of the Yang-tse-kiang, Shan-tung, Shan-see, and Pe-tche-lee. The expense of transport from Canton to Nan-chang-fu being less than from Canton to Hang-chew-fu, accounts for the supply of these places proceeding by the former route.

Supposing then the importation of long ells to be 180,000 pieces, the consumption of the under-mentioned places may be estimated as follows:—

Shan-tong, Shan-see, and Pe-tche-lee	20,000, or one-ninth	[1]
Kiang-nan, south of Su-chew-fu, Tche-kiang, and Fo-kien	20,000, — one-ninth	[1]
Canton and Quang-see	30,000, — one-sixth	[1]
Trade of the Yang-tse-kiang	110,000, — three-fifths.	
	Pieces, 180,000	

Even admitting the consumption of broad cloth and camlets to be in the same proportions, then, in a free trade, supposing the navigation to be favourable, these districts would be supplied from ports in the under-mentioned places, and the quantity and amount of woollens imported into each of these ports would be as follows:—

Gulph of Pe-tche-lee[2], for the supply of Shan-tung, Shan-see, and Pe-tche-lee, one-ninth, ... Tales,	270,552
Yang-tse-kiang, for the supply of Su-chew-fu, Nan-chang-fu, Han-keu, and Provinces connected with the trade of these marts, three-fifths, say	1,488,036
Hang-chew-fu, Kiang-nan, south of Su-chew-fu, Tche-kiang, and Fo-kien, one-ninth	270,552
Canton, for the supply of Canton and Quang-see, one-sixth	405,828
Add superior long-ells and other woollens unaccounted for in the Accounts A and B	171,632
Total,	2,606,600

[1] This estimate greatly exceeds the supposed consumption of the above places in the Accounts A and B.

[2] The Gulph of Pe-tche-lee seems to afford no shelter for large vessels. In that case, the supply of these provinces would proceed from the Yang-tse-kiang, thus increasing the importance of that port.

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Observations on the Woollen Trade.

(I) It is erroneous to imagine that the woollens cannot be sold by the Company for cash at Canton, without their sustaining a greater loss than is already experienced by the Hong merchants and tea factors. It rarely happens that any of the Hong merchants send their woollens to the distant provinces, and still more so for the tea-men to traffic in these articles. It is true that the latter receive them partly in exchange for tea; but they sell them again to the shopkeepers or drapers at Canton for the market price of the day, and receive new or unstamped dollars in return, which they carry to Fo-kien. No woollens are sent into Fo-kien by the route common to the tea-men, they all pass either by sea, or along the southern and eastern coast of the provinces of Quang-tong and Fo-kien. It may be true that the wealthy Hong merchants occasionally find an advantage in keeping their woollens for a time, but it is clear that when the supply of an article is regular, or at least unlikely to be diminished, not much is to be done by keeping. Those who have kept woollens have sometimes lost and sometimes gained, like all other speculators; and I fear more frequently the former than the latter. It cannot be doubted when the supply exceeds the demand that the price will be lowered; but it depends upon this one circumstance, and no other: at any rate, not upon a large quantity being sold in a short space of time. Teas are not bought cheaper by Europeans because they are all brought down about the same time. Those who buy are fully as eager as those who sell. Both parties have an interest in returning to their homes before a certain time. It must also be observed, that Canton is the mere emporium of the trade; and the Canton people are neither the carriers of the imports to the distant provinces, nor of the exports to Canton. It consequently is frequented by merchants of all descriptions from the very extremities of the empire, and is supposed to receive more strangers (Ke) during the season of trade than any other province. Those from Fo-kien, Kiang-nan and Hou-quang, exceed all others in number. These merchants arrive during the months of November and December, and by the month of April or May scarcely any, except a few of the black-tea men or their agents, remain. It is therefore as much the interest of the people who purchase the cloths to return to the markets, where they hope to effect a resale of their purchases, as for the tea-men to return to Fo-kien in time to renew their purchases of the tea. It may also be observed that these persons have no kind of intercourse with each other, but both deal

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with intermediate people—the cloth-men or drapers, whose shops are innumerable in every part of the suburbs of Canton. There is therefore little reason to apprehend a combination among the country merchants, or drapers, at Canton; but under any circumstances the Company would not obtain worse terms than the tea-men; and it is unnecessary to add, if the tea-men lose by their woollens, they must charge more for their tea.

Imports.

(K) The quantity and amount of goods imported in season 1814-15 were as follows:—

	PIECES.		TALES.		TALES.
Broad cloth	8,592	Amount of Invoice	708,876	loss	50,796
Long-ells	179,540	——	1,438,640	—	93,378
Superior long-ells ...	11,780	——	130,065	—	18,369
Embossed long-ells ..	800	——	8,014	gain	765
Camlets	26,600	——	495,823	loss	64,197
Worleys	3,940	——	50,619	gain	538
	LBS.				
Iron 3,447,300		——	75,439	loss	12,266
Lead	559,961	——	28,016	—	9,406
Bombay cotton, Pcls.	42,413	——	421,661	gain	142,439

Invoice amount	Tales,	3,357,153
Deduct loss		104,673
	Total,	3,252,480

Exports.

(L) The following estimate makes the annual exports of tea, peculs 189,634, tales 4,895,810. This estimate is grounded on the supposition that the annual consumption amounts to lbs. 24,000,000, and that the quantity shipped is no more than the quantity sold, with the exception of an allowance of five per cent. for loss of weight and waste, which is supposing that neither sea loss nor damage takes place. The actual quantity shipped per annum may therefore be considered as somewhat greater.

Black Tea.

	CHESTS.	CATT.	PECS.	TALES.	TALES.
Bohea	—	—	7,767	at 14 to	108,738
Congou, packed in bohea chests,	—	—	3,107	- 16 -	49,712
Winter souchong, invd. congou,	3,000	each 55 to	4,400	- 22 -	96,800

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	CHESTS.	CATT.	PECULS.	TALES.	TALES.
Winter congou	45,154	each 65 to	29,350	at 20 to	587,000
Ditto Campoi	6,200	— 55 -	3,410	- 26 -	88,660
Contract congou	145,000	— 65 -	94,250	- 27 -	2,544,750
Ditto souchong	2,000	— 55 -	1,100	- 40 -	44,000
Add 5 per cent. for waste, &c. on Peculs 180,000, say			9,000	- 27 -	343,000
Total,	152,384				3,762,660

GREEN TEA.

Twankay	45,000	— 61 -	27,450	- 27 -	741,150
Hyson skin	10,000	— 49 -	4,900	- 27 -	132,300
Hyson	10,000	— 49 -	4,900	- 53 -	259,700
			37,250		1,133,150
Add weight and amount of black tea			152,384		3,762,660
Total weight and amount of B. and G. teas			189,634		4,895,810

The exports will therefore be as follows:—

	PECULS.	TALES.	
Black tea	152,384[1]	3,762,660[1]	From Fokien
Green tea	37,250[1]	1,133,150	From Kiang-nan and Tche-kiang.
Raw silk	1,556	507,483	
Nankeens ..... Pieces	179,000	118,390	
		5,521,683	

THE MOUNTAINOUS PASSES IN FO-KIEN.

(M) The lofty mountains that encompass the province of Fo-kien on every side towards the main, seem to isolate it as it were from the rest of the empire; and perhaps the difficulties of communication by land, added to the natural sterility of the soil and mountainous aspect of the country, may have tended in some degree to

[1] The actual quantity of teas shipped at Canton, on the Company's account, from season 1810-11 to 1814-15, both inclusive, gives an average annual quantity of—

Black tea	Peculs, 161,217	Tales, 4,087,794
Green tea	35,862	1,082,662
	Peculs, 197,079	Tales, 5,170,456

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create that superior hardihood, and adventurous spirit which the people of this province are said to possess over the other inhabitants of the coast, and which renders them the great carriers by sea of the produce of the neighbouring provinces, as well as the principal traders to Japan, Formosa, Manilla, and the Eastern Isles. The greater part of the large junks that visit the port of Canton, even those from Tien-sing in Pe-tche-lee, are said to belong to Fo-kien. It is also worthy of remark that the principal cities of Fo-kien are chiefly maritime cities.

(N) Pass of Fun-shuey-kuon, near Tson-ngan-hien.—The journey from Tsong-ngan in Fo-kien into Kiang-see, is amidst a range of stupendous mountains, varying in their height and form; some consisting of huge masses of black rock, while others are covered to their very summits with the camphor, the larch, and other lofty trees. During the whole of this journey, scarcely a spot of cultivation, or a fixed habitation is seen. Temporary sheds are erected in some of the deep valleys for the convenience of the porters, where they sleep and obtain refreshment at the end of each day's stage; but these buildings are said to be removed as soon as the transport of the tea is completed. Two more convenient and permanent habitations or inns, are erected, however, at a day's journey from each other, for the use of the tea-merchants, who usually pass in their light bamboo sedan chairs in three days from Tsong-ngan-hien to Ho-keu; though the porters are generally from eight to ten days carrying the teas from Tsong-ngan-hien to the stream which takes its rise at the foot of the mountains near Yuen-shan-hien, which is a shorter distance. The road, which is rudely paved with small square stones, sometimes winds round the base of a lofty mountain, then, rising half way up the acclivity of another, sinks again into the deep valleys below. In many different places, it lies across the shallow stream that encircles these mountains in every direction, over which the teas are sometimes ferried; and sometimes carried across wooden bridges, which extend a considerable distance on either side of the stream, to prevent their being washed away during the rains, when the torrents from the mountains suddenly swell this shallow stream to the size of a large river.

(O) Pass of San-kuon, near Shau-u-fu.—The Pass near the city of Shau-u-fu, or Xaou-chew-fu, appears a much frequented route, and I imagine the direct one from Fu-chew-fu into Kiang-see. This city forms one of the keys to the province, and stands on the

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west bank of the river Tzu, in Lat. 27° 25′ N., Long. 117° 50′ E. This river takes its rise in the chain of mountains that divides the province of Fo-kien from that of Kiang-see, situated to the N.W. of the city, and glides from thence, first southward and then eastward by the city of Shau-u-fu. Then serpentining in its course to the southward, it falls into the river Si, near the town of Siang-lo, whence taking first an easterly and then a southerly direction, after receiving the waters of the Si-ki, flows past the city of Yen-ping-fu, and finally discharges the united waters of these rivers into the river Min. On the western side of the same mountains, whence the river Tzu takes its rise near the pass of San-kuon, is a river in the province of Kiang-see, which, flowing in a direction to the N.W., passes the two cities of Kyen-chang-fu and Fu-chew-fu, and falls into the Kau-kiang between the two cities of Nan-chang-fu and Lin-kyang-fu.

(P) Pass near Pu-ching-hien.—The mountains near the Pass of Pu-ching-hien, which lie in the direct route from Fu-chew-fu to Hang-chew-fu, are described by Du Halde as "being very steep and the valleys very deep. They have made this road as even as the nature of the ground will permit; it is paved with square stones, and furnished with towns full of inns for lodging travellers. On one of these mountains they have made stairs, consisting of more than three hundred steps of flat stones, which go winding round it to render the ascent more easy. This road begins near the town of Pu-ching-hien, and continues for near thirty leagues together to Kiang-shan-hien. No less than ten thousand porters are here employed in carrying goods to and from the province of Che-kiang." I have no acquaintance with this pass, but it is evident from the number of towns, inns, and porters here spoken of, that this route must be a much frequented one, and that considerable traffic exists on the river Min, to and from the province of Fo-kien.

Transport of the Black Tea to Canton.

(Q) Inland Transport.—Almost the whole of the black tea is transported by inland carriage to Canton. It is first collected and packed at the town of Sing-tsun, situated amidst the mountains of Vu-ye, and from thence conveyed to Tsong-ngan-hien upon rafts, each carrying twelve chests. It is then carried by porters across a mountainous[1] and expensive route to Yuen-shan-hien, which journey occupies, upon an average, eight days. From this place it is trans-

[1] See Appendix N.

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ported to Ho-keu in small boats, which hold about twenty-two chests. At Ho-keu it is landed and transported into larger boats, which convey it to Kan-chew-fu. These boats are said to carry about two hundred chests; but in approaching the city of Ky-ngan-fu, the waters are frequently very shallow, a circumstance which not only occasions a detention to the tea on its passage, but the transhipment of a certain quantity into smaller boats, to enable the larger ones to pass over the shallows. A similar inconvenience also prevails near the sources of the two rivers Kan-kiang and Pe-kiang, on either side of the mountains which divide the two provinces of Kiang-see and Quang-tong[1]. In passing the She-pa-tan[2], which are torrents formed by rocks lying across the bed of the river, some skill is required to prevent shipwreck. Men accustomed to the navigation are therefore hired as pilots for this purpose; and it is here where the principal damage on tea takes place in its transport to Canton. From Kan-chew-fu it is conveyed to Nan-gan-fu in boats, which carry about sixty chests, where it is again landed and carried by porters over the great mountains of Ta-moey-lin[3] to

[1] Mr. Barrow thus speaks of the river near Nan-gan-fu:—"At Nan-gan-fu, the river Kan-kiang ceases to be navigable. Indeed, the whole of the three last days' navigation might, with propriety, in England, be called only a trout stream; upon which no nation on earth, except the Chinese, would have conceived the idea of floating any kind of craft; they have however adapted, in an admirable manner, the form and construction of their vessels to the nature and depth of the navigation. Yet, in several places, the water was so shallow that they could not be dragged over, until a channel had been made, by removing the stones and gravel with iron rakes."

[2] The She-pa-tan are thus described by the same traveller. "On the 3rd of September, we approached that part of the river which, on account of the numerous shipwrecks that have happened there, is held in no small degree of dread by the Chinese. They call it the She-pa-tan, or eighteen cataracts; which are torrents formed by ledges of rock running across the bed of the river. They have not, however, any thing very terrific in them, not being one half so dangerous as the fall at London bridge about half tide. This intricate part of the river, where innumerable pointed rocks occurred, some above, some even with, and others just below the surface of the water, required two long days' sail with a fair breeze, and the falls became more rapid and dangerous the farther we advanced. At the fifteenth cataract we perceived two or three vessels lying against the rocks, with their flat-bottoms uppermost.

[3] The mountain of Ta-moey-lin, is thus described by Sir George Staunton:—"The mountains which divide the two provinces of Kiang-see and Quang-tong, form a chain running mostly from east to west, and are nearly perpendicular to the range which proceeds southerly from Hang-chew-fu. The travellers began in a little time to ascend the highest of those eminences, the summit of which was

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Nan-hyong-fu, in the province of Quang-tong. On their arrival at Nan-hyong-fu, the tea is again shipped, and carried to Shau-chew-fu, where it is transhipped into larger boats, which carry from five to eight hundred chests, and thus conveyed to Canton. The whole expense of carriage, from the black tea country to Canton, may generally be estimated at three tales, six mace per pecul, exclusive of duty, which amounts on tea to only three mace per pecul. The charge of boat hire varies, as the traffic on the rivers is much or little.

Transport by Sea.—When the teas are brought by sea to Canton, "they are shipped at Sing-tsun, a town situated in the Bohea country, each boat carrying about fifty chests. In one day they arrive at Vu-ye-ho-keu, where they are then transhipped into larger boats, each carrying two hundred chests. They are then transported down the river Min to Fu-chew-fu. In the spring, when the currents are rapid, in four days they arrive at Fu-chew-fu; but in autumn it requires eight. They are then shipped in junks, which carry five or six thousand chests each; and in fourteen or fifteen days they arrive at Canton[1]."

confounded with the clouds above it. Two of those clouds, as they appeared at least to be, to some of the spectators, were without motion, and left a void regular space between them; but after the travellers had ascended a long way upon a circuitous road, so traced for the purpose of being practicable for horsemen, they were astonished to find that those steady clouds formed, themselves, the summit of the mountain, cut down by dint of labour, to a very considerable depth, in order to render the ascent somewhat less steep. Difficult as this passage still continues, it is so much less so than before the top of the mountain was thus cut through, that the statue of the mandarin who had it done, is honoured with a niche in some of the Chinese temples hereabouts. The mountain is clothed with plantations of trees to its utmost height, from whence a most extensive and rich prospect opens at once to the eye. A gentle and uniform descent of several miles on every side, almost entirely clothed with lively verdure, and crowned with towns, villages, and farm-houses, is, as it were, to use Mr. Barrow's expression, 'laid at the feet of the spectator;' whilst distant plains of unbounded extent, with mountains rising out of the horizon, terminate the view. Towards the northerly point of the compass, appeared, however, a tract of waste and barren ground. The hills scattered over the plain appeared, comparatively to the vast eminence from whence they were viewed, like so many hay-ricks; as is, indeed, the distant appearance of many other Chinese hills. The town of Nan-gan-fu, which the travellers had lately left, from their present situation seemed merely to be a heap of tiles, while the river that passed by it was like a shining line." Formidable, however, as this mountain appears by the above description of this ingenious and well-informed author, the expense of porterage of teas across it amounts to only three mace per pecul.

[1] Chinese manuscript.

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(Q a) Now when the transhipments of the tea, the carriage by porters, the length of time, and other inconveniences of the inner passage are considered, it requires very little illustration to prove that, in a good state of navigation, the transport by sea would be a considerable saving. Some of the Chinese reckon it a half, and none less than a third, when the junks are successful in their passage; but the risks from pirates, the bad construction of their vessels, ignorance of insurance, and perhaps a natural timidity of character, added to an aversion to the sea, present such difficulties to the minds of these people, that few persons, and these principally adventurers, give the passage by sea a preference.

It is therefore difficult to ascertain with much precision the expense of transport from the Bohea country to Fu-chew-fu.

	M.	C.
One person reckons it from Sing-tsun to Kien-ning-fu	1	2
And from Kien-ning-fu to Fu-chew-fu	2	0
Making the whole expense of carriage	3	2

Another makes it only $\frac{40}{100}$ of a dollar, or 2 mace, 8 candareens, 8 cash per pecul; but a third, 6 mace 8 candareens. I am inclined to think the two first accounts the most deserving of credit; but we will take the mean, and reckon it 4 mace 3 candareens per pecul.

	T.	M.	C.	C.
Thus the inland carriage to Canton, exclusive of duties, being per pecul	3	6	5	0
And the carriage to Fu-chew-fu only	0	4	3	0
The saving on carriage would amount to, per pecul	3	2	2	0

Expenses of Packing, and Inland Transport of Teas from Fo-kien and Canton.

(Q b) Expense of Packing.

Sing-tsun, Hong master ..... every two chests	0	2	2	4
Ditto expenses	0	1	0	0
Quarter chests	0	3	6	0
Paper covering to chests	0	0	4	6
Canisters	0	4	0	0
Expense of packing	0	0	9	0
Ditto bamboo mats	0	0	5	0
Ditto writing the chop name on the mats	0	0	2	0
Ditto rope	0	0	2	6
Tales every two chests	1	3	1	6

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EXPENSE OF TRANSPORT.

	T.	M.	C.	C.
From Sing-tsun to Tsong-ngan-hien, on rafts. Each raft carries twelve chests ..... per pecul	0	1	6	0
Tsong-ngan-hien Hong expenses	0	1	0	0
Cooley hire from Tsong-ngan-hien to Yuen-shan-hien	1	2	5	0
Yuen-shan-hien Hong expenses	0	0	8	0
From Yuen-shan-hien, in small boats to Ho-keu-chin. Each boat carries twenty-two chests	0	0	9	0
Ho-keu-chin Hong expenses	0	1	2	0
Ho-keu-chin security boats to Kan-chew-fu. These boats carry about 200 chests	0	0	3	0
Government duties at Kan-chew-fu	0	1	1	8
Kan-chew-fu security boats to Nan-ngan-fu. Each boat carries about sixty chests	0	2	5	0
Nan-ngan-fu Hong expenses	0	1	1	0
Cooley hire from Nan-ngan-fu to Nan-hyong-fu	0	3	0	0
Nan-hyong-fu Hong expenses	0	1	1	0
Nan-hyong-fu security boats to Shau-chew-fu. Each boat carries 130 chests	0	1	5	0
Imperial duties at Shau-chew-fu	0	1	2	2
Shau-chew-fu security boats to Quang-chew-fu (Canton). Each boat carries about 600 chests	0	3	0	0
Quang-chew-fu custom master, present	0	0	3	0
Total expense of transport, per pecul, tales,	3	9	2	0

(Q c) EXPENSE OF CARRIAGE.

The amount of carriage from Tsong-ngan-hien to Canton	3	9	2	0
Duty, Kan-chew-fu 0.118				
—— Shau-chew-fu 0.122				
Present, Quang-chew-fu, custom master 0.030	0	2	7	0
Per pecul, exclusive of duties, tales,	3	6	5	0

THE RIVER MIN.

(R) The only navigable river of importance in the province of Fo-kien is the river Min, one of the branches of which divides itself into several small streams that flow in and about the mountains of Vu-ye, the country in which the black tea is produced. To the southward of these mountains, at the town of Kien-yang-hien, these several streams unite, and then flow in a S.E. direction to Kien-ning-fu. This is a city of much trade, as it lies in the way of all goods that pass up and down the river, to and from the provinces of Tche-

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kiang and Kiang-nan; and upon a census taken in 1790, was found to contain a population of about 260,000 inhabitants[1]. This branch of the river begins to be navigable at the town of Tsong-ngan-hien, situated about ten miles to the N.E. of the tea country. Another branch begins to be navigable near the town of Pu-ching-hien, about ninety miles to the N.E. of Kien-ning-fu. About ten miles to the north of this latter city these two branches unite, and then flowing for about forty miles in a direction nearly south, pass the city of Yen-ping-fu. Here, after receiving the waters of three other rivers, the Tzu, the Si, and the Si-ki, whose sources lie in the S.W. part of the province, the river then takes a course nearly S.E., and flows into the sea about thirty miles below the city of Fu-chew-fu, the capital of the province. Its distance from Yen-ping-fu is about 110 miles, making the whole course of the river, from the towns of Tsong-ngan-hien and Pu-ching-hien, about 270 miles. Ogilby observes, that "from the town of Pu-ching-hien to Kiu-keu, the river falls with great force of water through valleys, rocks, and cliffs; but from thence glides on but slowly. In three days they go from the above town to Fu-chew-fu with the stream, whereas they are fifteen days towing up against it." The Fo-kien merchants say, that in spring, the currents then being rapid, in four days the teas are transported down to Fu-chew-fu, but in autumn it requires eight. The Dutch embassy under Van Hoorn, in 1667, which passed up this river in the month of February, on their way to Pekin, were (exclusive of stoppages at certain towns) about seventeen days on their passage from Fu-chew-fu to Pu-ching-hien, and seven days on their return in the months of September and November.

Fu-chew-fu. The Capital of the Province of Fo-kien.

(S) "This city presides over nine cities of the third order. Besides the Fu-yen, the Tsong-tu, who is the governor-general both of this province and that of Tche-kiang, resides here. It is famous for the advantage of its situation, the greatness of its trade, multitude of its literati, fertility of its soil, beauty of its river, which carries the largest barks in the empire up to the walls; and lastly, for its admirable bridge of above a hundred arches, built with fair white stone, across the bay. All its little hills are full of cedars, orange and lemon trees[2]." By the chart in the Appendix, taken from Dairyun-

[1] This account of the population of Kien-ning-fu is taken from a Chinese statistical work of recent publication.

[2] Du Halde.

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ple's collection, the harbour seems to contain a sufficient depth of water for ships of the greatest burden. This port appears to be known to the English by the name of Ting-hay harbour, from the circumstance of the Canton having been piloted here by a fisherman, 7th August, 1797. Horsburg observes, "she anchored in seven and a half fathoms of blue mud opposite the town, entirely surrounded by land. To the westward of this harbour is a deep and extensive bay, formed by the two points of Ting-hay and May-how-sou." The same author observes that "the river Chang[1] falls into the bottom of this bay, and about seven leagues up stands the city of Fu-chew-fu; at the entrance of the river there are several islands and banks separated by narrow channels from each other, and a little inside these banks is six or seven fathoms water."

Port in Kiang-nan.

(T) It is doubtful whether ships of heavy burden can enter the river Yang-tse-kiang. This port is thus described by Du Halde: "The breadth and depth of the Yang-tse-kiang rendered Nankin formerly an excellent port. The famous corsair, who besieged it in the late troubles, passed easily up to it; but at present the great barks, or rather the Chinese vessels of carriage, do not enter the river, either because the mouth is stopped up of itself, or that the Chinese, out of policy, make no more use of it, that the knowledge of it by degrees may be lost." It is certain, however, that much of the Kiang-nan cotton, brought inland to the southern provinces, is carried up the Yang-tse-kiang in junks. It is shipped at the town of Tong-chew, situated at the mouth of the Yang-tse-kiang, and is carried up that river as far as Kyeu-kiang-fu, in the province of Kiang-see, where it is transhipped into vessels of smaller size, and conveyed to Canton. Similar doubts are also expressed by the same author respecting the entrance of the river Sien-tang-kiang, which flows past the city of Hang-chew-fu, the capital of Tche-kiang. "The river opposite the city is about 4000 geometrical paces in breadth, but ships cannot enter it because of its shallows." Supposing neither of these rivers to be accessible to ships of heavy burden, the port of Shang-hay-hien, near the city of Song-kiang-fu, should be surveyed. The same author gives the following description of these places: "The city of Song-kiang-fu is built in the water, and

[1] The name of this river is Min, not Chang. Chang I imagine to be a corruption of the word Kiang or Chiang, which in the Chinese language signifies a river.

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the Chinese ships, or rather vessels of carriage, enter it on every side, and so pass to the sea, which is not far distant. The extraordinary quantity of cotton and lovely calicos of all sorts, wherewith it furnishes not only the empire, but also foreign countries, render it famous, and of very great resort. It has but four cities under its jurisdiction, but it is neither the less fertile nor rich on that score, for though these cities are of the third order, they may compare with the best for magnitude, the extraordinary resort of merchants from all parts throughout the year, and the different sorts of commerce carried on there; such is for instance the town of Shang-hay-hien, where ships from Fo-kien are continually entering, and others sailing out to trade with Japan." This town is placed by Du Halde in lat. 31° 9′ N., but other authorities place it in 30° 14′ and 16′.

The importance, however, of Shang-hay-hien, as a port of trade, must depend upon the city of Su-chew-fu not being accessible to ships of heavy burden. For if European vessels could pass sufficiently high up any of the rivers leading to Su-chew-fu to enable a factory to be established in that city, and any sacrifice of geographical position be deemed advisable to insure the residence of a viceroy at the port of trade, then Su-chew-fu, from possessing this, among other important advantages, would perhaps be the most eligible situation in all China for the import trade.

Mr. Lindsay, in speaking of Shang-hai-hien, observes, "Considering the extraordinary advantages which this place possesses for foreign trade, it is wonderful that it has not attracted more observation. One of the main causes of its importance is found in its fine harbour and navigable river (the Woo-Sung), by which, in point of fact, Shang-hai is the seaport of the Yang-tse-kiang, and the principal emporium of Eastern Asia, the native trade of it greatly exceeding even that of Canton. In seven days, upwards of 400 junks, varying in size from 100 to 400 tons, passed Woo-Sung, and proceeded to Shang-hai. During the first part of our stay, most of these vessels were the north country junks, with four masts, from Tien-tsin, and various parts of Manchew Tartary. But during the latter part of our stay, the Fo-kien junks began to pour in, to the number of thirty and forty per day. Many of these were from Formosa, Canton, the Eastern Archipelago, Cochin China, and Siam. Commodious wharfs and large warehouses occupy the banks of the river, which is deep enough to allow junks to come and unload alongside of them; in the middle it has from six to eight fathoms, and is nearly half a mile in breadth."

There can be no doubt of the importance of Shang-hai-hien as an emporium for imports; but, to free us from the vexations and extortions of the inferior officers of government, it would be necessary to establish either a factory at Su-cheu-fu, or the residence of some officer in that city empowered to hold direct communication with the viceroy.

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ART. X.—*An Account of the Autograph MS. of the first volume of Ibn Khallikán's Biographical Dictionary, by the* REV. W. CURETON.

Scriptoris politissimi Ebni Khallikan opus historicum non magis verborum elegantia et ubertate commendatur quam illustriorum Poetarum versibus quibus conspergitur. Ac nescio an hic omnibus vitarum scriptoribus sit anteponendus. Est certè copiosior Nepote, elegantior Plutarcho, Laertio jucundior et dignus est profecto liber, qui in omnes Europæ linguas conversus prodeat.—GUL. JONES. *Poes. Asiat. Com.* p. 431.

THE Biographical Dictionary of Ibn Khallikán, although it hardly merits the extravagant praise bestowed upon it by Sir William Jones, has always, and deservedly so, been held in great estimation by all those who have been induced to enter upon the study of the noble language and extensive literature of the Arabs. There is, perhaps, no other book in the whole range of the learning of Islamism which throws so much light upon Arabic literature; while the extensive erudition, and general accuracy of the writer, have caused it to be considered of great authority upon all such subjects of information as come within the design of the work. It has consequently been very frequently referred to by Orientalists, and many detached lives have from time to time been given in different publications. Within the last four years two complete editions of the entire work have been undertaken by the zeal and industry of two distinguished Oriental scholars: the one by M. Wüstenfeld, lithographed, 4to. *Göttingen*, 1835-39, of which seven fasciculi, comprehending six hundred and ninety-eight lives, have been published; the other, in type, by the Baron Mac Guckin de Slane, 4to. *Paris*, 1838-40, of which three livraisons have appeared.

At this moment then, when two editions of this celebrated biographical dictionary are in the course of publication, it cannot fail to be interesting to the lovers of the language of the Arabs, to learn that the autograph copy of a great part of this famous work, containing all the emendations and corrections of the author during a period of upwards of twenty years, is still in existence.

The MS. in question was purchased in the East, by Mr. Carlyle, editor of *Mastred Allatafet Jemaleddini filii Togri-Bardii*. 4to. *Cantab.* 1792, and *Specimens of Arabic Poetry*. 4to. *Cambridge*. 1796. After his death, it passed into the hands of a professor of Oriental languages still living, and was by him disposed of to a bookseller from whom I pur-

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chased it. This is all the information I have been able to gather respecting the MS. after it ceased to belong to the author, further than having been formerly a bequest to some mosque, as the word Wakf وقف written on several leaves of the book implies; it was possessed in the year of the Hijrah 1074, A.D. 1663, by one Masúd bnu Ibrahím, who has written a note to that effect on the first leaf of the MS.

The book consists of 284 leaves of thick silk paper in quarto. It has suffered a little from age and use. A few of the leaves which were torn have been mended. The edges of all have been much worn, and consequently in many places, part of the marginal annotations has disappeared. The margins, which originally were left broad, are throughout the greater part of the book filled with additions and emendations, evidently made at various intervals of time, and written with ink of different shades of darkness, but all, with perhaps one or two exceptions, in the same hand as the body of the work.

The style of the writing, the texture of the paper, and the colour of the ink, at once show the antiquity of the MS., and that it must have been written about the thirteenth century of our era. The handwriting, so different from that of a professed scribe, the great number of additions and corrections in the margin and between the lines, all written by the same hand as the rest of the work, led me immediately to conclude that the MS. was written by the author himself, which further examination has fully established. Upon turning to the first leaf of the book, which however does not form a part of the original MS., the following note occurs: مسودة المرحوم ابن خلكان عليه رحمة الملك المنان بخطه "The rough sketch of Ibn Khallikán, who has obtained mercy; may the mercy of the Beneficent King rest upon him; in his own handwriting." On the next leaf, which is the first of the original MS., there is written on the margin in blue ink. وهذه النسخة مسودة المصنف رحمه الله تعالي "This copy is the original draught of the author: may the most High God have mercy on him." Below this, in the same hand as the rest of the work: كتاب وفيات الاعيان وانبا ابنا الزمان عني بجمعه لنفسه و لمن يشا الله تعالي من بعده الفقير الي رحمة الله تعالي احمد بن محمد بن ابرهيم بن ابي بكر بن خلّكان عفا[1]

[1] See the fac-simile of this passage. I should observe that some one has clumsily attempted to restore three or four words which had been a little defaced.

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الله عنه "The book of the deaths of illustrious persons, and of information respecting the sons of the age which Ahmad bnu Muhammad bnu Abú Bakr bnu Khallíkán, who standeth in need of the mercy of God, took the pains to collect for himself, and for whomsoever God shall wish after him. May God wipe out his sins." At the end of the volume is written in the same hand: تحجز الجزو الاول ويتلوه في اول الجزو الثاني حرف الفا ان شا الله تعالي الحمد لله وحده وصلي الله علي خير خلقه محمد واله و صحبه و سلم كان الفراغ منه يوم الجمعة بعد الصلوة رابع شهر ربيع الاول سنة خمس و خمسين و ستماية بالقاهرة المحروسة "Here endeth the first part. The letter Fa shall follow it in the beginning of the second part, if such be God's will. Praise be to God, and may he grant blessing and peace upon the noblest of his creatures, Muhammad, and his family, and companions. It was finished on Friday after public prayers, being the fourth day of the month of the first Rabi, in the year 655, (A.D. 1257,) in the city of Káhirah."

In the preface to his work, the author informs us, that having been engaged for some years in collecting materials, he began to arrange them in alphabetical order at Káhirah in the year 654, the one immediately preceding that in which this MS. was completed. From this time he continued to prosecute his labour in that city till the year 659, when he was sent by the Sultán Bibars into Syria. At the period of his leaving Káhirah, which was the seventh of Shawwál, 659, as he himself informs us, he had only completed his work to the end of the life of Yahya, son of Khálid Albarmaki. He entered Damascus on the seventh of Dhú 'alkadah, and was promoted to be Kádhi of Syria, on the eighth of Dhú 'lhijjah in the same year. The arduous duties and continual occupations of his new office prevented him from continuing his work till ten years afterwards, when having been removed from the office of Kádhi at Damascus, he returned to Káhirah in the year 669, where he resumed his task; and not only revised and made many additions and corrections to the previous parts of the work, but also added all those lives which follow that of Yahya Albarmaki. He is said to have completed the work on the twenty-second of the second Jumádi, 672. He was again made Kádhi of Damascus in 676, and died 681.[a]

[a] See TYDEMAN'S *Specimen Philogicum exhibens conspectum operis Ibn Chalicani*. 4to., Lugd. Bat. 1819. p. 15. See also notice *Sur la vie d'Ebn Khalloan*,— by M. QUATREMÈRE, in the Appendix to part ii., vol. 1 of *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks de l' Égypte*; 4to Paris. 1840. p. 180. *Biographie Universelle*, tom. xxi., p. 156.

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This first part of the work ends with the life of the poet Gailán Dhú 'lrummah. Whether it was published immediately after its completion, in the form in which it originally stood in the MS., is doubtful: but it is certain, as will be shown below, that one if not two editions of this part, with subsequent corrections and additions, had been made public before it had received all the author's emendations as they now stand. It does not, however, appear to be improbable, from the great care and accuracy with which it is written, that the MS. as it was originally copied, was intended by the author to be put into the hands of transcribers for publication. The vowels and Tanwín, Jazm, and Tashdíd, are not only added to the proper names of persons and places, but also to almost every other word from which their absence may cause any doubt or obscurity. The signs usually employed to distinguish س from ش and ح from ج and خ as well as that of Hamzah, are also frequently added. In the margin, opposite to the first line of each person's life, is written his surname, or appellation by which he was most generally known. This, among many bearing the same name, is of much use in facilitating the reference to any particular person's life. M. Wüstenfeld in his edition has followed this plan of giving the title or surname of each individual at the head of his life. It is to be regretted that M. De Slane, in his valuable edition, should have omitted a thing so useful for facilitating reference, and which also was the original design of the author. In noticing the marginal additions and corrections, in order to give a general idea of their nature and extent, I will mention all that occur in the four or five first lives, comparing them with the printed editions; and then confine myself principally to such, as by pointing out the period at or after which they must have been made, may serve to illustrate the history of this volume and to show the length of time which it was possessed by the author.

The first alteration which occurs is in the title of the work, which originally was only كتاب وفيات الاعيان. The words وانبا ابنا الزمان مما ثبت بالنقل والسماع او اثبته العيان have been added subsequently in the margin, but from the appearance of the writing and the colour of the ink probably very soon after the original copy had been finished, certainly long before many of the other corrections.

In the first life, that of Ibrahim Alnakhai, ابرهيم النخعي his genealogy was originally given as follows: ابو عمران ابرهيم

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بن يزيد بن الاسود بن عمرو بن ربيعه بن ذهل بن ربيعه بن وابو عمار حارثه بن ذهل بن سعد بن ملك بن النخع The words as in both the editions, have been added subsequently between the lines, while بن ذهل بن ربيعه and the following ذهل بن have been crossed out with a pen. So that the corrected genealogy corresponds exactly with that in the edition of M. De Slane, while in that of M. Wustenfeld the words بن ذهل بن are retained upon the authority of MSS. which follow the readings of a copy which must have been made before the author had added his last corrections. The passage from و لما حضرته to فهو خاله inclusive, as well as that from وقيل في نسبه to the end, has been subsequently added in the margin.

In the next life, that of Abú-Thúr Ibrahím Alkalbi, ابو ثور ابرهيم الكلبي the word الفقيه has been added in the margin. There are also traces of some other correction, but not sufficient to indicate what it was, as the edge of the leaf has been torn at this place. It was probably the word البغدادي which is not found in the MS., although given in both of the editions. The passage from وقال احمد to the end of the chapter, is a subsequent addition

In the life of Abú-Ishak Almarwazi ابو اسحق المروزي which next follows, the passage in the editions from واقام ببغداد to قطيعة الربيع is not in the original sketch: a mark after the word المروزي indicates that something should be inserted here: that part of the margin, however, where we should expect to find it has been torn away in this place. The words بالقرافة الصغري in the edition of M. Wüstenfeld, do not exist in the MS. The passage from السنة المذكورة to و قيل انه توفي forms a subsequent addition. The remaining part of this chapter relating to the derivation of the word المروزي as exhibited in both the editions, does not exist at all in the MS.

The words ابن مهران and ركن الدين الملقب are later additions to the titles of Abú-Ishak Alisfaráyini ابو اسحق الاسفرايني whose life next follows. They have been made at different times, as is plainly perceivable from the colour of the ink. The former is written between the lines and the latter in the margin. The passage from ولد التصانيف to المصنفات inclusive is a marginal addition. That

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in the editions from ذكره ابو الحسن و to اهل نيسابور is not found in the MS. The life originally ended thus وتوفي يوم عاشورا سنه ثماني عشرة واربع ماية بنيسابور رحمه الله تعالي The sentence immediately following in the editions is not found in the MS.; but the next from وسمع بخراسان to واقرانهما has been added at a later time in the margin.

In the next life, that of Abú Ishak Ibrahím Alshírázi, ابو اسحق الي ابرهيم الشيرازي the passage inserted in the editions between وصنف and ان مات was not in the original sketch. A note shows that it should be sought for in the margin, but the leaf has been torn in this place. In the verses which follow, the MS. reads بودِ حرٍ with M. Wüstenfeld, not بذيل حر with M. De Slane. The passage which follows, commencing وقال الشيخ to the end of the next verses, has been subjoined in the margin at a later period. The MS. reads with M. Wüstenfeld, ولد في سنة. After جمادي الاخرة originally was written وقيل الاولي the word وقيل has been erased, and the following words substituted قاله السمعاني في الذيل و قيل في جمادي. Between the lines over the word سنة ست و سبعين is written, قاله السمعاني ايضا. The words من الغد are an interlinear addition. After بن نافيا originally stood بقوله this has been erased, and the passage from واسمه to بقوله as in the editions substituted. In the verses which follow the MS., reads بجدتها with M. Wüstenfeld. The passage in both the editions, from وذكره محب الدين to بن الصباغ مكانه does not exist in the MS. The reading of M. De Slane, كتابه الانساب agrees with the MS.

This may be sufficient to show generally the nature of the corrections and additions made in the MS. I shall, however, notice a few others in the course of the volume, which may serve more especially to illustrate its history.

In the life of Imád-uldín Ahmad, generally known by the name of Ibn Almushtáb, عماد الدين احمد المشطوب mention is made of Badr-uldín Lúlú Atábak بدر الدين لولو اتابك who was living at the time this volume was written. At the end

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of this chapter, in both the printed editions of Ibn Khallikán, a short note of the date of his death is given, which took place on the third of the month Shabán, 657, or two years and five months after the period at which this volume was originally terminated. This note of the date of the death of Lúlú has been subsequently added in the MS., but as part of the margin has been torn away in this place, the words from الجعبة to حسبن have disappeared; the rest corresponds with the editions. There has been several additions made to the original sketch of his life as it stands in the MS.; they are as follows. The first is the passage from بن ابي الهيجا to مرزبان. In this, however, the MS. reads الخليل and not الحليل as the two editions. The next is that from وجده to الهكارية. The third وقد شرحت ذلك في ترجمة الملك الكامل "I have spoken of this in the chapter relating to Almalik Alkámil." His name was Muhammad, and as it occurs the last but one of all those who bore this name, it is probable that his life was not written till some time after this volume, which ends with the letter Gain, was completed. The note referring to that chapter, of course must have been added here still later. The words في شهر ربيع الاخر occur in the margin of the MS. The word immediately preceding them is حوصر as in De Slane's edition, not حصر as in that of Wüstenfeld. The passages from وضيف to the end of the verses لله ولك and from لماكان في السجن to the end of the next couplet سنين في السجن have been added in the margin at different times. That from وهذا ماخوذ to في كلمه does not exist at all in the MS. The next two passages, the one from واما والده to خسمائة and the other from قال ابن شداد to معه طويلا are found in the margin, and were evidently written at different periods.

The next sentence begins in the MS. وكانت وفاة والده "And the death of his father took place, &c.," while in both the editions is written وكانت وفاة سيف الدين. "And the death of Saif-uldín took place, &c." The reason of this difference is obvious. The sentence above commencing thus واما والده سيف الدين as well as that immediately following, having been added in the margin to be inserted in this place, the pronoun of والده "his father" became too far separated from the word to which it refers: it was therefore necessary for the sake of perspicuity to supply the name of the person,

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as the copyists have done, while the original words of the author have been left unchanged in the MS. This life originally ended with the words ولا يشاركه فيه غيره: of the remainder, as exhibited in the editions only from ورايت بخط to من الاسر is now found in the MS. The margin having been cut in this place, the rest has disappeared except a part of the last sentence which was written at a different period, of which mention has been made already.

The life of Abú 'labbás Ahmad bnu 'lkhasíb Aljurjáni ابو العباس احمد بن الخصيب الجرجاني which has been omitted by M. De Slane, but is found in the edition of M. Wüstenfeld, fas. i., p. 106, exists in the MS.; but has been cancelled by the author, and the following note written on the margin: قلت هذه الترجمة غلط و ليس المذكور ولد احمد بن الخصيب ممدوح ابي نواس و كنت رايت في بعض الجوامع انه ابن الخصيب المذكور ثم ظهر لي بعد ذلك انه ليس الامر كذلك ولم اظفر بالصواب الا بعد ان كرر من هذا التاريخ نسخ عديدة "I have committed an error in this chapter. The person spoken of is not the son of Alkhasíb, praised by Abú Nuwás, although I had seen in some collections that he was the son of the above-mentioned Alkhasíb. Afterwards I discovered that such was not the case; but I did not arrive at the truth until after many copies had been repeatedly taken of this history." The rest of the note is incomplete, from the loss of part of the margin. From the words which remain however, it is evident that the author begs of all persons who may happen to possess copies of the work to correct this mistake, urging at the same time as his excuse, the liability of all to fall into error.

This marginal note is very curious, as it shows in the author's own words what the variations of different MSS. already seemed sufficiently to indicate, that one, at least, and probably two or three recensions of this work had been made public by him before it received his last corrections. The MSS. which M. Wüstenfeld has followed in his edition in which this chapter is retained, were of course copied from others which had been transcribed from that of the author, before he had discovered this error and corrected

[3] See the facsimile of the leaf upon which the first part of this life occurs. It exhibits very accurately the MS. except that the different shades of the colour of the ink in the marginal additions, cannot be properly represented. For this, as well as the preceding facsimile, I am indebted to the kindness and skill of my very ingenious and learned friend Mr. Morley.

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it, while the life, as it now stands in this edition, embracing all the marginal corrections and additions which had been made subsequently to the original draught, pro ve that the MSS. above spoken of must have been copied from this i n the interval between the first fair copy, and the period at which t he author discovered his mistake A comparison of the colour o f th nk, and of the manner of writing, with some of the other cor tions which we know were made at an earlier time, would lead t the conclusion that the note relative to the cancelling of this chapt er was made aft er the author's return to Káhirah, A.H. 669. The cir cumstance of this life existing in the copies made from the author's MS., so far as the work was compl ted in 659 when he went to Dam ascus, and our knowledge that the work was then interrupted for ten y ears, s cun also to strengthen this conclusion. The marginal addition and corrections of this life, as well as the variations from it as printe by M. Wüstenfeld, are as follows. The words ابي نصر in the ed n, do not exist in the MS. بن الضحاك الجرجاني الاصل has been ad subsequently between the lines. In the edition المستنصر بالله ently an error; the MS. reads المنتصر بالله adding المتوكل . The words سنة ٢٨٩ do not exist in the MS. The passage from وكان ينسب to رقسد inclusive, forms a marginal addition in the MS To this last word is also added برجله while for وزج المتكلم في فواده وقتله as is found in the edition, the MS. reads وزج المتظلم في فواده قتليه The last word of this is important, as it shows hat the person was only knocked down by the kick and not killed, as the reading of the edition implies. The variations in the verses following are these. In the beginning of the fourth Bait, ذريني for دعني in the sixth الدابرات for الديارات in the seventh فاته for جازه. These verses are given by M. Wustenfeld as consecutive, but in the MS. there is a break after the eighth Bait, with the words ويقوله منها in the same manner also after the twelfth. In the tenth is read زلت تولمه for زال يوليه and بدا for بدي In the eleventh شبيه for يصير. After the word طويلة is also added in the MS

The name of the person whose life occurs the next but one, viz. bnu Aksak, is deserving of notice, because in the form in which it now stands after the last corrections ارتقب بن اكسك it differs fro both the editions. It is plain that the first word was original

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written ارتق as indeed it still stands in a cancelled passage immediately following, and that the last word was اكسب. At the end of the chapter is read وهو بفتح الهمزة although it is plain that the word بفتح has been altered from بضم as also the word اكسك from اكسب. The passage from مغارقا to اربعماية in the editions does not exist in the MS., while that from القدس to دار بكر has been substituted in the margin for the following, which has been cancelled by a line drawn through it with a pen: وملكت اولاده بعده وسقمان ابن ارتق صاحب البيت المقدس ولده منه اخذها الافضل امير الجيوش بمصر. The passage from وملك ولده to اربعماية is not in the MS.

The life of Abú Alí Ismáíl Alkáli ابو علي اسمعيل القالي with all the additions and corrections which have been made to it corresponds exactly with the text of the edition of M. De Slane, p. 109. M. Wustenfeld has fallen into an error in the latter part of this chapter. The four last lines in his edition belong to the life of some other person. The marginal additions in this chapter have been made at three several times. The first from للغة في to وغير ذلك appears, from the colour of the ink, to be of an early period. The next is the passage from واملي كتابه to فلتطلبه منه. This addition was made at a late period. The reference in it to the life of Yúsuf bou Harún Alramáni يوسف بن هرون الرمادي proves that it must have been written at least fourteen years after this MS. was first transcribed, for that life was composed subsequently to the author's return to Káhirah. The passage وقد تقدم الكلام عليها في ترجمة احمد بن يوسف المنازي has been added between the lines, from the colour of the ink probably very early: upon turning to the place referred to in the life of احمد المنازي the sentence relative to the same subject بزيادة جيم مكسورة وبعدها راء ساكنة ثم دال which exists in M. De Slane's edition, but not in that of M. Wustenfeld, is found in the margin written, as appears from the colour of the ink, at the same time. The last passage of the life of Ismáíl Alkáli, viz., from ورايت to the end, was added evidently at the same time as the late correction above spoken of.

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There is a great difference in the life of Almalik Alafdhal Ayyúb bnu Shádhi, father of the Sultan Saláh-uldín, الملك الافضل ايوب بن شاذي والد السلطان صلاح الدين as exhibited in the edition of M. Wüstenfeld, fas. i. p. 150, and that of M. De Slane, p. 124. In the latter, not only has this article been extended to about four times the space which it occupies in the former, but it has also undergone such a considerable change in its form, as to be in a manner completely remodelled: M. Wüstenfeld, as has been observed above, has followed the authority of some MS. which must have been copied from the work before it had received the last corrections of the author. In his preface to the seventh fasciculus, he remarks that the third volume of Cod. D., which he observes "Ad rara Ibn Khallikani exemplaria pertinet," ends with the life of Yahya bnu Khálid bnu Barmak يحيى بن خالد بن برمك wazir of Harún Alrashíd, at which place the author was interrupted in his work by being called upon to quit Káhirah in the year 659 to undertake the duties of Kádhi at Damascus. It was not until his return to Káhirah, ten years afterwards, that he was enabled to resume his task and complete the work. The life of Saláh-uldín Yúsuf could not, therefore, have been written until this period. In the life of his father, Almalik Alafdhal Ayyúb as exhibited in M. De Slane's edition, the author refers to that of the son in such terms as prove that it must have been written before that of the father assumed its present form. And therefore, that the latter could not have been modelled into the shape in which it now stands, until some time after the return of Ibn Khallikán to Káhirah. Now this chapter, with the exception of one or two slight verbal differences, is precisely the same in the MS. as in the edition of M. De Slane. But as the alterations would have been too many to have been inserted in the margin, and the change in the form of the article would not have admitted of their insertion even had the marginal space been sufficient to contain them, the leaf on which was written this life and a part of the preceding one, has been removed, and four other leaves containing this chapter as it now stands inserted. These are in the same hand-writing as the rest of the work, although it is evident that the hand was grown feebler through age. Fifteen years at least must have elapsed since the MS. was first written, and the author's age could not have been less than sixty-two: he was born on the eleventh of Rabi, A.H. 608, and was deposed from the office of Kádhí of Damascus on the twenty-third of Shawwál, 669.

The life of Abú-mugíth Alhusain bnu Mansúr, ابو مغيث

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الحسين بن منصور originally ended with the words همزة مدودة as in De Slane's edition, not مضمومة as in that of M. Wüstenfeld, describing the manner in which the word بيضا ought to be pronounced. From information obtained subsequently as the author himself informs us, he made considerable additions to this chapter. قلت و بعد الفراغ من هذه الترجمة وجدت في كتاب الشامل في اصول الدين تصنيف الشيخ العلامة امام الحرمين ابي المعالي عبد الملك بن الشيخ ابي محمد الجويني الاتي ذكره ان شا الله فصلا ينبغي ذكره هاهنا "Thus far I had said: but after I had finished this chapter, I found in a book entitled, الشامل في اصول الدين the work of the most learned Shaikh Imám-ulharamain Abú 'lmaáli Abd-ulmalic, son of the Shaikh Abú Muhammad Aljuwaini of whom some accounts shall follow, if God wish, a section which ought to be mentioned in this place." These additions have been made subsequently to the time when the MS. was first written, and four new leaves of somewhat different texture have been inserted in the MS. to contain them. The colour of the ink shows that they must have been made at a very early period, and their existence in the MS. transcribed from the work in its imperfect state before the author was appointed Kádhí of Damascus also confirms this. This life is followed immediately in the MS. by that of Ibn Sína, as in M. De Slane's edition. In M. Wüstenfeld's two other short chapters intervene.

The life of the author's friend, Bahá-uldín Zuhair بها الدين زهير who died A. H. 656, or the year after this MS. was written, originally terminated with the words و سياتي ذكره. The following passage by which the life has been completed as in the editions (De Slane, p. 276, and Wüstenfeld, fas. iii. 53,) has been added afterwards in the margin:

ثم حصل بالقاهرة ومصر مرض عظيم لم يكد يسلم منه احد وكان حدوثه يوم الخميس الرابع والعشرين من شوال سنة ست و خمسين وستمائة وكان بها الدين ممن مسه منه الم فاقام به اياما ثم توفي قبيل المغرب يوم الاحد رابع ذي القعدة من السنة المذكورة ودفن من الغد بعد صلاة الظهر بتربته بالقرافة الصغري بالقرب من قبة الامام الشافعي رضي الله عنه في جهتها القبلية ولم يتفق لي

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الصلاة عليه لاشتغالي بالمرض رحمه الله تعالي و لما ابللت من المرض مضيت الي تربته و قرات شيا من القران الكريم و ترحمت عليه لمودة كانت بيننا. "Then there broke out in Káhirah and Misr a violent disorder from which scarcely one escaped. It began on Thursday the 24th of Shawwál, A.H. 656. Bahá uldín was one who was seized with an attack of it. He survived some days, and then died a little before sunset, on Sunday the 4th of Dhú 'lkadah the same year, and was buried on the morrow, after midday prayers, in his tomb, in Alkaráfah Alsugrá[4] near the dome of the Imám Alsháfii, to whom God be gracious, on the south side of it. I was not able to pray over him because I was myself suffering from the disease, but when I recovered I went to his grave, invoked the divine mercy upon him, and read part of the Kurán, on account of the friendship which existed between us."

The passage in both the editions وكنت سطرت هذه الترجمة و هو في قيد الحيوة منقطعا في داره بعد موت مخدومه is not found in the MS. In both editions the word منه between مسه and الم has been omitted; it seems however to be necessary for restricting the sense of the word الم to that particular disease which, standing alone, may be applied generally to any attack. It is probable that this addition was made soon after the event to which it relates occurred. And this probability is strengthened by the colour of the ink. A comparison with this may serve to fix the date of many other of the additions.

At the end of the life of Abú 'lfaraj Abd-ulrahman Ibn Aljauzi, ابو الفرج عبد الرحمن ابن الجوزي as exhibited in the edition of Wüstenfeld, fas. iv., p. 69, the author has added a short account of his son, Muhiy-uldín Abú Muhammad Yúsuf, محيي الدين ابو محمد يوسف who was slain in the excursion of the Tatars at Bagdad in the month Muharram, A.H. 653, and also of his grandson, Shams-uldín Abú Mudhaffir Yúsuf Ibn Kizgali, who died on the twenty-first of Dhú 'lhijjah, A.H. 654. The former being just two years and about three months, and the latter only one year and ten months, before this

[4] Alkaráfah is a place near Káhirah to the south-east, which has always been used as burial ground by the Muhammadans. It lies between the city and the hill Mukattam: that part situate at the foot of the hill is called, القرافه الصغرى or the little Karáfah. See a passage of Makrizi: quoted by De Sacy, *Chrest. Arab.* vol. i., p. 238.

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MS. was originally written. It is probable that the account of these events had not reached the author before the MS. was completed. This is accordingly found added subsequently in the margin, and from the colour of the ink appears to be a late addition. The passage has been omitted by M. De Slane.

In the life of Abú 'lhasan Ali Alhusri, ابو الحسن علي الحُصْري the author having had occasion to speak of some verses composed by his friend Najm-uldín Músa Alamráwi, نجم الدين موسي العمراوي has added at a later period in the margin the date of his birth, A.H. 591, as also that of his death, which happened as he was returning from Yaman at the end of the month Safar, A.H. 651, or not quite four years before this MS. was copied. It is probable that the author had not received intelligence of the death of Alamráwi at the time the life of Alhusri was written. (De Slane, p. 475. Wüstenfeld, fas. vi., p. 42.)

At the end of the short notice which has been given of the poet Abú 'lhasan Ali Ibn Nóbakht, ابو الحسن علي ابن نوبخت الشاعر some account is added of Abú Muhammad Ahmad bnu Ali, known by the name of Ibn Khairán, ابو محمد احمد بن علي المعروف بابن خيران who buried him. This account originally ended with the words, نوبخت بضم النون. There has been written afterwards in the margin: و انما ذكرت ابن خيران في هذه الترجمة ولم افرد بترجمته لاني لم اقف علي تاريخ وفاته وقد التزمت في هذا الكتاب ذكر ارباب الوفيات. "The reason why I have mentioned Ibn Khairán in this chapter, and have not assigned to him a separate chapter, is, because I could not find the date of his death, while it has been my object in this book to mention only such persons as the date of their deaths could be ascertained." Still later than this has been added: ثم اني وجدت في كتاب طبقات الشعرا تاليف الوزير ابي سعيد محمد بن الحسين بن عبد الرحيم الملقب عميد الدولة ترجمة ولي الدولة ابن خيران المذكور وذكر له شعرا وقال كان شابا حسن الوجه ورد الخبر بوفاته في شهر رمضان من سنة احدي وثلثين واربع ماية وكان وقوفي علي هذا الفصل اواخر سنة خمس وسبعين و ستماية بالقاهرة و الله اعلم. "Then I discovered in the book of the classes of Poets, by the Wazir

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Abú Saíd Muhammad bnu 'lhusain Ibn Abd-ulrahím, surnamed Amíd-uldaulah, a chapter relating to Wali-uldaulah Ibn Khairán above mentioned. He also speaks of one of his poems, and says that he was a young man of beautiful countenance. His death is said to have taken place in the month Ramádhán, A.H. 431. I happened to meet with this section, about the year 675, in Káhirah."

This additional account has been inserted by M. Wüstenfeld, in his edition, fas. v., p. 170, for which he must have followed the authority of some other MS. than that above alluded to, as having been copied from one which had been transcribed, before the author had revised and completed his work. In a MS. in the British Museum, the only one which I have been able to refer to, and which coincides in almost all respects with the readings adopted from the MS. above spoken of, these subsequent additions do not exist. The author left Káhirah a second time for Damascus, A.H. 676.

It would not be an uninteresting task, to follow through at much greater length, the various additions and emendations which are found in the margin of this volume, and to trace from one to another, the time, manner, and circumstances, under which they were severally made. But enough has been said to give a general idea of their nature, and to answer the purpose for which they have been chiefly cited, that of proving and establishing the authenticity of this MS. To sum up then in brief, the arguments that this volume is the original draught of the author, and in his own handwriting, they are principally these: that the appearance of the MS., had there been no date, would lead us undoubtedly to assign it to the age at which the author lived—that it bears a date in the same hand as the rest of the work, and that this declares it to have been written in the very place, and at the very time, in and at which we know from other sources that the author did write this book—that it has not the appearance of having been written by a professed transcriber—that it certainly was in the possession of the person who wrote it, for upwards of twenty years—that during the space of this time he continued to add, change, and correct—that the cause of the various readings, and the differences of the length of the chapters in other MSS. can be accounted for, from the additions and emendations in this—that events spoken of in them as occurring subsequently to the date of this MS., or of which information could only be obtained subsequently, are in this volume always written in the margin, and not in the body of the work, except in one or two instances, and in these new leaves have been inserted for the purpose—that it is evident that these additions and corrections have been made at many

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several times, so that the writer of the volume must, at least, have had constant access to the papers of the author, during the long period above-mentioned—that he declares himself to be the author, and that all this is confirmed by the tradition of several persons, who, at various times, have been possessors of the book, as well as by the circumstance of its having been a bequest to a mosque, of which the simple condition of the MS., and the unadorned style of the writing, could hardly have rendered it worthy, unless there had been some other cause for assigning a peculiar value to it.

The evidence, then, for its authenticity seems to be complete, and this volume may therefore be considered as one of the most remarkable curiosities of literature extant. I am not aware of the existence of the autograph copy of any historical work of importance of so early a date—certainly there is none in Europe—of which the proofs of its genuineness are so clear, or which affords so complete an insight into the method of the author, and the circumstances under which, through so long a series of years, he gradually laboured to improve his work and bring it to perfection.

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ART. XI.—*On the Ante-Brahmanical Worship of the Hindús in the Dekhan.* *By* JOHN STEPHENSON, D.D.—*(Continued from* p. 267, Vol. V.)

(*Read 7th December*, 1839.)

IN former notices on this subject, I have given probable reasons for believing, that those objects of worship among the Hindús which by custom are denied the use of temples—denominated demons by the Brahmans, which do not require the aid of Brahmans for the celebration of the rites by which they are honoured, and even if at all venerated by them have the worship paid them represented as if it were a boon given to Rakshas, slain by some one or other of the Brahmanical gods,—were adored prior to the ascendency of the priestly caste in this part of India.

On these grounds I have classed under this head the worship of Vetal, and the festival of the Diváli. On the same grounds I am of opinion that the festival of the Holi, the worship of Mhasoba, and probably the whole of the worship of the Linga belongs to the same class.

THE HOLI GODDESS.

The festival of the Holi is celebrated at the full moon of Phalguna, corresponding to February, and so falls about the opening of the year. It has been termed the Saturnalia or Carnival of the Hindús. Verses the most obscene imaginable are ordered to be read on the occasion. Figures of men and women, in the most indecent and disgusting attitudes, are in many places openly paraded through the streets; the most filthy words are uttered by persons who, on other occasions, would think themselves disgraced by the use of them; bands of men parade the street with their clothes all bespattered with a reddish dye; dirt and filth are thrown upon all that are seen passing along the road; all business is at a stand, all gives way to licence and riot.

For the worship of the Holika devata a circular hole is made in the ground of about a yard deep, and of about the same in diameter. It is filled up with wood, and covered over with cow-dung. In it a green tree, generally a castor-oil tree, is planted, and a quantity of grass heaped about it. To this, offerings of cocoa-nuts, &c. are

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presented, and prayers made, the offerer turning his face towards the east. Afterwards the whole is set on fire. It has often been remarked, that there is an evident connexion between the Holi goddess and the maypole which is annually dressed out in some parts of England, and which is no doubt a relic of the superstition of our Saxon ancestors.

The Holika devata, to whom these offerings are made, is said to have been a female Rakshas, named Dhunda, slain by Mahadeva, and who received from him at her death, as a boon, the honour of being worshipped yearly, for one day, with the above-mentioned rites.

The mention of the maypole suggests the idea of another singular coincidence between the religious customs of the Marathas and our ancestors. It is the practice of taking a quantity of the new grain in harvest, and binding it with leaves and flowers, and then putting it above the doors of their houses. This is called the Naven नवें which in Marathi means new. The ceremony is performed at the full moon in Ashvini. Rice and bajari are the grains usually employed. The Naven is not, however, like the *Maiden*, bound up in the form of a small sheaf, but spread out on the lintel all the width of the door.

Mhasoba.

Mhasoba is another of those gods which a Brahman never hears named without having his risible faculty excited. He probably is the Mahishásur slain by Devi, for, in the Konkani dialect of Marathi, Mhasa means a male buffalo. This demon is much worshipped by the lower classes, especially by the cultivators, for the purpose of rendering their grounds fertile. His image is what may be called a natural Linga, that is, any rounded stone of a considerable size, found in the corner or side of a field. This, when covered by the cultivator with red lead, becomes the god Mhasoba. To this he makes his prayers, and offers cocoa-nuts, fowls, or goats, according to his ability.

I have called Mhasoba a natural Linga, and strongly suspect that the whole of the worship of the Linga belongs to the class now under discussion, and is no original part of Brahmanism. The Lingayats are well known to have a bitter hatred towards the Brahmans, to neglect the Brahmanical rules about purification for dead bodies, &c., and to have priests of their own called Jangams. On the other hand, the Brahmans call them Pakhandí, or adherents to a false religion. And although Sánkara Achárya, or whoever esta-

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blished that compromise of sects, called the worship of the Panchaitana, or five principal divinities, has admitted Mahadeva, under the form of the Linga, into the number, still the person who attends to dress this image is not, as is the case with all the rest, a Brahman, but a Sudra of the caste Gurava. Neither do occasional Brahman worshippers take upon themselves to interfere with the flowers and sandal-wood paste the Gurava has put on the Linga, but allow them to remain undisturbed—a reserve which they exercise in the case of none of the others. All these circumstances tend to point out this form of worship as not yet completely *Brahmanized*, if I may use such a form of expression, and lead us to ascribe to it an origin in the Dekhan previous to the Brahmanical ascendency. Till, however, the Linga Purana has been investigated in the view of this theory, I should not like to be quite positive on the point.

Besides the gods already mentioned, there are others that fall under the same category—as Zákáyi and Zokáyi, who are conceived to preserve the bodies of their worshippers, and are probably originally the same; and Girhoba, who is worshipped under the form of a stone or post set up in fields recovered from the sea, to prevent the water returning upon them. This god has sometimes an image and a temple, but is usually represented in the open air, under the form above-mentioned.

Besides, there are many other gods worshipped throughout the Dekhan, which are not to be found in the Brahmanical theogony—as Vitthoba, Khandoba, &c. But as these seem to have been introduced posterior to the Brahmanical ascendency, and are generally worshipped in temples, they do not belong to our present subject.

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Art. XII.—*Remarks on the Site and Ruins of Tammana Nuwera.*

By Simon Cassie Chitty, Esq., C.M.R.A.S.

(*Read 1st February*, 1840.)

Tammana Nuwera hold sa very important place in the Singhalese history, as having been founded by *Vijaya*, the first in the list of the kings of Ceylon, so far back as 2382 years from the present time, or 543 before the Christian era. It bears in Pali the name of *Tambapanni*, which it is surmised the Greeks and Romans corrupted into Taprobane, and applied as an appellation to the island itself. *Tambapanni* signifies "copper-coloured," and is said to refer to the reddish colour of the soil in the place, as *Albion* did to the colour of the chalky cliffs on the southern coast of England.

It would appear that the European writers of the Singhalese history are not agreed with regard to the identification of the part of the island where *Vijaya* effected his first landing, consequently the site of Tammana Nuwera, which he is stated to have founded in its neighbourhood, was never correctly ascertained. Captain Mahony places it at *Mentott*, near *Manaar*[1]; Joinville in the *Wanny*[2]; and the anonymous author, Philalethes, at *Tambuligamme* or *Tambligam*[3]; but a universal tradition, of a very long standing, which represented *Vijaya* to have disembarked on a point of land, called *Tundamuni*, near *Putlam*, always pointed it out as being on the east of that place; and this tradition has been verified by the recent discovery of the ruins which I shall presently notice.

I must not omit to mention here, that the Moorish inhabitants of *Putlam*, too indolent to extend their researches beyond the sphere of their village, have always suggested that Tammana Nuwera stood on the borders of a lake in the neighbourhood, called *Tammana Villu*; and I, for want of better information, and led by the analogy in the names, was induced to adopt the same opinion in noticing the place in the *Ceylon Gazetteer* which I published in 1833.

The ruins of Tammana Nuwera are situated on the east side of the *Mee Oya*, in the midst of a deep forest, called *Kandukuli Malé*, within half a mile from that river, and about ten miles from Putlam via *Sittiravelli*, in a N.E. direction. The whole of the country about them, as well as the adjacent parts, for many miles, present an un-

[1] *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii., p. 49. [2] Ibid, p. 417.
[3] *History of Ceylon*, cap. ii., p. 22.

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varied scene of jungle, which forms the haunt of elephants and other wild beasts.

Though the existence of these ruins was not unknown to the natives, who frequented the forest to fell timber or gather wild honey, yet none of them ever thought it worth while to inquire into their origin, or to notice them in any way, except now and then to dig about them for hidden treasure, till James Caulfield, Esq., Acting Assistant Government Agent of the District, discovered them in one of his excursions into the interior with a party of friends, in the early part of this year.

Being anxious to furnish the Society with as accurate a description as possible of everything regarding the ruins in question, I embraced the opportunity of a visit I made to *Putlam* in April last to go and inspect them, and I have since caused a survey to be made of the site they occupied by Mr. Van Gunster, the District Surveyor, defraying the costs from my own private fund. The map drawn by Mr. V. G. from the survey is herewith sent, as it explains the positions of the various ruins better than I could do otherwise.

The ruins consist of thirteen groups of pillars of granite, marked in the map Nos. 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, and 18; of the remains of a *Dágoba* and a well, Nos. 6 and 17; of four tanks, Nos. 1, 3, 20 and 21; of a stone slab lying among the pillars in the group No. 8; of a niche cut in a solid rock, No. 4; of two headless figures of *Buddha;* and of several granite pedestals, besides fragments of bricks and potsherds scattered about in different directions.

The pillars in general exhibit a very rugged surface, and look as if they had been placed there in the rough state in which they were quarried. Several are broken, others are fallen, but the greater part are still maintaining their upright position, in spite of the shocks they frequently receive from the elephants, who are in the habit of rubbing their bodies against them. They, however, appear to have lost a considerable part of their original height, probably from the decomposition of the felspar by long exposure to the atmosphere, as has been the case with those found in other places. On measuring the pillars in the group No. 18, which is the first object that attracts notice, as one emerges from the jungle into the cleared space, I found them varying from 3 to 7 feet in height above ground, but they all nearly tally in their other dimensions, being 1 foot broad and 8 inches deep. The pillars in the group No. 11 alone measured from 9 to 10 feet in height, 1 foot 2 inches in breadth, and 10 inches in depth. With the exception of the pillars in two or three groups, the rest are not fixed with any regularity as to their distance from each other; some are 9 feet asunder and others 3 or 4.

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As all the groups of pillars so nearly resemble each other that the description of one will answer the whole, I, therefore, send herewith two drawings representing only the groups Nos. 11 and 15, and for which I am indebted to the kindness of Lieut. Burleigh of the Ceylon Rifles, and Commandant of *Putlam*.

So far as I can judge, these different groups of pillars form the remains of different buildings, appropriated either to religious purposes, or to the residence of the king and his court. It would, however, be absurd to suppose that the pillars supported any roof; for, considering their diminutive height, the rooms would have been of the most paltry dimensions, and they therefore, like those at *Anurádhapura*, must have formed the basement of upper stories constructed of timber[1]. I may also mention that, in nearly all the ruins still remaining in different parts of Ceylon, the pillars yet in existence are of a similar description, or that they must have been adapted to some peculiar style of architecture then prevalent.

I have not been able to find out any trace of private buildings; but this may be ascribed to their having been composed of more perishable materials, perhaps similar to the mud and cadjan now used, which, of course, will not long stand the ravages of time. This I infer from the practice which was observed by the Singhalese sovereigns, even till so late as the reign of *Srí Vikrama Rája Singha* of *Kandy*, of confining the privilege of living in tiled houses in their capitals to the members of the royal family and the adherents of the court, as I find by the following description given of the town of *Kandy* when the English took possession of it in 1803. "It contains no buildings of any consequence except the palace, and a few temples dedicated to Buddha. The streets in general are dirty, the houses poor and mean, built chiefly of mud, thatched with straw and leaves[2]."

The *Dágoba* is of moderate size, and built entirely of alternate layers of brick and mud; but as people have examined it narrowly for treasure, it has been nearly levelled with the ground.

The well is almost filled up with the accumulated rubbish, and it appears to have been built of some kind of hard stone. This was discovered by Mr. Van Gunster only lately, as the jungle which concealed it was not cleared when I visited the place.

The tanks are still in a tolerably good condition, and from their small size they appear to have been designed, not for the purpose of irrigation, but merely as reservoirs of water for the use of the city

[1] *Ceylon Almanac for* 1833, p. 270.

[2] Cordiner's *Description of Ceylon*, vol. ii., p. 182.

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or as bathing-places for the people. The tank No. 20 is always dry, even in the rainy season when the others are filled to the brim. The water is no doubt carried off by subterraneous drains or passages, but, if such exist, I have not been able to discover them, on account of the inside of the tank being at present overgrown with large thick grass.

The stone slab, found among the pillars in the group No. 8, is 3 feet long and 3 feet 6 inches broad. It is quite smooth, and on one edge it has some mouldings cut. This was probably intended for the step of a temple or for a table to place the idols on, or it may have been something similar to the stone slabs, which are placed as rude altars in the open air, before the sacred tree, near the *Bhuddist* temples, and are usually covered with flowers.

At the head of these ruins, on the east there are several solid rocks and in the middle of one of them a niche is hollowed out. It is evident that a *Dágoba* was intended to be built upon this rock, and the hole in question was made to deposit the sacred relics in.

The two figures of *Buddha* in a sitting posture, are of entire blocks of granite, and they were both found without heads which appear to have been broken off in violence. Only one of these now remains in the place; the other has been removed to *Puttlam*.

Before I conclude these remarks it may not be out of place to insert here an extract from a short notice of the discovery of the ruins, which I sent to the Editor of the *Ceylon Observer*, and which appeared in his paper of the 19th of August last. "It is affirmed that after the death of *Vijaya* his successor transferred the seat of government to *Tammana Nuwera* which he built at *Ella Sattara*, but we are not informed when it was that Tammana Nuwera became finally deserted by its inhabitants. We have however reason to suppose that it contained inhabitants till a very late period, or otherwise the *Dagoba* and the images of *Buddha* which are found amongst its ruins, could not have been there, as the religion of *Buddha* was introduced into Ceylon only 200 years after the death of *Vijaya*."

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ART. XIII.—*On a Passage in an ancient Inscription at Sanchi near Bhilsa proving the Proprietary Right in the Soil to be in the Subject and not in the Prince.* By LIEUT.-COL. W. H. SYKES, F.R.S.

(*Read 20th June*, 1840.)

IN a paper of mine published in the 4th and 6th numbers of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, on Land Tenures in Dakhun (Deccan), I endeavoured to prove, and I believe successfully, from the authority of the Mahratta princes themselves, that the proprietary right in the soil in Dakhun was vested in the subject, and not in the prince, and I expressed my belief that such was the case all over India, and had been so from antiquity. It was therefore with no ordinary gratification, that I found a confirmation of my opinion in an inscription on the colonnade of a Buddhist tope or chaitya, at Sanchi, near Bhilsa in Bhopal, recorded in the 6th volume of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, p. 456., and the translation of which, from the ancient Deva Nagari character, we owe to the indefatigable zeal, the singular ingenuity, and the varied knowledge of the lamented Mr. James Prinsep.

The inscription records a grant of money and lands for the support of five ascetics, on the part of the Great Emperor Chandra Gupta, by his agent, to the Buddhist tope or chaitya, which must have been of great dignity and respect, from its magnitude, and the varied, numerous, and laboured sculptures connected with it.

The following is the inscription:—

"To the all-respected Sramanas; the chief priests of the *Avasath* ceremonial, who by deep meditations have subdued their passions, the champions [sword] of the virtues of their tribe.

"The son of Amuka, the destroyer of his father's enemies, the punisher of the oppressors of a desolated country, the winner of the glorious flag of victory in many battles, daily by his good council, gaining the esteem of the worthy persons of the court, and obtaining the gratification of every desire of his life through the favour of the great Emperor Chandra Gupta; having made salutation to the eternal gods and goddesses, has given a piece of ground *purchased at the legal rate*, also five temples, and twenty-five [thousand] dinars, [half of which has been spent for the purchase of the said ground], as an

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act of grace and benevolence of the great Emperor Chandra Gupta, generally known among his subjects as Deva raja [Indra].

"As long as the sun and moon [shall endure] so long shall these five ascetics enjoy the jewel-adorned edifice, lighted with many lamps. For endless ages after me and my descendants, may the said ascetics enjoy the precious building, and the lamps. Whoso shall destroy the structure, his sin shall be as great, yea, five times as great as that of the murderer of a Brahman. In the Samvat, [or year of his reign], 4 [in the month of Bhadrapada], the tenth [day]."

There is no year or era; and the period of the Gupta's, in the opinion of different antiquaries, ranges from the time of Alexander the Great to the tenth century. Dr. Mill considers those mentioned on the Allahabad column as contemporary with Charlemagne. Capt. Smith, who describes the tope, says, the inscription is evidently more modern than the building, and is an irregular addition to the sculpture of the gate. Capt. Cunningham conjectures A.D., 475. The character of the Deva Nagari appears to me to be that in use between the sixth and ninth centuries, and the mention of the sin of the murder of a Brahman would imply, that period of the rising Brahmanical influence consequent on the decline of Buddhism; but the sin, be it remarked, was not one-fifth so great as taking away the lands from these five Buddhist ascetics. We know that the inscription must be centuries after its precursors the twenty-five inscriptions in the Lât character which are engraved in the same tope or chaitya; and of the existence and use of which character, in the time of Alexander's immediate successors, we have indubitable proof in the inscriptions upon the coins of Agathocles and Pantaleon. The exact date, however, matters not to me; it suffices for my purpose, that, between 300 years B.C. and the tenth century, the great Emperor Chandra Gupta, through his agent, *bought the land* which he gave to the Buddhist temple, with the current coin of the time; which appears to have been the Dinar[1]! Had the sovereign considered himself the owner of the soil, he would have *taken* what he wanted from the occupants, and not bought it. I trust these facts and examples will have their due weight with the supporters of the doctrine of the omnipotence of Indian governments.

[1] The Chinese traveller Fahian mentions king Prasenc's minister of Srávast B.C. 543, having *bought* a piece of ground to attach a garden to a temple of Buddha and we find in the Bible that the Egyptians *sold their land* to Pharaoh, in Joseph' time, during the famine.

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ART. XIV.—*Notes on the Religious, Moral, and Political State of India before the Mahomedan Invasion, chiefly founded on the Travels of the Chinese Buddhist Priest Fa Hian in India, A.D. 399, and on the Commentaries of Messrs. Remusat, Klaproth, Burnouf, and Landresse.* By LIEUT.-COLONEL W. H. SYKES, F.R.S.

OUR Sanskrit scholars have sought, in the depths of Brahmanical literature, for the means of illustrating the political, the religious, the moral, and social condition of that ancient people, over whose minds it has hitherto been believed that *Brahmans* exercised from the earliest times unbounded sway. The inquirers sought for facts and they found fables; they looked for historic lights[1], and they found poetic coruscations, which served only to render the darkness in which truth was enveloped more impenetrable. An Orientalist, Mr. Wathen, has said, that on the Mussulman conquest of India the Brahmans destroyed all previous historical documents; they seem, nevertheless, to have carefully preserved, or invented, or adapted, such compositions in Sanskrit, as attested their own religious supremacy or established their cosmogony; and which have fettered the minds of Indians, as well as foreigners, to an unreserved admission of such pretensions as in their arrogance, caprice, or selfishness, they chose to advance.

In this state of hopelessness, with respect to the means of elucidating the ancient history of India, there break upon us lights from a most unexpected source—from the literature of that remarkable people, the Chinese—which will go far to dissipate the mists which have hitherto obscured our view, and which will give our judgments a wider scope of action, and our deductions a stabler basis than we have hitherto possessed. Of the value and character of these

[1] Professor Wilson says, "*The only Sanskrit composition yet discovered, to which the title of history can with any propriety be applied, is the Raja Taringini, a history of Cashmir.*"—Introductory observations to the History. This history nevertheless has the proved anachronisms of 796 years [Mr. Turnour thinks 1177 years,] and 1048 years, and it is a comparatively modern work, having been compiled A.D. 1148.

Professor Wilson also, in his notes on the *Mudra Rákshasa*, says, "It may not here be out of place to offer a few observations on the identification of Chandragupta and Sandracottus. *It is the only point on which we can rest with any thing like confidence in the history of the Hindus*, and is therefore of vital importance in all our attempts to reduce the reigns of their kings to a rational and consistent chronology."

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lights, I leave M. Landresse, one of the translators from the original Chinese into *French*, to speak for himself:—

"If the most pure sources were for ever dried up; if there did not even remain a solitary sacred book, written in the idiom in which the Divinity had chosen to transmit his laws to men, or if these books had not yet for ages to come issued from the monasteries of China and Thibet, in which they are preserved; if the texts in the language of the Brahmans, written subsequently to the period at which they were at the head of religion in India, were absolutely rejected; if it be objected, that the Singhalese versions do not permit of the origin or etymology of the terms which constitute the language of religion being traced; if it were no longer possible to discover the roots of the names appertaining to gods, saints, or heroes, to understand their signification; if the books of the Thibetans were rejected in consequence of certain discrepancies in the classification of their cosmogony, and those of the Mongols, in consequence of their comparatively recent date, and the national legends which are introduced; in one word, if it were desired to recover the entire doctrine of Buddha, in its primitive purity, and almost its original language, without the mixture of formulas, or of the traditions of strangers; there still would remain these translations from the *highest antiquity*, transmitted to us by the Chinese, made directly from the holy books of the most authentic character, where the words, before being interpreted, are reproduced by analogous consonances always to be recognised, and where the grammatical forms are preserved."

Such is the character of these Chinese translations from Indian originals, illustrative of the principles and state of Buddhism in the seats of its origin, progress, glory, and extinction. But there are yet other sources of information of not less interest and value respecting the moral, political, and topographical state of India in the early centuries of the Christian era. These sources come from pious Chinese travellers, who, moved by the same feeling which carries Christians on pilgrimages to Jerusalem, Mahomedans to the Kiblah, and Hindús to their *Teerts* (Tirthas,) braved the dangers, the privations, and the sufferings in the route, through Tartary, and over the Himalaya mountains, from China to India, to visit the scenes endeared to them, by being associated with the lives and miracles of their Buddhas, but chiefly to collect the sacred texts of their religion; and who, subsequently to their return to their country, gave an account of their travels to their countrymen[1]. But M. Landresse so fully

[1] The chief of these works, is that of Fa-Hian, on which are founded the notes I venture to lay before the Society, but others will also be quoted.

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characterises *Foë Kouë Ki* and the other works, that I beg to have recourse to his language:—"The description of the Buddhist kingdoms, which is the object of the present publication, has reference to the half of the *second* period of M. Remusat[1]." In many other works, M. Remusat endeavoured to show that the Chinese had learnt to make the tour of Asia, long before Europeans had doubled the Cape of Good Hope; and that they were not so ignorant in practical geography, as people are generally disposed to believe. Numerous texts prove in an incontestible manner the part which they had taken, two centuries before our era, in the events and commerce of Western Asia. From that time they never ceased to entertain either amicable or hostile, commercial or political relations with the inhabitants of those two lines of towns which seemed to trace through Tartary the road from China to Persia. In the century that preceded the birth of Christ, they sought to contract an alliance with the kings of Bactriana; and subsequently the last members of the Sassanides, overthrown in Persia by the Arabs, sought refuge with the Emperor Taï-tsoung. The Chinese profited by all these events to obtain a knowledge of the places of which they were the theatre; but above all, it is to the religious communications established and entertained by Buddhism that they owe the most precious part of the knowledge which they collected respecting foreign nations. Never did the ambition of conquest, nor the appetite of gain, conduct into countries so far removed as those into which the zeal of proselytism penetrated; and it is not without admiration, mixed with astonishment, that we see humble ecclesiastics cross the rivers and the seas which had stopped armies, traverse deserts and mountains into which no caravan had dared to penetrate, and brave perils, and surmount obstacles, which had set at nought the all-powerful will of emperors: some of them to sow at a distance the belief to which they themselves were attached; and others to verify the principles of their faith, in the country which gave them birth, and to visit the places rendered sacred by events in the life of Buddha."

"The most ancient of these religious undertakings, of which history preserves mention, is that of the travels of Lao-tseu to the west, in the *sixth century before our era*. Whatever opinion may be entertained of the authenticity of this tradition, and particularly as the circumstances that he reports are not all equally worthy of credence, it is beyond all doubt that at extremely remote periods there was a kind of reciprocity in the importations into China of the doctrine of Buddha, and in the propagation beyond the limits of this country of the precepts of Lao-tseu. It follows from many passages in Foë

[1] M. Remusat divides his history of Buddhism into *three* periods.

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Kouë-ki that the philosophical sect which acknowledged Lao-tseu as its head and founder was, at the commencement of the fifth century before our era, already from an early period dispersed in the countries situated to the west and south-west of China, and even in India. Moreover, we could not well deny the analogy which exists between the opinions of the Doctors of Reason (Lao-tseu) and those of the Buddhists—an analogy which extends to the very base of their doctrines, as well as to the details of the popular belief, and which is removed too far from the circle of truths and of errors, which constantly lead men to the same point, to permit us to believe that this analogy should have sprung up in two countries *independent* of all communication, or of some traditional influence. A Buddhist priest, of the name of Chi li fang, appears to have been the first Buddhist missionary who came to China from the westward to propagate his faith. He arrived in Chan si in the year 217 before our era; thus this province, which passes for having been the seat of the government of the first sovereigns of China, and where there is every reason to believe that Chinese civilization had its birth, was also the first to become acquainted with Buddhism. Chi li fang was accompanied by eighteen ecclesiastics, and had some sacred books with him. Under Ai ti, of the dynasty of Han, in the first year of Youan Chiou, (two years before Jesus Christ,) some other books were taken by I tsun Keow, who was sent from the nation of the *Getes*[1]; and about the same time the king of their country ordered a learned disciple of the sect of Buddha, named King lou, to proceed to India to study [verify?] the precepts of Buddhism. At this period, says the Chinese historian, the Buddhist sectaries were dispersed throughout our frontiers, and their doctrine was known in the empire, but it was not professed. That which may be called its official adoption did not occur until about sixty years afterwards. Buddha having manifested himself in a dream to the Emperor Mingti, this prince charged several learned individuals to collect in Hindústan information respecting the Buddhist religion, to copy its precepts, and to draw its temples and images. They returned accompanied by two ecclesiastics. It was then that *Central* China commenced to possess Buddhist priests, and that their religion was publicly professed. By frequent and regular communications from China to India it reached most of the nations of interior Asia: some received it from the labours of zealous missionaries; and others sent pious pilgrims to search for it in the countries where it was known to have been long held in honour.

[1] Scythians.

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"Before the end of the second century very many Buddhist priests had arrived in China from Bokhara, from the country of the *Getes*, and from Hindústan, to form religious establishments; and they preached their doctrines, and *taught the languages of India.*

"In the year A.D. 257, a Chinese Buddhist travelled over the lesser Bokhara; and in 265 a Scythian, who had collected in the countries of the West numerous holy books, had arrived in China to translate them. The notice which M. Remusat has devoted to Fo thou tchhing in the *Universal Biography* informs us of the influence which this Buddhist priest, from Hindústan, exercised in the beginning of the fourth century in the north and west of the Chinese empire. The disciples which he united in crowds around him extended his fame: the people ran to profit by his sermons, and to witness his miracles. Many embraced a religious and contemplative life; and this may be looked upon as the period in which Buddhism made the greatest progress in China. Sangadeva, Fo tho ye ho, Tan ma ye ho, and, above all, Kieou ma lo chi, the first a native of Cophene, and the others of Hindústan, trod in the steps of Fo thou tchhing, and, like him, powerfully contributed to extend the influence of the new religion."

M. Landresse now introduces the author of *Foë Kouë Ki*, the book from which my notes are chiefly taken. He says of the traveller that he was "a Buddhist priest, belonging to the clerical school, of which Kieou ma lo chi was the head. His family name was Koung, and his ancestors were originally from Ping yang, in Chan si. Dedicated to the monastic life from his birth, he received at the age of three years, when he was made a Cha me, or disciple, or aspirant, one of those religious names which is imitated from similar Indian terms, and which indicate some moral or ascetic idea. That which was then given to him, and the only one by which it is permitted us to know him, is Chy Fa Hian, or, shortly, Fa hian, which signifies 'Manifestation of the Law.' The wisdom and holiness of Kieou ma lo chi continually attracted to Tchhang'an (now Si'an fou) a great concourse of devout persons; and it was there that Fa hian came to complete his theological studies; and after having been initiated in all the mysteries of the esoteric doctrine, he received the final precepts, and obtained the quality or dignity of Samanean, or priest of Buddha. But the wars, which lost to the Imperial Dynasty almost the whole of the northern part of China, and occasioned its division amongst a number of petty Thibetan and Tartar princes, proved fatal to Buddhism. At the end of the fourth century of our era, the sacred texts were found to be mutilated or

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dispersed, the precepts were neglected or abandoned, all zeal became extinct, and the faith, wanting lights and support, ceased to operate. Profoundly afflicted at *this* state of things, Fa hian quitted his native land, and directed his steps towards those countries watered by the holy rivers. Many of his co-religionists joined with him, and in the year of our era 399 the little band were beyond the frontiers of China. They crossed all Tartary; they penetrated into the mountains of Thibet, where are the highest chains of the globe. By means of cords, and flying bridges, and steps hewn in the rock, they cleared otherwise inaccessible valleys, and precipices of 8000 feet in height: they twice passed the Indus, and followed the banks of the Ganges to the sea. There Fa hian alone remained of the little band that had set out with him. He embarked for Ceylon, whence, after having navigated the Indian seas for nearly three months, touching at Java, he returned to Tchhang'an, in the year A.D. 414, having travelled about twelve hundred leagues by land, and more than two thousand by sea. He had traversed thirty kingdoms, visited all the places which tradition had rendered sacred, and above all, said he, 'I could not but admire the virtues, the piety, and the regular conduct of the Buddhist ecclesiastics.'

"But spectacles less gratifying awaited him in his native country. Since his departure, the state of the Buddhists was not ameliorated. A violent persecution was preparing against them in the north of China, which burst forth about the middle of the fifth century, and for a time arrested their progress. They were obliged to fly or conceal themselves, and their books became a prey to the flames. But from the first years of the next century, they were seen to make other efforts, to recommence by new means to render popular their belief, and to re-establish their religious traditions upon the authority of the originals.—In the year A.D. 502, Soung-yun and Hoeï-seng traversed the countries of Badakshhan, Oudyâna, Kandahar, and Eastern Persia. Fifteen years afterwards the emperor Ming ti sent Yun [surnamed the Samanêen], Fa lí, and others, into the western countries to study the books of Buddha. In A.D. 650 Hiuan thsang was on his way back to China, after an absence of more than twenty years, employed in visiting Tokharestan, Afghanistan, Scind, and *almost every part of Hindústan.* It is he who extended his steps the farthest; at least the narrative of his travels, which contains a description of 140 different countries, is the most extended and detailed of all those with which we are acquainted from Chinese authorities. About the same time, the sovereign of Kashgar sent the mantle of Sákya [Buddha], as a precious relic to the emperor Kao tsoung. There is also in two

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books, a catalogue of the narratives, written by fifty-six ecclesiastics, who, during the three centuries that the dynasty of Tang lasted, undertook travels in the West. But the most considerable expedition is that which took place in 964 of our era. In conformity with a decree of the emperor Taï tsou, *three hundred* Buddhist priests set out for Hindústan to collect reliques of Buddha, and books written upon the leaves of the Latanier tree. There was amongst them a man versed in the knowledge of the three doctrines—those of Confucius, of Lao tseu, and Buddha; his name was Wang, and he was a native of Hoei tcheou, and it was he who edited the narrative of the expedition. The narrative is not very detailed; but the accounts of different countries merit the more attention, as they relate to a period at which we have very imperfect ideas respecting the state of the kingdoms situated to the westward of China, and many particulars are found mentioned, of which we have but slight knowledge from other sources."

M. Landresse then indulges in some admirable reflections on the singularity and importance of our finding in Chinese literature these new lights with respect to India, but which my limits will not admit of my detailing. He then adds, that "Fa hian, Soung yun, and Hiuan thsang, had each traversed the same countries at the lapse of a century from each other. Their narratives offer for distinct and well-determined epochs details often similar, but sometimes different; and these compared and discussed, fix very important points in religious chronology, and furnish, respecting the history and geography of Hindústan in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, very valuable information. But the state of Buddhism, and that of all Asia, in Fa hian's time, recommends his narrative peculiarly to our notice, and has occasioned M. Remusat to accord to it a preference over the other two, which it does not owe entirely to its precedence. Then in effect, India seemed (so to use the expression) to have passed its bounds; Buddhism had penetrated everywhere, and at the same time in extending itself to a distance, this religion preserved in the places of its birth, its influence of fourteen hundred years[1].

"In Central India, according to Fa hian, it had lost nothing of its superiority over Brahmanism. If in some countries the Brahmans had banished the practice and ceremonies of Buddhism, the advantages assured to its followers had nevertheless not ceased to exist; and Benares, so renowned in our days as an ancient school of the wisdom of the Brahmans, *was peopled* by *Buddhist priests*. The narrative of Soung yun, and that of Hiuan thsang, on the contrary, prove that the Brahmans had obtained the supremacy in the sixth and

[1] M. Remusat follows the Chinese in the date of Sakya's birth.

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seventh centuries, and the consequent decline of their opponents in the central, western, and northern regions of India. In the countries situated beyond the limits of India, other causes had contributed, some to the alteration, and others to the destruction of the Buddhist faith—it had lost a great number of its followers, even before the conquest of Persia by the Arabs; also by the introduction of the religion of Zoroaster into Bokhara; and Hiuan thsang says, that even in his time the dominion of the Turks had altered the manners and assisted to displace the various people inhabiting to the west of the mountains of Tsoung ling[1]; and the submission of the Tartars, and the reunion of the western countries to the empire, after the defeat of the Turks, must some few years afterwards have led to changes equally disastrous.

"The ruin of the power of the Scythians, which modified everything in Asia, had an influence not less remarkable upon the fate of Buddhism. From a long period the country which these people had conquered, as well upon both banks of the Indus as in the western part of China, had acknowledged Buddhist doctrines; but the most part, in changing masters, changed also religion; and the Scythians, dispersed in small tribes, and reduced anew to the erratic lives which their fathers had led, carried throughout in their emigrations, the worship to which they had remained faithful; and which they had everywhere introduced in their invasions. If it be no longer found in the places where they once reigned, it was to be met with in all those places, much more numerous, where they sought a refuge. The Thibetans received it from them; certain Tartar hordes that they joined seem to have had a knowledge of it from that time; in short they may be considered the first to occasion its extension to the countries in the north of Asia, where it is dominant to this day, although everything seemed to oppose its ever being able to penetrate there.

"But to confine ourselves to the countries and the period where it devolves to us to establish what was the condition of Buddhism, we find that in the seventh century it had almost disappeared in the eastern provinces of Persia. A daily diminution took place there in the number of the ecclesiastics; the towers and the abandoned monasteries fell into ruin; the knowledge of the holy books was lost; and the valleys, which at present are inhabited by the Afghans and Beluchis, offered to the veneration and pious curiosity of Hiuan thsang but feeble vestiges of the religion which had been transplanted there, and which Fa hian had there seen so flourishing. Oudyana and Kandahar, where so many holy traditions had been related to

[1] A branch of the Himalaya to the west of Khotan.

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Fa hian, furnished only to Hiuan thsang some recollections almost effaced, and he there counted but a very small number of true believers. He thus found himself placed, not less as regarded the object of his travels, than for the information we can derive from them, in less favourable circumstances than his predecessor; his narrative, consequently, although more extended in many respects, is of much less importance than that of Fa hian. There are found in it more legends, and with great prolixity in the details, great pretension in the manner in which they are presented; and, in short, there is not much more of interest, than what relates to countries not described in the *Foë kouë ki*. And with respect to the Eastern countries, the travels of Fa hian offer advantages not less considerable in superior illustrations of their geography, and their political and religious state."

M. Landresse then details the difficulties M. Remusat experienced after the changes that had taken place in Asia, and the lapse of fourteen centuries, in following Fa hian's steps and identifying his names. He states, however, that M. Remusat's vast learning and zealous perseverance enabled him to overcome all his difficulties, and compile a specific geographical memoir, with the reasons for his several deductions, which was read before the Academy of Inscriptions, in Paris, in the end of 1830. The abstract of this memoir is given in M. Remusat's own words.

"I shall offer," said he, "the abstract of the principal facts resulting from the examination of *Foë kouë ki*, and which, previous to the examination, were either uncertain, enveloped in obscurity, or unknown. The particular character of Chinese writers, and their exactitude in matters of chronology, permit of a precision being reached, which is rarely attained by the most profound labours, when they have for their object Indian books[1], of which the date is unknown, and which may be *always suspected of interpolation*. The following eight points may therefore be regarded as *having been reputed facts in China at the commencement of the fifth century of our era*.

"1st. Buddhism was established in Central Tartary,—to the west of the great desert,—in the neighbourhood of the lake of Lob,—amongst the Ouigours,—at Khotan, and in all the small states to the north of the Himalaya mountains. In these tracts were monasteries peopled with Buddhist ecclesiastics; *Indian ceremonies* were celebrated; the Sanskrit[2] language was cultivated; and this language was sufficiently known to be used for the names of places.

[1] He here necessarily means Brahmanical writings, for the Mahawanso was unknown to him.

[2] The Buddhist inscriptions in Pali of several centuries before Christ, both on

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"2nd. The same religion was even more flourishing to the west of the Indus, in those states altogether Indian, which now comprise the mountains of Affghanistan, Oudyana, Gandhava, Beloutcha, Tchyoutasira, &c. The Buddhists had carried the pomp of their worship into those countries, and local traditions point them out as the scenes of many passages in the life of Buddha, of his travels, and of the compilation of the sacred texts. An extension so remarkable of the languages *and doctrines of India in the West had not hitherto been suspected. But Fa hian renders the fact* UNQUESTIONABLE; *he makes known the period, and the origin, and supplies to the learned materials which were wanting to explain the confusion and combination of several Oriental doctrines*[1].

"3rd. Central India, that is to say the country on the bank of the Ganges, between the mountains of Nepaul and the rivers Jumna and Gogra, is the birth-place of Buddhism, which has been by mistake attributed to Meridional Bahar. Sakya Muni[2] was born at Kapila, in the neighbourhood of Oude and Lucknow. His father was a prince of this country, and tributary to the king of Magadha[3], who resided at Pataliputra[4]. All his ministry was accomplished to the north of the Ganges, in the provinces of Oude, Benares, and Northern Bahar; and he finished his career to the north of Patna, in the neighbourhood of the mountains of Nepaul.

"4th. Originating in Central India, Buddhism had there preserved, in opposition to Brahmanism, a sort of *political superiority. Traditions carried it back as far as the tenth century before our era; and monuments, of which some still subsist, and others in ruins, confirm the testimony of those traditions!*

"5th. Buddhism had penetrated into Bengal, and as far as the mouths of the Ganges.

"6th. We are satisfied also that the same religion had penetrated, *in very ancient times*, into the Dekkan; and there exist there, from that period, excavations in the form of *temples, the construction of which is carried back to epochs so remote, as to be comprised within the age of fable.*

"7th. Buddhism was dominant in Ceylon, and its ceremonies

monuments and coins, and the Mahawanso, were not known to M. Remusat, or he might have qualified this assertion respecting the Sanskrit language, particularly as inscriptions in pure Sanskrit are *entirely wanting* down to the period of which he is speaking.

[1] The *Pali* inscriptions on many of the coins found in Affghanistan, together with their *Buddhist emblems*, attest the truth of Fa hian.

[2] Buddha. [3] Bahar.

[4] Patna; but this is a mistake of M. Remusat. The monarch resided at Rajagaha, the city of Pataliputto [Pali] being founded afterwards.

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and worship were there celebrated with magnificence. Its sacred books were also met with there; and, at the moment of Fa hian's voyage, they counted 1497 years since the *Nirvana* [extinction] of Sakya Muni [Buddha]! These facts should be added to those which Messieurs Burnouf and Lassen have so well discussed for fixing the period of the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon.

"8th. It was attempted in all parts of India, by studying the sacred tongues, to complete the collection and to promote a knowledge of the religious texts. A great number were obtained in the province of Oude, at Patna, at Benares, in Bengal, and in Ceylon. And *on no occasion is mention made of the difference which should exist in the dialect of these texts, supposing they were written in Sanskrit and Pali*[1]." So far M. Remusat; and M. Landresse adds—

"The search for these books, the study of the different idioms in which they were compiled, and the knowledge of the doctrines and the facts they contained, were, with visits to holy places, the motives for the long pilgrimage undertaken by Fa hian. He returned rich in theological facts, and in edifying memorials; and the details that he gives, respecting the titles and the subjects of the volumes he had procured, show that the collection was not less choice than numerous. Scarcely had he arrived in China, than his first care was to make the Buddhist priests profit by the riches that he brought, and the knowledge that he had acquired. He would not see his native place, he would not take repose, until this last duty was fulfilled. In place of going to Tchhang an, he went to Nanking, where, with the assistance of a LEARNED INDIAN, named Pa lo thsan, he embarked in the labours of digestion and criticism, no doubt relative to the religious treatises and to the precepts he had collected, and which may have given rise to the great translation of the books of the Legislator of Upper Asia, in 192,000 verses, which was finished three or four years afterwards [about A.D. 418], and in which Fa hian probably took part. This much is certain, that he did not write the narrative of his travels until the accession of the dynasty of Soung, and consequently subsequent to the year A.D. 419. It was reviewed and republished under the dynasty of Ming, by Houtchin heng and Maothsin. This edition is the one which has served us[2]; it belongs to the king's library at Paris, and formed part of a collection of dissertations on different subjects of philosophy, history, and literature, and which M. Remusat compared to the memoirs of the academies or learned

[1] *Amongst the numerous inscriptions discovered there is not one single* BUDDHIST *text, for centuries after Fa hian's time, in* SANSKRIT.

[2] Messrs. Remusat, Klaproth, and Landresse.

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societies of Europe; and which Fourmont had taken for a collection of treatises on magic and the art of divination. Such is the reputation which the *Foë kouë ki* enjoys in China, that there is no repository of science and learning that does not contain fragments of it, if not the entire work. Its authority stands foremost in geographical and historical works that treat of foreign nations; and it is quoted in the dictionary of Kang-hi, the articles of which are filled with notices borrowed from the best writers.

"The style of Fa hian is simple and concise, and M. Remusat was particularly desirous in his translation to preserve its originality and naïveté. A translation more literal than elegant was necessary to preserve the *character of good faith and veracity which is observable in the least expressions, and which each word, indeed, appears to carry with it.* As an example; his phraseology, when he speaks of a country where he has been, is always 'from such a place, one arrives at such a place,' using the indefinite personal pronoun to designate himself; whilst in speaking of a country where he had not been, he says 'at such a distance there is such a town.' His narrative was written to gratify his master, Kieou ma lo chi, and at the entreaties of his fraternity, who were anxious to preserve the memory of adventures so extraordinary, and of travels so meritorious. Although credulous, he was so scrupulous as an observer, that he has not invented one of the fables which are mixed up in his narrative. In his researches he was guided by a sentiment which does not admit of inexactitude, namely conscientious superstition: thus he has not embellished a single fact, nor concealed a single circumstance, even when it might have been his interest to embellish or suppress. That which he had seen he details with the same fidelity with which he recounts all that had been related to him, carefully distinguishing however that, in the latter case the testimony is not his own. If his details be compared with those of other travellers, both Chinese and Western, who passed over the same countries, several centuries after him, new reasons will be found for believing in his sincerity. He owed it to the habit that he bore, and to the pious motives that sustained him in his enterprise, to see things as he has seen them, and to describe them as he has described them. Devoted to the obligations of his mission, his attention was most occupied by the miracles or prodigies of which the memory is perpetuated in certain places, the relics preserved at those places, the ceremonies in use, the temples and monasteries erected, and the number of ecclesiastics who attended the former and occupied the latter."

M. Landresse then proceeds to say that his enthusiasm and exal-

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tation were not able to extinguish his feelings, to control his impressions, or to conceal the weaknesses of the man; and these weaknesses endear him to us, give us a greater sympathy for his person, and interest us the more in his words and his deeds. In speaking of his sufferings, there is not any exaggeration; but his language is characterized by modesty and humility. Fa hian says:—"In recapitulating what I have experienced, my heart throbs involuntarily; but the fears that had shaken me in my perils are not the causes of that emotion. This frame has been preserved by the sentiments that animated me. It was the end I had in view that made me hazard my life in countries where its preservation was uncertain, at all risks in short, to attain that which was the object of my hope."

"The description of the dangers from which he escaped in traversing the almost impracticable passes of the Indian Caucasus,—the tears that he shed on his companion sinking amidst the snows of the Himalaya,—the emotion that he experienced at Ceylon in meeting one of his countrymen,—his description of his voyage, and his fears during the tempest, and many other passages, offer most touching traits of his candour and of his genuine sensibility."

One of these, I cannot refrain from relating, not only to the credit of Fa hian's heart, but as it testifies to the universality of a sentiment, common to humanity in all ages and all climates, "the fond remembrance of home." Fa hian was at Ceylon, he had then been many years from China; all those with whom he had been connected were strangers to him; the mountains, the rivers, the trees, and the plants, all in fact that had met his eyes was new. He had long been separated from his original companions; some had left him, and some were dead; and his feelings of isolation, when he looked back, always filled his heart with sadness. With these impressions upon him, he was one day in the great temple of Buddha at Ceylon; when suddenly a merchant presented to the statue of Buddha a white silk fan, the manufacture of China. His country, and his home, with all their endearing recollections, instantly took possession of his mind, overwhelmed him with emotion, and his eyes filled with tears which coursed down his cheeks! it was the memory of home upon him! I trust the lengthened extracts I have given from M. Landresse's eloquent introduction to the *Foë koué ki*, will neither be deemed superfluous nor uninteresting. It was quite necessary to depict Fa hian in his natural colours, for the deductions and inferences from the facts he narrates will be influenced by a just estimate of his character for honesty, truth, simplicity, and benevolence. A knowledge of the state of Buddhism

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in India, at the time of his arrival, was equally necessary, as a basis on which to raise questions with respect to the relation in which other religions, then existing in India, stood to Buddhism. It only remains to offer a few observations touching some popular impressions.

The year Fa hian was in Ceylon was reckoned by the Ceylonese the 1497th from the death[1] of Sakya Muni, who is usually looked upon as the *founder* of Buddhism; but so far from this being the case, Sakya Muni was the fourth Buddha of the actual age or second division of the Kappo; and whatever may be thought of the two first, whether apocryphal or not, Sakya Muni's immediate predecessor, Kasyapa[2], despite of the absurd chronology and fables in which he is involved, would appear to have had a positive existence according to the belief of the Buddhists of the fourth century. For Fa hian not only repeatedly makes mention of his birth, life, and ministry, but absolutely describes[3] a great tower in Oude, in the neighbourhood of Rama's celebrated city, Ayodhya, which *contained his entire bones.* But the most remarkable of the proofs is in Fa hian mentioning, from his personal knowledge[4], Buddhist sectaries then existing, who honoured the memory of the *three* Buddhas preceding Sakya Muni, and refused these honours to Sakya Muni, said to be the *founder* of Buddhism! There is also something stronger than a presumption of the existence of Buddhism previous to Sakya Muni's ministry, in a passage of his life[5]. In his youth he was always melancholy and reflective; and the king his father adopted various means to dissipate his seriousness: amongst other devices, he had recourse to sending him on various excursions from the city accompanied by a suitable cavalcade. But in all these excursions, he met with something which strengthened his distaste for the vanities of life, and made him more contemplative than ever, a supernatural being in fact, counteracting the designs of the king, the parent of the future Sakya Muni. On one occasion the cavalcade quitted the city by the northern gate; and the supernatural being met Sakya Muni in the form of a Samanéen or Buddhist priest. Following the words of the history, he [the Buddhist priest] wore the dress prescribed by the law[6], he carried his begging pipkin, moving on foot, and tranquilly examining before him, neither turning his eyes to the right nor to the left. "Who is this?" said the young prince. His

[1] *Nirvana* in Sanskrit, *Nibutti* in Pali, which will make Buddha the contemporary of the prophet Samuel in Palestine.

[2] Page 197. [3] Page 176. [4] Page 175. [5] Page 207.

[6] The Buddhist clergy wore a particular dress, and shaved the beard and head; p. 9.

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attendants replied that it was a Samunéen. "And what is a Samanéen?" demanded he. "The Samanéens," said they, "are those who practise the doctrine; they abandon their houses, their wives, and their children; they renounce all tender desires; they suppress the six affections; they observe the precepts, and by contemplation having attained simplicity of heart, they extinguish all impurities. He who has simplicity of heart, is called 'Arhan.' The Arhan is the true man: nor praise, nor censure, move him; dignities cannot corrupt or turn him; he is firm as the earth; he is delivered from affliction and grief; and living or dying, he is master of himself[1]."

Here not only is a Buddhist priest seen by the supposed *founder* of Buddhism; but its chief features are described to him as being known. The constant wish of the king his father was to engage his son in secular affairs, and he consulted with his ministers, how he was to be prevented from studying the "*Doctrine*," which meant the precepts and principles of Buddhism; but the son was resolved to follow his own inclinations. He accordingly embraced a religious life, passed through the gradations of purity, and became *a* Buddha, not *the* Buddha. It may be said these passages in the life of Sakya Muni are inventions; but what right have we with our limited knowledge to pronounce those things inventions, which are proved by Fa Hian to have constituted the belief of millions more than fourteen hundred years ago? Sakya himself, in a sermon at Benares, speaks of former Buddhas—page 68; and at page 285, the Buddhas of past times are referred to, as well as at page 229, where it is said the doctrine of relics "S'arira" is for the vulgar only; meaning the relics of former Buddhas. The Chinese words are Che li, which M. Klaproth considers equivalent to the Sanskrit S'arira[2].

But the fact is, that if the Brahmans claim the institution of Brahmanism from the origin of time, the Buddhists are not a whit behind them in similar claims to antiquity for their faith. And the puerile absurdity of the one party in their calculations is fully balanced by the puerile absurdity in the calculations of the other party. The Brahmans divide a cycle of time, it is well known, into four Yugas, which cycles commence, progress, and terminate *ad*

[1] From the *Chin i tian*; Book 77, p. 24, 28. P. 207 of Fa hian.

[2] By using Sanskrit terms as the equivalents of Chinese words, M. Klaproth does not assert that Sakya preached in Sanskrit or used the Sanskrit language. It is probably owing to his unacquaintance with Pali that he does so; for as all *ancient* Buddhist scripture, and as all *ancient* Buddhist inscriptions are in Pali, the inference would rather be that Sakya used the Pali language.

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infinitum; and it would puzzle the arithmetic of the intuitive arithmeticians that have appeared in the world to determine the number of years comprised in these periods. Moreover, the most liberal geologist, with his millions of ages, would sigh to think how far he fell short of them. The Buddhists divide a *cycle* of time, which is called a Kappo[1], into two parts: the first is called that of "Miracles," or wonders; and the second, or present age, that of "Wise Men," or philosophers[2]. In the age of Miracles 1000 Buddhas are supposed to have appeared, and the names of twenty-four are recorded in the Ceylon Buddhist Scriptures, the *Pitakattya* including those of the present age, and their parentage, and birth places are mentioned. In the present, or age of "Wise Men," four Buddhas have appeared, namely, Krakoutchchhanda, the 1st; Kanaka Muni, the 2nd; Kasyapa, the 3rd; and Sakya Muni, the 4th. Maitraya is the next to appear, and then in succession 995 others to complete the end of the cycle[3]; which then commences again. The chronological fables involved in these periods will be understood by a passage relating to the life of Kanaka Muni, who is supposed to have belonged to the present cycle. It says, "He was born at the period when human life was *reduced* to 40,000 years, that is to say, 3,714,000 years ago!" But this is a trifle to what M. Klaproth calls a curious legend, where mention is made of a Buddha (Avalokitiswara) who lived a hundred quadrillions of tens of quadrillions of *Kappos*, or cycles, ago (p. 121). With these parallel and antagonist claims to antiquity by the Buddhists and Brahmans, it does not appear that any jealousy existed on the part of the Buddhists; for this very Kanaka Muni is said by the Buddhists to have been born through a Brahman family honoured by the kings of the country.

Another of the prevalent opinions involving an aspersion of the Buddhist character is, that their doctrine makes them atheists. But the fact is, they believe in the unity of the Godhead, and *in a future state of rewards and punishments*; and they have heavens and hells[4] enough of all degrees and qualities; from the lowest of the former of which they can progress by their acts into higher beatitudes, or fall

[1] The Nepaulese division of a cycle into four Yugas, as mentioned by Mr. Hodgson, is said by M. Klaproth to be borrowed from the Brahmans. P. 196.

[2] Its duration is 236,000,000 years, of which, 151,200,000 are passed; p. 357.

[3] Page 197.

[4] Sixteen hells, (p. 70,) and eighteen heavens, (p. 145.) At p. 296 and 299, not less than sixteen chief hells (eight hot, and eight cold) are enumerated, and sixteen minor hells, through all which the guilty pass until they have expiated their offences. My authorities are the commentaries of MM. Remusat and Klaproth.

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from their elevated stations, Lucifer-like, into the realms of suffering and woe, and from these they can extricate themselves by their repentance and aspirations after perfectibility[1]. Existence, therefore, with the Buddhists, is a state of probation, until perfectibility be attained; this perfectibility involves the absorption of the spirit into the essence of the Divinity, and which is only attained by the Buddhas. With the exception, therefore, of the fragment of the minutest fraction of the whole number of transmigrating souls, the whole are in a probationary state, in the heavens, hells, or on the *earth*; for as the Buddhists, like the Brahmans, believe in the metempsychosis, souls appear upon earth in human or other bodies; and in the ministry of Sakya Muni, he tells his disciples, in a sermon preached at Benares, his auditors being the Buddhist priesthood and the Buddhist population, *Brahmans*, *Brahma himself*, and the *four rulers of the skies*, *Indra*, *Yama*, &c., p. 67, not only of the states he passed through on earth and in heaven, but says that his progress to perfectibility was retarded by his own acts, when in his transmigrations; and [2]amongst his tribulations upon earth, even after he had attained the rank of Buddha, was that of being charged by a young lady of incontinence with her. Atheism therefore cannot justly be charged against Buddhism in its origin, whatever may be said against some of its comparatively modern sectaries, for the belief in a future state of rewards and punishments necessarily implies the belief in the existence of a Being to reward and punish. It will be observed that these views of Buddhism are collected from the elaborate commentaries on Fa hian, and are not my own.

It would appear that the gradations from the simple layman to the becoming a Buddha are the following: Samanéan, Arhan, Srawaka, Pratyeka Buddha, Boddhisattva, and Buddha[3]; but they may be ages, and pass through multiplied transmigrations and infinite cycles of time, in securing their promotion from one gradation to another. On earth the ecclesiastics are classed into two great bodies, as they aim at transporting the soul to the *minor* or *major* degrees of perfection by studying *morality* or *metaphysics*. At least this is the *briefest* manner in which I can explain my idea of Klaproth's "petite translation" and "grande translation." Those who had embraced a religious life, whichever translation they belonged to, were divided into two classes, the mendicants and the inhabitants of monasteries; some of which monasteries were of such prodigious extent as to accommodate 3000 monks. The stupendous excavations in the trap-rocks at Ajanta, Ellora, Junar,

[1] Page 138. [2] Pages 279, 174 and 184. [3] Pages 9—11.

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Karleh, and in Salsette, show us that these monasteries consisted of a chapel or chapels, common halls or refectories, with sleeping-cells around them, numerous isolated sleeping-cells, reservoirs for water, and generally with a tall pillar or pillars before the chapel, surmounted by the figure of a lion; and a characteristic of Buddhist works of art was the accompaniment of inscriptions in the Pali language. Females were permitted by Sakya Muni, after some reluctance, to embrace a religious life, under strict regulations respecting their conduct.

The practical precepts of Buddhism are represented to be the following; and they are divided into *major* and *minor;* the former are five in number[1], namely, 1st, not to kill anything with life; 2nd, not to steal; 3rd, not to commit adultery; 4th, not to tell untruths; and 5th, not to drink wine. These are in relation with the five active virtues, namely, humanity, prudence, justice, sincerity, and temperance. The *minor* precepts are also five:—1st, not to assume elevated seats, 2nd, not to use flowers or ribands upon the dress; 3rd, not to indulge in singing, dancing, or *comedies;* 4th, not to wear ornaments or jewels on the hands; and 5th, not to eat after midday or noon. These evidently inculcate humility and self-control. In addition, there are 250 regulations, which it is necessary that those who embrace a religious life should observe.

At page 147 it is stated that there are five rules of conduct, which, if rigidly pursued, entitle man to be born amongst the superior intelligences [Devas—in Pali "Dewo"], namely, 1st, to have a compassionate heart, and not to kill anything having life, but to take pity on them;—2nd, to pursue wisdom; not to take the property of another; to be charitable; to eschew avarice; and to contribute to the wants of the necessitous;—3rd, to be pure, and refrain from voluptuousness, to guard the precepts, and keep the fast[2];—4th, to be sincere, and not to deceive another; to be free from the four sins of the mouth, namely, lying, affectation in language, duplicity, and calumny; and never to flatter;—5th, to obey the law, and walk steadily in the *Brahmanical* path[3]; and not to drink liquors that intoxicate or disturb the reason[4].

[1] Page 104.

[2] Observer le jeune.

[3] The term here used, does not mean following Brahmanical tenets, but is applied in its literal signification, "Walking in Purity;" the Brahmans having assumed to themselves that name from the term Brahmana, p. 186. The same view is taken of the word in a paper printed in the third vol. of the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, being a disputation respecting cast; in which it is asserted that he is the *true Brahman, whatever his cast may be,* who practises virtue, and is pure.

[4] Page 148.

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Salvation is here made dependent, not upon the practice of idle ceremonies, or the repeating prayers, or hymns, or invocations to pretended gods, but upon moral qualifications, which constitute individual and social happiness on earth, and insure it hereafter.

Of the philosophical and metaphysical doctrines of Buddhism, of which most ample details are given in the remarkable commentaries of Remusat, Klaproth, and Landresse, I must go so far as to make mention, that in Sakya Muni's time, as well as at the period of Fa hian's travels, there appear to have been sectaries amongst the Buddhists, independently of the Brahmans and others, the whole being denominated *heretics*. I will confine myself to the narrowest condensation of the details I find in the commentaries[1]; but this digest is necessary to afford definite ideas respecting the religious state of India in the centuries before and after the Christian era. There were six principal arch-heretics emanating from the heresy of Kapila.

1st. Fou lan na: his mother's name being Kasyapa, it became his family name. His heresy consisted in annihilating all laws; he admitted neither prince nor subject, neither father nor son, neither rectitude of heart nor filial piety; and he had some mystification about "void," "vacuum," or "ether" being paramount.

2nd. Mo kia li: he falsely believed that the good and evil of mankind did not result from previous action, but were accidental. His doctrine, therefore, was that of chance.

3rd. Sanjaya [recta victoria] his mother's name being Vairagi [non agens]. His heresy consisted in believing that it was not necessary to search for the doctrine in the sacred books, but that it would come spontaneously when the ages of births and deaths had been passed through. He also believed that after 80,000 Kalpas the doctrine was obtained without effort.

4th. Khin pho lo [Kambala, meaning coarse garments], who maintained that destiny could be forced, namely, that happiness could be obtained which did not result from a previous existence. The practice of this doctrine consisted in wearing coarse garments, tearing out the hair, exposing the nostrils to smoke, and the various parts of the body to fire; in short, subjecting the body to every kind of cruel penance, in the conviction that sufferings on earth would insure happiness hereafter.

5th. Kia lo kieou tho [ox-like[2]], the family name being Kia tchin yan [shaven hair]. His heresy consisted in asserting that some of the laws were appreciable by the senses, and some not.

[1] Page 149. [2] Encolure de bœuf.

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6th. Ni Kian tho [exempt from ties] is a common name for heterodox ecclesiastics; but Ni Kian tho's heresy consisted in maintaining that sins and virtues, and good and evil, equally resulted from destiny; and that the practice of the doctrine could not save any one from his fate.

In addition, there were seven mistaken views of the doctrine, such as referring the origin of things to the god Brahma, or to atoms; the belief in finality, the belief that covering the body with cinders, and exposing it to the sun or fire, sleeping on thorns, was meritorious, &c., &c. Then there were the partisans of the doctrine of numbers [Sankhya], the unum and the diversum, some maintaining one, some the other. In some of the legends of the life of Sakya Muni, but apparently of a comparatively modern date, mention is made of his own and his disciples' controversies with ninety-five heretical sects; but these are reducible to eleven; of which the books, the instruction, and the uses, were diffused in the *West*.

1. The first of these are the Sectaries, who believe in the doctrine of numbers, [Sankhya,] involving the acknowledgment of twenty-five principles or realities, which are the cause of nature, and as having formed all beings. The invention is attributed to Kapila.

2. The second are the Wei chi, Vaishesika, a word signifying "without superior." The founder appeared on earth 800 years before Buddha; he was a great composer of verses on the subject of the "doctrine," and he attained the "Nirvana" in spite of some heresies about "substance," "quality," "action," the unum et diversum, and other matters[1].

3. The third are those Sectaries [vibhuti,] who cover themselves with cinders, and imagine that the sixth god of the "*world of Desires*," the god Iswara, has created all things.

4. The Sectaries of the Vedas believe that Narayana has created the four families; that from his mouth came the Brahmans, from his two arms the Kshatryas, from his thighs the Vaisyas, or merchants, and from his feet the Sudras[2].

5. The partisans of Anda, [the egg.] These believed in a first principle; that at the origin of the world, all was water; then the first principle appeared in the form of an egg, which divided into two parts, the upper part became the sky, and the lower the earth; and between the two, Brahma appeared with power to produce all

[1] Page 153.

[2] See page 186, at which the Kshatryas are said to spring from Brahma's navel, and the Vaisyas from his arms.

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beings animate or inanimate, [organic and inorganic matters,] without exception: they considered therefore Brahma as the Creator and Lord; and by another error they believed him immortal[1].

6. The Sectaries who believed in "time," that is to say, that beings are produced by time. They say that plants, and trees, and other vegetables, have their time for flowering and fruiting, and for shutting and opening; for putting forth leaves or for withering, and they infer therefore that time has an existence; although it must be a thing infinitely subtile and invisible.

7. The Sectaries who believe that space is the principle of things. Space or extension, according to them, is able to produce men, the heavens and the earth, and after their extinction, they re-enter into space.

8. The Laokika [Atomists?] who believe that form and mind [or thought] and other laws (of Nature,) are infinitely subtile principles: they believe that these principles spring from the elements; that the subtile may engender the palpable; and that form, although infinitely subtile, is nevertheless a substance; that the palpable beings of the world are perishable; but that the subtile causes are indestructible.

9. The Sectaries [ore fortes*] who believe that æther or void is the principle of all things: that from the æther comes the wind, from wind fire, and from fire heat; heat produces water, and water ice, hardened ice constitutes the earth, the earth produces the five kinds of grains, and these produce life. At death the soul returns to æther[2].

10. The sect of those who believe that happiness or punishment follow the acts of life, who believe that living beings are recompensed or punished according to their acts. If an individual observes the precepts, and practises virtue, those evils which the body and soul suffer, efface all anterior actions; and when body and soul are destroyed, all sufferance ceases, and the individual can attain to "Nirvana."

11. The Sectaries who do not admit of "First Cause," but assert that everything is fortuitous; who argue that "beings" have no dependence on the past, or connexion with the future; that everything appears and disappears of itself.

[1] Vide Sanskrit inscription in a temple of Siva at Chhatarpoor, Bundelcund, dated A.D. 962, and renewed A.D. 1016, in which nearly the same heresy is recounted. *Journal A. S., B.*, No. 87, p. 160.

* Forts de la bouche.

[2] The *Ramayana*, (book 2, sect. 47, p. 32,) has nearly the same absurdities, though not just in the same order.

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In addition to the preceding, there are nine points in which heretics are in error, relating to form, affinity, cause, effect, vice, nature, destiny, and action; and there are no less than twenty heresies or ways in which they deceive themselves with respect to Nirvana, or extinction; all of which are minutely detailed. One of them has a very curious passage, seeming to imply that *offerings of animals were anciently made to Brahma;* it says, "The heretics who follow the Vedas, believe that from Narayana springs Brahma, who created all beings, and all the earths; whence offerings are made to him of flowers and plants, as well as victims, such as *hogs*, sheep, asses, horses, &c.[1]" Mention also is made of the heretics who *go naked*, and believe that a clear and distinct perception of the nature of things is "Nirvana." Those also who pinned their faith upon a woman, believing that Maha Iswara formed a woman, who gave birth to gods and men, &c. Distinct mention is made of those heretics who believed in Narayana, who said of himself, "It is I that have made everything; I am the being superior to all beings; I created the worlds; and from me spring the living and the dead; and when they return to another place, that is called "Nirvana." The fifteenth heresy is that of the followers of Maha Iswara, who assert that in reality Brahma produced Narayana; that these two are sovereign gods and lords, and from them come birth and death, &c.

Independently of heretical opinions, some of the Sectaries believe in the efficacy of six sorts of penances, or mortifications to insure recompense.

1. To subject themselves to hunger and thirst.
2. To plunge into cold springs.

[1] The accuracy of the Buddhist statements is testified by the fact that in the *Ramayana*, [the Hindu Sacred Epic Poem,] in several places mention is made of the offering of animals, even to the *cow*. Sita, on passing the Ganges, going into exile, says, "O Goddess, having returned to the palace, I will offer to thee 1000 jars of spirituous liquors, and rice mixed with *flesh*," (book 2, Sect. 40,) and in the funeral obsequies of the father of Rama, a purified animal was slain and thrown on the pile: the cow and her calf were offered, and ghee, and oil, and *flesh* were scattered on all sides.—(Book 2, sect. 61.) On this occasion not one of King Dasaratha's 350 wives and concubines became Sati, nor are they reproached for not immolating themselves. But carnivorous propensities were not confined to the gods and the departed; for the hermit sage Bharadiraja, who, by the bye, was a Brahman at Allahabad, gives Bharata, the brother of Rama, and his innumerable army a sumptuous dinner, consisting of roast and boiled; venison, peacocks, partridges, mutton, and *pork!* accompanied with appropriate sauces; the whole being washed down with potent spirit!—(Book 2, sect. 77, p. 301.) So much for the anti-carnivorous Hindus. It appears also that anciently the blood or flesh of the cow was a component of the Mudhao, an offering.—(Note on book 2, sect. 42.)

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3. To submit to the cautery in various parts of the body, and to breathe burning vapours through the nose.

4. To remain perpetually seated, naked, and exposed to cold and heat.

5. To select burial places, and funeral groves as a residence, and to remain perpetually silent.

6. To eat grass and herbs, and to drink impure water, pretending to have been an ox, or dog, &c., in a former state[1].

To the above are to be added five doubts to which the heretics are inclined. They doubt about Buddha; they doubt about the law; whether that of Buddha or that of the Vedas be the best.—The Vedas, the title of which means a "SCIENTIFIC DISCOURSE," being compositions filled with the false *science* of the heretics; they have doubts about the clergy, [sanga.] not knowing whether the disciples of Buddha, or those of Fou lan na[2] merit the preference; whence they do not believe in the three jewels, Buddha, Dharma, and Sanga[3], [Buddha, the Law, and the Clergy.] They doubt the precepts, and question whether standing on one leg like a fowl, or drinking dirty water like a dog, and subjecting themselves to austerities, are not as efficacious as true belief; and finally, they doubt the truth of the instructions; that is to say, they are balanced between the doctrine of Buddha and that of Fou lan na[4].

But according to the celebrated Seng tchao, *it was not until about eight hundred years after the death of Buddha, or about two hundred and eighty-four years before Christ*[5], *that the heretics began to multiply*, and several violent sects arose, which induced

[1] *San tsang fa sou*, book 22, verse 12, a Buddhist work containing the numbers of the law of the three collections of sacred books, answering in Sanskrit to *Tri pit'aka dharma Sankhya*, p. 109. The *Pitakattya* of Ceylon would appear to be the same.

[2] Page 159. This would seem to imply that the two leading parties in religious opinions, were those of the Buddhists, and the followers of Fou lan na, or the Atheists, whose family name in Sanscrit was Kasyapa, from his mother. No reference is had here to Brahmanical opinions as taking the lead; or to the Brahmans being other than what Fa hian describes them, as the principal amongst the tribes of Barbarians! At this period they were probably viewed as the foreigners Professor Wilson and others admit them to have been, although placing them in an earlier age.

[3] In Pali called Buddho, Dhammo, and Sangiti.

[4] Here again is no reference to Brahmanism as the great antagonist doctrine.

[5] This would be in the third century A.D. 257, if 543 B.C. be taken as the date of the death of Buddha, instead of the Chinese era, and would correspond with the decline of Buddhism during which the visits to India of Fa hian and Hiuan Thsang took place.

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Deva Bodhisattwa to compose his book, called the hundred discourses, in defence of truth, and to stop the progress of error.

The above extracts, although considerably abridged from the originals, are lengthy; nevertheless they are necessary to show the early religious state of India, and are certainly curious, as they possibly illustrate the philosophical and metaphysical speculations of men between two and three thousand years ago, and no doubt do so for periods between the first and fourth centuries of our era. One fact is sufficiently remarkable, that in the minute and multiplied details of all the heresies of the followers of Buddha or Brahma, no mention whatever is made, directly or indirectly, of the worship of the Linga, the votaries of which now divide the Hindu world with the Vaishnavas, or followers of Vishnu. Neither Fa hian in the fourth, nor Hiuan Thsang in the seventh century, speak of this worship, although they do not omit to notice even *isolated* temples of the heretics when they fall in with them in their travels; and, in consequence, the question may fairly be raised whether the persecuting, blood-stained, and obscene sect of Saivas, [*followers of Mahadeva,*] had at the beginning of the seventh century sprung into notice, much less into power[1]. But I shall have occasion to refer to the subject again in my summary. It may be even doubted whether the present Vaishnavas will strictly come under any of the denominations of heretics in the preceding details, which would leave Brahma, Indra, Iswara, [not Siva,] and some minor gods as the objects of the *ancient* worship of the people we now call Hindus; but which worship has been entirely superseded by that to Siva and Vishnu, and other gods of more recent adoption than them.

I now introduce Fa hian to speak for himself, so far as relates to the object I have in view in these notes. I have little to do with his route before he touches the Indus: it has been most ably commented on by Professor Wilson, and I will only state that Fa hian found the whole of the nations, people, or tribes, between the frontiers of China and the Indus, followers of Buddha, and ruled by Buddhist princes or chiefs. At Khotan, the worship was celebrated with extraordinary magnificence; and the procession of Buddha on his pyramidal car, the showering of flowers, the draught of the car by the people, and other circumstances, recall to mind the annual Hindu

[1] Professor Wilson says, "It is highly probable that of the *present popular forms* of the Hindu religion, *none assumed* their *actual state earlier* than the time of Sankara Acharya, the great Saiva reformer, who flourished in all likelihood in the eighth or ninth century." Preface to *Vishnu Purana*, p. 10. This opinion, therefore, is in thorough accordance with the testimony of the Chinese travellers.

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procession at Jaggarnath, whose temple probably is founded on the site of that great chaitya which previously had contained one of Buddha's teeth; the Buddhists, however, had the advantage, at all times, in their worship, subsequent to the edicts of Asoka, being celebrated without the sacrifice of one drop of blood, or the injury of any animated creature whatever; whilst the other, alas, witnesses the self-immolation of sentient beings.

Chy Fa Hian, or familiarly, Fa hian, which is an adopted significant monastic name, meaning "manifestation of the Law," set out from his home, in company with other pilgrims, in the year 399 of our era. He does not dilate in his descriptions of the countries he passes through, nor enlarge on the manners and customs of their inhabitants; but he has few chapters in which there are not brief notices on all these points, of considerable interest. The account of the desert in the first chapter; of the country in the neighbourhood of the lake of Lob, and of the manners and dress of the inhabitants, in the second chapter; the lawless and inhospitable spirit of the Ouijours, &c., are of this kind; and I will take occasion to point out other similar instances.

In the kingdom of Chen Chen, now Leou lan, in the neighbourhood of the Lake of Lob, Fa hian says, the king was a Buddhist, that there were 4000 ecclesiastics, and that the laity, as well as the clergy, followed the law of *India*, meaning Buddhism; and from hence, proceeding westward, all the kingdoms more or less resembled that of Chen Chen, excepting that each had its own barbarous language; but that the ecclesiastics all applied themselves to the study of the *books of India* and the *language of India*. But Fa hian nowhere makes a distinction between Sanskrit and Pali; and as he speaks in the singular number, a question may be raised whether more than one sacred language existed; and as it *has been found* that the *most ancient* inscriptions *all* relate to Buddhism, and are in the Pali dialect, it necessarily results that Fa hian means the *Pali* when he speaks of the *language of India*. The Indian words adopted by the Chinese in their writings, owing to their orthography, lose the idiomatic distinctions between the Sanskrit and Pali, so that it is not possible to say whether they belong to the one or the other idiom; but nowhere do the Chinese speak of more than one Indian language, which they call Fan, in which the Buddhist doctrines were written, and through the medium of which they were taught even in China, although derived from Hindustan. This is a very curious fact; for as it will be seen from Fa hian's narrative that the kingdoms or states of Hindustan after leaving the Jumna were all Buddhist, and as all the ancient Buddhist inscriptions, of many centuries' anterior date

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to the period of Fa hian's visit from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, and from Cuttack to Gujarat, are found to be in the Pali idiom; and as there are not any Sanskrit inscriptions of equally early date, the doubt is strengthened with respect to the simultaneous use of the two idioms at that early period. That the idiom [sacred or common] in which the Buddhist doctrine was promulgated, was common over India, is testified by the fact, that Fa hian had no difficulty in communicating with the clergy wherever he went: his object was to copy the sacred writings, and had those of the north and of the south of India been written in different dialects, he scarcely could have failed to notice the fact. M. Klaproth says that the language of India alluded to by Fa hian was probably the Sanskrit, as it is unknown whether the books of the Buddhists were written in Pali at that time. But the inscriptions in Pali, of a long anterior date, many of them containing sacred texts, establish the fact that Pali was in use; but of the existence of these inscriptions M. Klaproth was not aware, or the supposition put forth by him might not have been advanced.

It appears also, that the character used in these inscriptions, although for so long a period not deciphered, is simply the antique form of the modern Deva Nagari; each modern Sanskrit letter being traceable, letter by letter, into the ancient Pali letters, and it may be supposed that Sanskrit itself has had its modifications and ameliorations, and, like all other languages, was somewhat ruder, and less diffuse and polished in its early use, than at subsequent periods. The word "Sanskrit," meaning "polished," "finished," "done," implies that some ruder material was handled before it was polished into the remarkable language now known as Sanskrit, while the word *Pali* means "*root*," "*original*." In fact, we have no proof that the Sanskrit existed at this period, and we have ample proofs that the Pali did. Indeed the Vedas themselves, in *very ancient* copies, are said to be in a dialect unintelligible[1] to modern Brahmans.

Languages, like humanity and states, have their periods of birth, infancy, vigour, decline, and extinction; and their duration is affected by political events. We ask what has become of several of those of antiquity, and by what means is it that others have taken their places? The forcible, comprehensive, and manly English, at the period at which it is a question whether Pali and Sanskrit existed

[1] Professor Wilson, who does not go quite so far, says, "the language in which the prayers [of the Vedas] are written differs much, both in words and construction, from the Sanskrit of later writings." *Oxford Lectures*, No 1. p. 8.

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simultaneously, was not in existence, and the same may be said of the Spanish, Italian, modern Greek, and other languages. Is it Sanskrit alone, then, that has an immutable character? Of the unstable nature of languages, we need no further proof than in the English of Chaucer, and the French of Rabelais and Froissart.

Fa hian next arrives at Khotan, which he describes as a flourishing and happy kingdom, the people living amidst great abundance, all honouring the law [of Buddha] which, he says, is the cause of their prosperity. There were several times ten thousand ecclesiastics in the country, and the people all built towers, or pillars, or Tumuli[1], before their doors, the shortest of which was twelve feet high[2]. This religious observance accounts for the stone pillar which is left standing before most of the excavated Buddha cave-temples in the Deccan.

The King of Khotan lodged Fa hian in a monastery in which were living three thousand monks; all of whom ate their food in common at a given signal; and he gives an interesting account of the grave and decorous manner in which the meal was conducted. There were fourteen large monasteries in the kingdom, and the smaller ones were too numerous to count. He remained here three months and some days, for the purpose of witnessing the procession of images.

The ceremonies commenced on the 1st day of the 4th moon, and continued till the 14th, [4th of June to the 18th]. It appeared that the roads were swept and watered, the public places put in order and ornamented: tapestry and hangings were placed before the gate of the city; and the king, the queen, and elegant women took up their stations there. At about a mile and a half or two miles from the gate, was constructed a car with four wheels for the images, about eighteen feet high, in the form of a moveable pavilion; ornamented with the seven precious things; hangings, curtains, and covertures of silk. The image [Buddha], attended by the highest order of Buddhist priests, or rather those belonging to the metaphysical branch, was placed in the middle, flanked on either side by an image of a Bodhisattwa; the three probably intending to represent, as M. Remusat thinks, the Buddhist supreme triad "of God, the Law, and the Church," or "Clergy;" behind this triad were placed the Devas

[1] Sthûpa.

[2] In the country of Candahar a tumulus is spoken of measuring 216 metres, or 708¾ feet English, in height, throwing the great pyramid of Egypt into the shade; and we are indebted to M. Masson and General Ventura for a knowledge of the sacred objects enclosed in these tumuli, some of which are at this moment in the museum of the India House. Page 19.

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of the Indians, the Lha of the Thibetans, the Tægri of the Mongols &c., such as Indra, Brahma, &c., &c., these being deemed exceedingly inferior to the pure or purified intelligencies of the Buddhists, including Buddhas, Bodhisattwas, and even Arhans.

En passant may be noticed, not only the singular fact of the carrying supposed Brahmanical gods in procession in a subordinate capacity to Buddha,—but also the singular fact that the chief gods of modern Hindu worship, Siva and Vishnu, are not mentioned; while Indra, and Brahma who then figured, are now in the back-ground. So that the supposed immutable Hindus would appear to have had their fashions in religion like the Western world. This omission of Siva and Vishnu will be elsewhere noticed. But to return to the text. All the images were of gold or silver, ornamented with precious stones. When the images had arrived within one-hundred paces of the gate, the king took off his crown, changed his garments, and advanced *barefoot* towards it, accompanied by his suite; falling at its feet he adored it[1], burning at the same time perfumes, and scattering flowers. At the moment of the image entering the city, the ladies, and young females in the pavilion showered down flowers upon the car, so that it was entirely covered.

Those who have witnessed the procession of Jaggarnath or read an account of it, will be struck with the resemblance between a Buddhist pageant, of 1400 years back, and a modern peculiar Hindu ceremony; for the suspension of Caste at Jaggarnath[2], not only makes the celebration peculiar, but involves the whole in mystery, and the uncouth figures of Jaggarnath, and his brother and sister, more like chaityas than beings with human form, make the matter more mysterious.

Fa hian speaks of a fine monastery two or three miles from Khotan, called the new temple of the king; which occupied eighty years in building, during the reigns of three kings; it had a tower [or the temple itself], 250 English feet high[3], or nearly 50 feet higher than the monument in London. There were numerous sculptures on plates of gold and silver, and the pillars, doors, and windows of the chapel of Buddha were covered with plates of gold. Fa hian says, that the cells for the monks were so beautiful and so highly ornamented, that he could not find words to describe them.

I have made these extracts to show not only the wealth, skill,

[1] This was a gross corruption of the principles of Buddhism, which taught the worship of the supreme intelligence only.

[2] Jaggarnath is on or near the site of a celebrated relic temple of the Buddhists.

[3] 25 Toises, or 76 metres = 250 feet high.

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and industry of the time and country, but also the luxury which must have obtained in places where no European has yet set foot.

Fa hian speaks of the kings of the six kingdoms, to the east of the mountains [of Khotan ?] sending rich gifts to the monastery. These princes must of course have been Buddhists.

One of Fa hian's companions here quitted him in the suite of a priest of the Supreme Reason [Lau tsau][1], going to Cophène, Ghazni, and Candahar. He himself, and his friends, moved towards Koukeyar[2] which he reached in twenty-five days. The king was a stanch Buddhist; there were about one thousand priests, for the most part of the higher order, in the kingdom. He then moved to Ladak [as Klaproth supposed], but this Professor Wilson questions, and then got into the Northern ramifications of the Himalaya, and having journeyed for twenty-five days reached the kingdom of Kie-tchha, which Klaproth takes to be little Thibet. Here Hoei King and some other of Fa hian's companions rejoined him. The king celebrated with amazing pomp a quinquennial reunion of Buddhist priests, who came in swarms: the ceremonies lasted a month or more, and at their termination the king, and his officers, and gentry, presented in alms the horses they rode; silks, stuffs, and other valuables; but which they ultimately redeemed from the ecclesiastics.

The country was cold and mountainous, and no other grain than Le Blé[3] ripened. The ecclesiastics had an annual allowance, but it having been found that as soon as they received their annual allowance, the snows commenced, the king gave orders that they were not to receive their portion until the whole grain of the country had come to maturity. The country boasted as relics a vase in which Buddha [Sakya Muni] had spat, and one of his teeth. In honour of this last a tower had been raised. There were about six thousand ecclesiastics in the country, all however belonging to the inferior or Ethical section, and they used the "*praying wheel*[4]" with wondrous effect.

[1] Their emblem was the Swastika, or mystic cross 卐, which is found initial and terminal on the Buddhist inscriptions in the Dekkan, and very generally on the Buddhist coins, in the India House.

[2] Lat. 37° 30', long. E. 70° 40'.

[3] Probably barley or rye.

[4] The wheel plays a great part in Buddhist ceremonial. The priests *pasted prayers* on it, and turned it round. One turn had all the efficacy of an oral repetition: the faster they turned it, therefore, the faster they were getting to heaven. The wheel also was looked upon as the emblem of those kings who were supposed to have obtained universal dominion; and this explains the hitherto unintelligible fact of some of the figures of Buddha in the caves of Western India being seated on the edge of a wheel, whence they were called Chakravarti in Sanskrit, or Turners of

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The kingdom is in the midst of the mountains [of little Thibet?] Passing to the south of them, the plants and fruits become totally different, and three plants only are met with common to China, namely, the bamboo, the pomegranate, and the sugar-cane!

Fa hian is then occupied for a month in passing the Himalayas. He speaks of the perpetual snow, and of the dangers from the wind, rain, snow, drifting sand, and falling rocks: having passed the mountains he came into Northern India, into the little kingdom of Tho li[1], conjectured to be the present Dardu, in the gorge of the mountains where the Indus passes them.

The king was a Buddhist, and the clergy were numerous, but they belonged to the minor or ethical section. There was a statue of wood here eighty feet high, whose foot was three feet eight inches long, of the future Buddha Maitriya, to take whose likeness an Arhan had been permitted to visit the fourth heaven[2], Fa hian saw this prodigious statue[3].

Hence Fa hian follows the gorge of the Indus for fifteen days, and describes the precipices flanking the river, some of them 8000 feet high; he mentions the passage of the river across a chasm, by a suspension-bridge, the ascent of precipices by steps cut in the rock, and states very naturally how much the mind was troubled by all these risks.

Having surmounted them, he indulges in a little triumph and harmless vanity, by declaring that the celebrated Chinese generals Tchang Khian and Kann yng, the former of whom had gone on an embassy to the Scythians in the year 122 B.C., and the latter had conducted an expedition towards the Caspian[4], in the year of Christ 97, had not reached the point or passed the difficulties that he had done, but Fa hian was not aware how much further *Westward* these generals had gone than himself. It was here that the ecclesiastics in his company asked him, if it was possible to know when Buddhism first commenced to pass to the Eastward to China, and he replied that he was informed by the people of the country who had it traditionally, that it was after the erection of the above-noticed statue, that the priests of India first passed the river, carrying with them the sacred books and precepts; that the statue was erected 300 years

the Wheel. In the Ramayana the term is also applied to Rama and some of his ancestors. The wheel also was looked upon as the emblem of the transmigration of the soul.

[1] The Eastern part of Affghanistan? [2] Touchita.

[3] Can the figures at Bamian have any relation to Fa hian's statue?

[4] With the object of destroying the Roman Empire!! Page 39, note.

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after the death of Buddha, which corresponded to the reign of Phing Wang of the family of Tcheou who commenced his reign in 770 B.C., and died in 720 B.C.[1], but this relates to its introduction into Tartary, and the borders of China. However, in 212 B.C., Che li fang, and eighteen other Buddhist priests of the West, made their appearance in China, and were thrown into prison by the emperor Chi houng, and it was only in the year 61 of our era that Buddhism was officially adopted, although long before known[2].

Having passed the river, Fa hian sets foot in Affghanistan, to the north of Cabul in the kingdom of Ou tchang [Oudyana[3],] where the people were in the absolute use of the language of central India[4], their habits, manners, and customs being the same. Buddhism was in eminent honour; there were upwards of five hundred monasteries of the ethical section. Strangers were received cordially in them, and lodged and fed for three days. Nevertheless, in this eminently Buddhist kingdom, we have the first mention of Brahmans. The Chinese author Ma touan lin placed the kingdom to the east of Kandahar, somewhere probably about Attock and Peshawer; and there also he locates the Brahmans. "THE FIRST AMONG THE TRIBES OF BARBARIANS[5]." This very remarkable passage necessarily gives rise to important reflections. The Brahmans then were considered as a TRIBE only, and not only as a tribe; but as a tribe of Barbarians, that is to say, of those who did not make part and parcel of the majority of a nation! not as the hierarchy of a whole people, and being possessed of formidable religious or political power, but as a foreign community in a state. And be it recollected that when they are thus spoken of, it was 1400, or 1500, or at least 1000 years after the appearance of Sakya Muni the third Buddha; up to which last period, they had not struggled into importance; but they were now beginning to get that hold upon sovereigns and their people, which ultimately ended in their establishing their supremacy. In the

[1] This would place the birth of Sakya Muni in about 1027, or 1029 B.C., and his death in 950 B.C., which is an approximation to Sir Wm. Jones's data. Professor Wilson, in the *Oriental Magazine* for 1825, quotes no less than eleven authorities, every one of which establish the era of Buddha more than 1000 years B.C., [five of them give B.C. 1027,] and five other authorities make it above 800 years B.C.

[2] Remusat, note, p. 41.

[3] There is a question whether Kashmir is not intended.

[4] M. Klaproth thinks the translation should be "The language of Central India extends as far as this." Page 59.

[5] This could not have been written in enmity, for in many Buddhist inscriptions kindness and charity to Brahmans is recommended. Page 46, Note.

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502nd year of Christ[1], it appears that an embassy from this very kingdom of Ou tchang, went with tribute to the emperor of China, King ming, in the third year of his reign. After describing the situation of the kingdom, the account says, "The Brahmans are considered as the superior caste amongst the STRANGERS: they are well versed in the science of astronomy, and in the calculation of lucky and unlucky days, and the kings do nothing without consulting their decisions." Here again they are looked upon as not only *not forming* an integral part of the nation, but as strangers, and here it appears they pursued the identical line of conduct to establish their influence, which they are at this moment pursuing amongst the Buddhists in Burmah, Siam, and Cochin China; namely, practising judicial astrology. At page 122, the learned and philosophic, are separated from the Brahmans, or men who walk in purity, and who cultivate arithmetic and the occult sciences, such as astrology, the art of divination, &c.

Early in the sixth century, A.D., 510, two inhabitants of China who were Buddhist priests, Soung yun tse, and Hoei seng, visited this kingdom of Ou tchang, which they described as singularly rich and fertile; the fields being irrigated, and flowers blooming all the year round[2]; the temples, and towers, were highly ornamented and magnificent. No criminal was allowed to be punished with death[3], but he was banished to a desert mountain. There are several minute details of local peculiarities, which would doubtless admit of the spots being identified at this day. Ou tchang boasted of an impression of the foot of Buddha [Sakya Muni], and of the rock on which he dried his clothes. At eight days' march from the city to the S.E., amongst the mountains, was the spot where Sakya Muni made a present of his body to a hungry tiger. It was upon a scarped mountain, full of caverns, and with summits penetrating the clouds. The two travellers, Soung yun, and Hoei seng, gave money for a statue, and they caused an inscription to be engraved on the rock, to record the great actions of the dynasty of Wei. The temple to Buddha at this place was inhabited by three hundred ecclesiastics. Now that the British have free access to Affghanistan, no doubt this inscription will one day be brought to light. At another place not far from the city, was a temple enclosing relics of Buddha; around which were arranged *sixty gilded statues*. The king

[1] *Pian i tian*, book 63, p. 1—15. Page 47, Note.

[2] Soung yun uses a beautiful poetical image, which I had never met with before. Speaking of the multitudes and varied colours of the butterflies, he says, "they looked like *flying flowers!*"

[3] Vide ASOKA's *Edict on the Delhi Pillar*.

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had an annual meeting of all the ecclesiastics in his kingdom. "They gathered like clouds," and Soung yun and Koei seng, had their admiration and respect excited by the simple manners, the regular conduct, and the pious austerities of these religious mendicants. And yet this was in the country where Brahmans resided; and where they were not only free from persecution, but were held in respect; for Soung yun, spent a month in the country for the purpose of obtaining *charms*[1] from the Brahmans to calm his mind, which had become unusually agitated. Soung yun, it will be borne in mind, travelled about one hundred years after Fa hian; and in these hundred years, the absurd traditions respecting Sakya Muni's life and actions would appear to have been infinitely multiplied, enlarged, or distorted. The credulity of Fa hian was comparatively limited, but Soung yun surpassed him beyond all measure.

According to Soung yun, embassies were sent from this kingdom [Oudyana,] to China, in the years of Christ 510, 511, 518 and 521[2]. Other Chinese authorities mention the arrival of another embassy in A.D., 612[3].

In an account of the Western countries under the great dynasty of T'hang, the country of Ou tchang is stated to have formerly had 1400 monasteries and 18,000 ecclesiastics[4], but many of the former were in ruins, and the monks became greatly diminished[5]. There were at least *ten* temples inhabited by the heretics: as this probably refers to the Brahmans, it shows how *very limited* their numbers must have been, compared with the Buddhist ecclesiastics; but the Buddhists were divided into five sects, and several heresies, and even the ten temples may have belonged to them, and not to the Brahmans, page 53.

The king Asoka built a tower near the capital, and in the mountains were the cells of five hundred Arhans, no doubt excavations. It was in this country also the prodigious statue of Buddha said to have been in wood existed[6].

Quitting Soung yun we revert to Fa hian, who passes through the kingdom of Su ho to, where Buddhism was equally flourishing; and he notices that it was here that Buddha offered his own flesh

[1] Page 50. [2] Page 51. [3] Page 51. [4] Page 52.

[5] The inhabitants greatly honoured the law of Buddha; they were timid and studious, and astrology was their usual occupation, and enchantments were had recourse to; they belonged to the transcendental class of Buddhists. It is curious that according to Fa hian, the exact language of Central India was used here. Page 59.

[6] I again ask,—Can this figure and the *excavations* refer to Bamian?

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while *in his* PREVIOUS state of Bodhisattwa, to save a pigeon from a hawk [a test of Indra's the king of the thirty-three Devatas], and which is recorded on an inscription *many hundred years afterwards*, in a temple to the Linga, in Bundlekund as having occurred to Siva[1].

Fa hian then passes to what M. Remusat considers Kandahar, but which Professor Wilson considers may be the Gandaris of Strabo, in the Punjab. It was here that the *son* of King Asoka[2] of Magadha reigned. Fa hian found Buddhism flourishing, and there was a great tower. Many of the inhabitants belonged to that branch of the priesthood of the ethical section. Seven days' march to the east, brings Fa hian to Tchyoutasira [fallen head][3], where Buddha made an almsgiving of his head, and gave his body to an hungry tiger. The king of these countries, the wealthy, and the people, rivalled each other in their devotion to Buddhism. There were four great towers or topes, in honour of Buddha; M. Remusat thinks the country not far from the present Shorawak. Professor Wilson leans to the Punjab, and surmises some connexion between the name of the tope of Manikyala, the Chinese name Chu cha, Chilo, and Taksha sila: but from the coins found in Manikyala, it must have been raised after Fa hian's travels.

Fa hian next gets to the kingdom of Foe leou cha, which MM. Remusat, Klaproth, and Landresse, consider the country of the Beloutches. Professor Wilson prefers Peshawer and its neighbourhood. Wherever it was, it had, with one exception, the most splendid stupa or tope in all India, 122 metres, or 400 feet high, which contained the begging pot of Buddha. A Scythian king, a zealous Buddhist, anciently invaded this kingdom, according to the traditions reported by Fa hian, to carry off this pot; but it would not move. Now it is known from other sources that the Scythians invaded and conquered Affghanistan in the middle of the second century B.C., and kept possession of it until the third century, and other parts of India until the fifth century A.D[4]. This confirmation therefore of what Fa hian calls a tradition is curious. These Scythians were Buddhists.

[1] Professor Wilson considers this fable to have been borrowed from the Hindus; ut the reverse is more probable.

[2] M. Remusat has a note, in which the Chinese authorities make Asoka to have reigned 116 years after the death of Buddha, in the regency of Koung ho, 833 B.C. Chronological Tables of Japan and China. Book i., p. 17, and p. 66.

[3] Page 75.

[4] M. Remusat thinks the Scythians kept possession of Bactria, Eastern Persia, Affghanistan, Balouchistan, and Western India, [Sindh, Cutch, and Gujarat?] until this period. Page 84.

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This majestic Tope was built by Kanika, whom Professor Wilson describes as a Scythian sovereign of Kashmir; but the Tope was raised *before* the invasion of the Scythians[1], and Hiuan thsang makes Kanika reign in Gandhara 400 years after the death of Buddha, which, according to Chinese chronology, would be 550 B.C., and, according to the Ceylon chronology, 153 B.C. [2]He must have been a zealous Buddhist if he built the Tope, and the invader equally a Buddhist to invade the country for the pot. The Chinese assert that this pot was carried into China by *Bodhidharma*, who was the last of the Buddhist patriarchs born in India, in the fifth century;[3] and this fact is of importance, as it marks the incipient migration of the Buddhists—probably consequent on the persecutions of the followers of Siva, whose bloody and licentious rites appear to have had their origin about this time, although some centuries elapsed before the worship has any authentic record in inscriptions.

In this kingdom one of Fa hian's companions fell sick, and three others returned to China to report to the emperor.

Seventy-two miles to the west brings Fa hian to the frontier of the kingdom of Na kia[4], to the eastward of Ghazni according to M. Remusat, and Professor Wilson inclines to Jallalabad. Fa hian now uses Sanskrit or Pali terms of long metrical measure. Buddha's skull was preserved here with such jealous rigour that the king of the country selected the chiefs of eight principal families, under whose seals the skull was locked up every night, and opened and taken out every morning to be worshipped, they washing their hands with scented water before they touched the relic. The king did not go to public business until he had performed his daily worship.[5] The chapel in which was the relic must have been richly adorned, from the mention of gilding and precious stones. Fa hian describes the cranium as of a whitish-yellow colour, and it had a bump above. What a treasure this would be for the phrenologists! Fa hian

[1] 292 B.C., p. 84.

[2] M. Remusat has here a chronology from Chinese sources:—

Birth of Sakya,	0,	24th of Tchao Wang,	B.C. 1029.
Becomes a priest,	19,	43rd do. do.	1010.
Accomplishes the law,	30,	3rd of Mou Wang,	999.
Dies,	79,	52nd do. do.,	950.
Maha Kashypa dies,	124,	5th of Hiao Wang,	905.
Ananda dies,		In the reign of T. Wang,	894,—879.

[3] *Kiuan hi Tseu tian*, vol. 167, fin. 5.

[4] This kingdom sent tribute to China, A.D. 628, 2¼ *centuries after* Fa hian's time, p. 89; at which period Buddhism was the religion of the inhabitants, and there were *very few heretics*.

[5] Page 85.

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mentions numerous "towers of deliverance," which appear to have been altars of about five feet high, upon which the king and the people, and even neighbouring kings, offered flowers and perfumes daily.—*Can these have any relation to the figure and the altar on the numerous coins from this very country?* [1]

About four miles N. from this chapel, a tooth of Buddha was preserved; but this had disappeared when Hiouan thsang visited the country 227 years afterwards. At four miles E. the staff of Buddha was preserved and worshipped: the staff, like the begging-pot, and other prescribed articles, is the companion of every Buddhist mendicant; and it is surmounted or headed by some design or other. Fa hian says that of Buddha was an ox's head, carved in sandelwood. *Can this staff have anything to do with the staff or standard and figure of the coins?*

At four days to the West was the garment of Buddha; and about two miles South of the town of Na kie was the *shadow* of Buddha, which Fa hian saw, but he could not account for the deception; and close to it was a monastery of seven hundred ecclesiastics, where were preserved the cuttings of Buddha's hair and nails[2].

M. Remusat has a suspicion that these relics and traditions relate to a predecessor of Sakya Muni, whose field of action w s Central India, and not Affghanistan[3].

Fa hian now passes, in the winter months, the lesser snowy mountains [the Solimani range], where the cold and severity of the weather was so great, that one of his companions perished. His loss is touchingly noticed by Fa hian, who succeeds with two others in reaching in thirteen marches the kingdom of Lo i, to the south of the chain. What kingdom this might have been is not now known, but it was eminently Buddhist, as there were three thousand ecclesiastics of the transcendental and ethical sections. Ten days' journey to the south brought him to the kingdom of Po-ma [not identified]. Here again were about three thousand ecclesiastics, all of the ethical section. In neither of these kingdoms is there any mention made of heretics. Three days' journey to the east brought him again to the Indus, which he passed where the *banks were low, and the country flat and level!* M. Remusat thinks about Bakkar. Having passed the river, he arrived in the kingdom of Pi tchha. M. Remusat thinks the Punjab [Pan cha nala], M. Klaproth Sindh, and Professor Wilson Tak. At all events, Buddhism was in honour, and flourishing. The inhabitants were extremely affected to see travellers from the extre-

[1] Page 86. [2] Page 94.

[3] Vide the Hon. H. Turnour's *Introduction to the Mahawanso.*

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mity of the earth arriving to do honour to Buddha, and they offered them every solace in their power[1].

Thence travelling to the S.E., *at least* 360 miles [so he says], he arrives at the celebrated city of Mutra [Mathura], on the Jumna, having passed in his route a great number of temples in which lived several tens of thousands of ecclesiastics. He does not say that they were heretics, or who or what they were; but had they been Buddhists he no doubt would have mentioned it; and, considering that he passed the localities, not far from where Alexander found a town of the Brahmans amongst the Malloi, it is very probable the whole of the country between Bakkar on the Indus and Mutra was inhabited by a Brahmanical people, or at least by the Rajputs; and this is the more probable from the very remarkable and decided language of Fa hian which follows:—"*At Mutra*, on both banks of the river, there are about twenty monasteries, which are capable of containing about three thousand ecclesiastics; and the law of Buddha *recommences* to be held in honour," *where* it had flourished *uninterruptedly* from the time of Buddha; that is to say, for 1400 years according to the Chinese dates, or 1000 years according to the modern Ceylon Buddhists. From the time of leaving the DESERTS [no doubt those of Jaysulmer and Bikaneer] and the river [Jumna] to the West, or rather having passed to the Eastward of the deserts and the Jumna, ALL THE KINGS OF THE DIFFERENT KINGDOMS IN INDIA ARE FIRMLY ATTACHED TO THE LAW OF BUDDHA[2], and when they do honour to the ecclesiastics, they take off their diadems. They, and the princes of their families, and their officers, give them aliments with their own hands. When this is done, a carpet is spread for the ecclesiastics, and they place themselves opposite. In the presence of an ecclesiastic they would not attempt to recline or sit on a bed[3]; and this custom, which the kings observe to testify their respect, commenced when Buddha was in the world, and HAS CONTINUED FROM THAT TIME UNTIL THE PRESENT!"

M. Remusat very justly calls this a remarkable passage, testifying as it does that in these regions Buddhism had continued *uninterruptedly* from the sixth century before Christ until the fifth after

[1] Page 98.

[2] This is most decisive and unequivocal testimony borne personally by Fa hian, not only of the *Religious* but of the *Political* supremacy of Buddhism over all India, excepting in the deserts just mentioned. P. 99, et seq.

[3] This appears to have been a royal privilege as far as the lay public was concerned, judging from the figures of princes reclining or sitting on beds on the Canouj coins, and in the paintings at the Ajanta caves.

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Christ; that is to say, more than one thousand years; and that too in the very seat in which *Puranic fables* locate the *holiest* places of Brahmanism, Mutra, Benares, Allahabad, Oude, and the banks of the Jumna and Ganges. Singularly also is the honesty and good faith of this simple-minded man corroborated by the ancient inscriptions and coins which have been brought to light within the last few years. Of the thousands of coins found in India up to the period or time of Fa hian, there is NOT ONE[1] *that has any relation to Brahmanism*; and the same may be said of the numerous inscriptions. There is no *proof* even of the existence of the Sanskrit language at this time, all the ancient inscriptions being in a dialect barely removed from Pali, or the language of the Buddhists[2]. From China, through Tartary to Ceylon, with the exception of the inhabitants on the tract noticed between the Indus and Jumna, Fa hian had found only Buddhist kings and a Buddhist people, with traditions of the existence of the same state of things for the preceding 1000 years, or according to the Chinese dates for 1400 years. And here I might close Fa hian's personal narrative, and advert to the religious state in which Hiuan thsang found India in the early part of the seventh century; but there are too many facts, and too many points of personal interest, to part with him for a little while. His very next passage characterizes the country and the people of Central India, including Onde, Bahar, &c. He says, after describing the equable climate, equally removed from extremes of heat and cold, and without frost or snow, "The people live in abundance and happiness, registers of the inhabitants are unknown, [there was not any capitation tax as in China,] and neither magistrates nor laws trouble them. Those only who cultivate reap the produce. If one wants to go, he goes; if he wishes to stay, he stays. To govern, the kings do not have recourse to the terrors of punishment: the culpable are fined, the fine being proportioned to the offence; and in the case of

[1] Professor Wilson thinks some coins of Kadphises, B.C. a few years, with a Sivalic figure, trident, and bull on them, are of a Hindu type, but the taurine figure is common to the Grecian, Celtic, and Buddhist, as well as to the Hindu systems, and is repeatedly to be met with on coins with indisputably Buddhist emblems. Vide coins of Ceylon, Amavati, Indo Sassanian and Indo Scythic, and Kadphises' coins even have the monograms or emblems, which are found in the Buddhist caves. And as for the trident and supposed figure of Siva, a Sivalic figure with a trident, is on the coin No. 4, plate 25, vol. 3. J. A. S. B., combined with the Buddhist chaitya and Bo-tree.

[2] There is a solitary instance of a quasi Sanskrit inscription on copper plates from Valabhi, in Gujarat, of the supposed date, A.D. 328; but this is dependent upon not mistaking one era for another, and a *Pali* translator might have found the puzzling text *easier* than the Sanskrit translator did.

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relapsed criminals, the most extreme punishment, even for murder, is to cut off the right hand." The inhabitants of the country do not put to death any living creature; no doubt the consequence of the edicts of Asoka or Piyadasi, recorded on the Delhi and other columns. But this was no part of original Buddhism, for Buddha died of a dysentery from eating pork[1]; and it was equally no part of Brahmanism, for in the legends of the life of Buddha, his humanity induced him to turn himself into a *roasted hare* to feed a *famishing Brahman*; and in the *Ramayana*[2], we read, as I have already pointed out, of the choice dinner given to Bharuta and his army by the Brahman hermit Bharadwâjo, at Allahabad, comprising roast and boiled venison, peacocks, partridges, mutton, and *pork*, with appropriate sauces, the whole washed down with potent spirits!

Fa hian then adds that the people "neither drink wine nor eat garlic nor onions[3]." The only people who killed animals, and sold meat, and went to the chase, were the Chandalas [butchers], odious people who lived by themselves, and were avoided by the other inhabitants of towns and villages. Shells [cypræa moneta] served as money.

From the time of Buddha to the time of Fa hian's visit, the kings, the aristocracy, and the heads of families, had built chapels for the ecclesiastics, had furnished them with provisions, had given them grants of fields and houses, of gardens and orchards, procuring for them also farmers and animals for their cultivation. These grants were engraved on iron[4], and no succeeding king was permitted to affect their stability. M. Remusat has here a note, that, according to the traditions collected by Fa hian and his personal testimony, up to this period from the ministry of Buddha, even his religion had not yet been affected by any supposed *rivalry of the Brahmans*; that is to say, it had flourished uninterruptedly for 14 centuries[5].

[1] Vide *Mahawanso* and *Sattapitako*, quoted by the Hon. Mr. Turnour, J. A. S.B., Vol. vii, p. 1003.

[2] Book 2, sect. 67, p. 301.

[3] The Buddhist decalogue says, not to kill any living being, not to steal, not to commit adultery, not to lie, not to drink wine, [not to eat garlic, &c. is included in the last,] not to seat oneself on places of honour, not to wear flowers or ribbons, not to give oneself up to songs, dances, and comedies, not to wear ornaments of gold or silver, and not to eat after midday. Page 104. The practice of the first five entitled the individual to be born amongst the gods. Page 147.

[4] The only inscription on iron hitherto found is the inscription on the iron pillar at Delhi; but it is after A.D. 800, and has no relation to grants of land.

[5] M. Remusat's era of Buddha's ministry is B.C. 999. Upham, from the *Mahawanso*, fixes his birth 968 B.C., vol. iii. p. 56. Quoted in note to Fa hian, p. 284.

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Fa hian subsequently enters into minute details respecting the habits, manners, customs, and advantages of the priesthood, which were the same all over the country. When strangers arrived amongst them, they were received with great honour and kindness. They were met on the road, and their clothes and *begging-pot* carried for them. Water was taken to them to wash their feet; oil to anoint their bodies, and a special entertainment was given to them. Fa hian particularly enumerates six towers [monasteries?] in Mutra where ecclesiastics put up. They were named after disciples of Buddha, or from containing certain sacred books.

At the close of this chapter[1], Fa hian has a very remarkable passage. Still speaking of the Buddhist ecclesiastics, he says, "At the end of the year they receive their customary presents from the elders, [les anciens,] the men in office, the Brahmans, and others, which consisted of the coloured dresses, and other things necessary for Buddhist priests." Here the Brahmans can scarcely be viewed as religious characters; for it cannot be supposed, if they were priests, that they would be in the habit of making annual presents to their hated rivals: they may rather be looked upon, as there is strong ground for believing at this period, as seculars, and laymen, and constituents, as I shall have occasion to show, of even a Buddhist community!

Fa hian concludes the chapter by repeating that in these countries the rites and ceremonies of Buddhism had never been interrupted from the time of Buddha, and M. Remusat very *quaintly* remarks[2], "The alleged superiority of Brahmanism, therefore, must be looked for in other countries!"

Fa hian now proceeds seventy miles S. E. to the kingdom of Sam Kassam in Pâli, and mentioned in the *Ramayana* as Sankasya, somewhere about Farrakhabad. Here was a great stoupa or tope: it contained the ladder by which Buddha had descended from heaven, [where he had been to see his mother,] accompanied by Indra and Brahma. He does not make any mention of temples to these two personages; but Hiuan thsang found two temples erected *to them* in honour of their having *accompanied Buddha* on his return from heaven, manifesting the corruptions that were then undermining Buddhism.

It is to be remarked that Indra and Brahma, in the estimation of the Buddhists, had the *Pas* in the Brahmanical Pantheon, and there is no mention of Siva or Vishnu, who may not yet have been grafted upon the stock. As a crowd of gods were in attendance

[1] Chap. 16. [2] Page 125.

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upon Buddha; Siva and Vishnu would probably have been named, had they then attained to a fraction of their modern celebrity. But with regard to Indra and Brahma, and the thirty-one other gods residing in the second heaven, they are not eternal beings, but in transitu; and it is competent to *mortals* even to take their names and places as they become vacant in the progress of the universe[1]. Brahma, therefore, was considered by the Buddhists 1400 years ago as only a *transitory Devata*, and not the *Creator* of the universe: he was inferior even to Indra. Part of the Buddhists of Nepal with a Brahmanical tinge, speak of Brahma as Creator, Vishnu as Preserver, and Mahesa as Destroyer, all emanating from an ancient Buddha. But this was looked upon as heresy by the Chinese Buddhists; for they deem all these gods, when they admit their existence at all, as imperfect beings, whom men may even surpass by attaining the quality of Bodhisattwa or purified intelligence[2]. The Chinese have, nevertheless, now got a corrupted Pantheon of twenty of these personages. M. Remusat does not mention his authority, but from the complexion of the account of them, it has not an ANTIQUE character: Brahma is put at their head; Indra follows; but Maha Iswara, supposed to be Mahadeo, or Siva, from his being described as having eight arms, *three* eyes, and being seated on a *white bull* with a white brush in his hand, ranks as low as the *eighth* in the list; but the name of Siva never occurs in these Chinese writings, and it is not less remarkable that in the numerous inscriptions between the sixth and fourteenth centuries, [vide Appendix,] in which the Destroyer is referred to or eulogized, he is called in all the earlier inscriptions by some other of his numerous names, and not by that of Siva. The twelfth of these gods is the general of the *Vedas*, which word vedas is explained to mean a "discourse on science." Instead of giving himself up to the voluptuousness of the gods, he walked in purity and continence, received the instruction of *Buddha*, and defended his religion. What this relation between the Vedas and Buddha exactly means, I do not know; but it plainly says that the commander-in-chief of the armies of the Vedas defended the religion of Buddha, and when a temple to Buddha was built, a statue of the general was put into it[3]. Then comes the mother of the Demons with her 1000 children to whom human beings address themselves if they want progeny. The twentieth and last in the list is Yama, the god of the infernal regions. Although this jumble of Buddhist and Brahmanical or

[1] Page 128. [2] Page 128 and 138.

[3] Pages 138 and 142. Tching fa nian tchou king, quoted in the San tsang fa sou, book 18, page 20.

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rather Hindu Devatas is evidently comparatively modern, there is not any mention of Vishnu, Krishna, Ganesa, or the Hindu goddesses, and if they had been known at the time of writing the list, they would most probably have come in for a place of honour. It can scarcely be doubted that this list contains evidence of the progress of corruption in Buddhism, which has ended in the substitution of the worship of spirits or genii [naats] in most parts of China, to the exclusion of Buddha. In one of the curious diaries of the ambassadors sent from the Burman empire in the present century, to Pekin, and published by Colonel Burney[1], the ambassadors state that they found the Chinese temples filled with figures of naats or spirits, and that they did not see a single figure of Buddha between the frontiers of Ava and Pekin!

M. Remusat ends his list of the Buddhist Pantheon, by adding that there were very many others whose names were not known; but it was asserted that Indra was their chief in the time of the *ancient* Buddha[2]. Here again is a reference to a predecessor of Sakya's. Arrian, in his *Histor. Ind.*, cap. viii., mentions a Buddha, the third from Bacchus, as a king of India, as far back as the fabulous times[3].

All the above gods of the second heaven were, of course, inferior to those of the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth heavens. Brahma, Indra, &c., had no reason, therefore, to be very grateful to the Buddhists for the honour vouchsafed to them, whether viewed as constituents of the Polytheism of the Brahmans, or as belonging to Buddhism. It was only in the sixth heaven these fabulous personages were supposed to be elevated above carnal desires. In addition to the above, the Buddhists enumerated other heavens with their inhabitants. But all of them, of whichever heaven, were infinitely below a Bodhisattwa, the next rank below a Buddha[4].

It is time, however, to return to Fa hian, who states that the King Asoka, wanting to see how far the ladder went down into the earth, caused people to dig; but not being able to reach the end, his faith and veneration increased, and he built a chapel over the spot, and on the middle step of the ladder he raised an erect statue of Buddha, sixty feet high. Behind the chapel he raised a stone

[1] J. A. S. B., vols. 6 and 7. [2] Page 144.

[3] Απιόντα δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς, ὡς οἱ ταῦτα κεκοσμέατο, κατασῆται βασιλέα τῆς χώρης Σπαρτέμβαν, τῶν ἑταίρων ἕνα, τὸν βακχωδέσατον· τελευτήσαντος, δὲ Σπαρτέμβα, τὴν βασιλείην ἐκδέξασθαι βουδύαν τὸν τούτου παῖδα, καὶ τὸν μὲν πεντήκοντα, καὶ δύο ἔτεα βασιλεῦσαι Ἰνδῶν, τὸν πατέρα· τὸν δὲ παῖδα, εἴκοσιν ἔτεα.

[4] Page 146.

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column forty-five feet high, with a lion on the top of it[1]. Certain *heretics* disputed the possession of this locality, but the lion on the top of the column giving a lusty roar, the heretics were discomfited, and the dispute was settled. M. Remusat has a note in which he says it may be supposed the heretics were Brahmans; but it does not necessarily follow, as no less than eleven sects of heretics have already been enumerated, some Buddhists and some Brahmanical[2]. Some of the legends of Sakya Muni make him and his disciples dispute with ninety-five different sects, but these are reducible to eleven, whose doctrine, books, and habitudes, prevailed IN THE WEST[3]; and it may be supposed, therefore, OUT OF INDIA, or at least in Bikaner, and Jaysalmer. Amongst these was the Sankhya system, the Vaishesika, the author of which lived 800 years before Sakya Muni, and who appears to have been a quasi Buddhist, or one whose doctrines Sakya may be supposed to have reformed, in case he came as a reformer, and not as an inventor. Then come the Vibhuti, who cover themselves with cinders, and believe the sixth god of the world of desires, Iswara, to have created all things. Then the followers of the Vedas, who imagine that Narayana created the four families, Brahmans from his mouth, Kshatryas from his arms, Vaisyas from his thighs, and Sudras from his feet. Then come the partisans of the Egg, [Anda,] from which Brahma sprung, and created the world[4]. Then come the Timeists; also those who believe space to be the origin of things, then the Conformists; next follow the believers in all things originating in Æther. The tenth sect believed in the supreme efficacy of morality; and the eleventh and last believed that there was not any first cause!

The above details appear to have been translated from the Chinese work, "San tsang fâ sou." M. Remusat does not give the date of the work, which, however, looks to be comparatively modern, from its notices of Puranic fables. It is very curious, as it would seem to separate the followers of the Vedas from those of Brahma, the latter from Narayana, and the followers of both these latter from the Vibhuti: its location of all the Hindu sectaries or heretics in *the West* is important. Its details are probably founded on the information taken to China, by Chinese pilgrims returning from India; or by the immigrating Buddhists in the seventh and eighth centuries, flying from their persecutors, the Saiva's.

[1] Very many such columns have recently been found in India, some of them with Asoka's edicts engraved on them.

[2] See page 149, for a list of the heretical sects.

[3] Page 152, et seq. [4] San tsang fâ sou, book 47, page 26.

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Another Chinese variation of the above details in the same work, reduces the heretical sects to nine. It contains an explanation of the *three forms* of Iswara, [Siva,] seen in the cave-temples of Elephanta, and at Ellora, which I have never met with before. It says, "The heretics say that this god [Iswara] has three bodies; that of the "law," which means that his substance is eternal, universally diffused, and extending as far as space, and having the power to create all things; that which "disposes," because he is above all forms; and that of "transformations," because he changes in the six conditions all the beings of whom he takes the form." I cannot say that this is very intelligible, but it is new. The account further says, that Iswara resides in the heaven called Aghanista; that he is the lord of 3000 worlds; that his followers rub themselves with ashes, and the Brahmans in general consider him to be the cause of all things.

In a further enumeration of nine points in which the heretics are in error, respecting form, cause, effect, destiny, conduct, &c., it says "the heretics, partisans of the Vedas, believe that from the navel of Narayana sprung a lotus, on which appeared Brahma, who produced all things, and *to whom* are made offerings of flowers and plants, *and victims, such as hogs, sheep, asses, horses, &c. &c.*" Here we learn from Buddhist authority that it was part of the Hindu ritual to offer flesh in sacrifice; and this is in strict accordance with the details in the *Ramayana*, which state that flesh was thrown about on the funeral pile of Rama's father[1].

Those who go *entirely naked*, and whom we may suppose to be the Gymnosophists, met with by Alexander, are stated to believe that Nirvana, or identification with the godhead, depends upon a clear and distinct perception of all things in their different manners of being. Buddha himself mentions this naked class of religionists without calling them heretics, and Arrian in his ΑΡΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΙΝΔΙΚΗ[2], describes them as philosophers and diviners, and offerers of sacrifices, without calling them Brahmans, which, indeed, they could not have been, as ANY of the seven classes of society might supply them, which is quite in accordance with the practice of the Buddhists[3]. Those who place themselves in dependence on women, believe that Maha Iswara created a woman who produced gods and men, &c., &c.: others make salvation to consist in penance; some in the

[1] Book 2, sect. 61, page 206.

[2] ΚΕΦ. XI.

[3] Μοῦνον σφίσιν ἀνεῖται, σοφιστὴν ἐκ παντὸς γένεος γενέσθαι· ὅτι οὐ μαθηταὶ τοῖσι σοφιστῇσιν εἰσὶ τὰ πρήγματα, ἀλλὰ πάντων ταλαιπωρότατα. ΚΕΦ. XII.

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control of the passions; and many other doctrines declared by the Buddhists as heretical are enumerated; but it is to be noted as most singular, that amidst the numerous details given, showing an intimate acquaintance with Hindu opinions, as well as Buddhist sectarist opinions; *no mention whatever, no allusion even, is made to the worship of the Linga* [*Phallus*], which for the last 800 years at least has been so celebrated and so widely diffused in India. From Fa hian's utter silence with respect to this worship, and the universal prevalence of Buddhism in his time, it may fairly be inferred that it did not exist while he was in India; nor does Hiuan thsang, in the seventh century, in spite of the decadence of Buddhism, and the progress of the Saiva's afford us the means of determining that Siva was yet worshipped under the form of the Linga. The oldest existing temples to this emblem are no doubt the Kylas and others at Ellora, and the Elephanta temple in the harbour of Bombay; but they are probably subsequent to the expulsion of the Buddhists, and not older than the ninth century. They are destitute of inscriptions, which characterize all Buddhist remains. The oldest inscriptions at present known in a Linga temple are not earlier than the tenth century. One is in the temple of Hursha in Shekavata, and is dated A.D. 961; and another commemorates the erection of a temple to Siva at Brahmeswara in Cuttack, by a lady. An unknown era is used, but the character of the writing is after the tenth century. The Bhuvaneswar temple in Orissa is *said* to have been built A.D. 657, but there is not any *inscription* of the fact.

The San tsang fâ sou then enumerates six kinds of mortification to which some heretics subject themselves. Hunger and thirst, plunging into cold springs, burning different parts of the body, remaining perpetually seated, naked, and exposed to heat and cold, living in burial-grounds and funereal groves, and imposing upon themselves an absolute silence; and finally, eating grass and drinking water like brutes. Then there are five doubts of the heretics, but it will be sufficient to notice one of them; "Whether the law of Buddha or the Vedas is the best; the Vedas meaning a discourse on science, and which are full of the false science of the heretics[1]?" The Buddhists, therefore, considered the Vedas not as a religious, but as a scientific composition. The last quotation from the San tsang fâ sou is the following: "About 800 years after the death of Buddha, A.D. 257, the master of the law, Sang tchao, says, the heretics multiplied: violent sects sprung up; evil doctrines oppressed

[1] Page 159.

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truth, and shook sound reason. It was then that Deva Bodhisattwa, disciple of Naga Krochouna, wrote his book, entitled the *Hundred Discourses* to defend truth, and stop the progress of error."

These minute facts in a Chinese book[1], bearing upon India, and the opinions of its people, are not less curious than important. M. Remusat does not give the date of the composition, but from what has been just said of Deva Bodhisattwa, it must be after the third century of Christ, at which period, probably, were the incipient movements of the Saiva's and Vaishnava's, which ended in the overthrow of Buddhism.

M. Remusat says that in the San tsang fâ sou he did not find anything particularly applicable to the fire-worshippers of Persia [or India]; and this silence will probably strengthen the supposition previously noticed, that the alleged fire-altar on one of the coins found in Affghanistan is simply the Buddhist family-altar noticed by Fa hian.

But to return to Fa hian, he mentions a tower being built [about Farrakhabad] where the three Buddha's predecessors of Sakya Muni met, namely, Kakusando, Konagammo, and Kassapo, which tower he saw; and there were other similar towers throughout the country, which were in existence in Fa hian's time. Fa hian makes us acquainted with a sad corruption, which had by this time crept into Buddhism, in the worship of a dragon, and the erection of a temple to him. The dragon appeared once a year in the form of a serpent, Naga [Coluber Naga]. The people of the country were numerous and rich, and beyond comparison more happy than elsewhere. Fa hian's next movement of twenty-eight miles to the S.E. brought him to Kanouj [Kanya Kubja] on the Ganges. Here were two monasteries and one of the eight great or celebrated towers or topes raised in India to Buddha, which Fa hian saw. The remains of this tower do not now exist at Kanouj, but the numerous Buddhist coins and other Buddhist relics discovered at Kanouj, leave no doubt of its having been a Buddhist town. The Chinese have literally translated the name of Kanya Kubja [hump-backed damsels, but whether from the Pali or Sanskrit is uncertain], with which the Buddhists connect a legend. The *Ramayana* has a similar legend, and it is a question which party stole it from the other.

From Kanouj, Fa hian, marching fifty miles to the S.W., found himself in the great kingdom of Lucknow, or Oude according to

[1] San tsang fâ sou, which means, M. Remusat says, "The numbers of the law of the three treatises [psychological, religious, and mythological,] and which may be expressed in Sanskrit by Tri pitaka, dharma Sankhya." Page 110.

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Klaproth, but Professor Wilson inclines to Cawnpoor. In this chapter [19th], is the first indication or mention of Brahmanical hostility.—Fa hian says, "On passing out of the town of Cha tche, by the southern gate, is found, to the east of the road, the place where Buddha nipped a branch of the nettle-tree, and planted it in the earth. The branch grew to the height of seven feet, and has never since augmented or diminished. *The Brahman heretics, animated by envy and jealousy*, cut it down, or pulled it up, to throw it to a distance, but it always reappeared in its former place." It was evidently not suffering from Brahmanical envy when Fa hian saw it.

Fa hian says there were four stations in the country where towers were erected to Buddha[1], and which still existed. Forty miles to the South brought Fa hian to Che wei, or Sravasti according to Wilson, in Kosala, or Oude, but then reduced from its former magnificence to 200 houses. Numerous towers were here, and mention is made for the second time of the unavailing jealousy of the Brahmans, who would have destroyed the towers, but the celestial terrors of thunder and lightning came to their preservation. This is the country of Rama, of which Ayodhya was the capital, and yet both country and capital had been eminently Buddhist, and were so still, although declining, and no mention or allusion whatever is made to Rama or his celebrated history in Fa hian or the Commentaries; had the Ramayana been then written, it would most probably not only have been known to the Buddhists, from the minute details they have given of Hindu heresies[2], implying an acquaintance with Hindu works; but very likely it would have been noticed by them. M. Remusat has a note and query, whether Rama's country ought not to be looked for in some other part of India[3]?

The king of Sravasti, at the period of Sakya's ministry was his own cousin Prasenajit[4], called by Fa hian, Pho-sse-ho [Prasena], and it was his minister Soudâtâ who erected at this place one of the eight most celebrated temples or towers of India to Buddha [Sakya] which was known equally by the Chinese as the Indians by the Pali name Jéto, or Sanskrit name Djetâ, Dejetâvana. The other seven were,

[1] Page 170.

[2] I have previously noticed that the mention of *China* in the *Ramayana*, as well as in the *Institutes of Menu*, would place the date of their composition after the second century B.C.

[3] Page 177.

[4] This personage is mentioned in the solar line of Ayodhya of the *Puranas*, and Sir William Jones places the fourth successor from him, Vrihadsana, 1300 B.C.; Prasenajit, therefore, by this calculation, ought to be about 1400 B.C.!!

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one at Kapila, one on the banks of the river Ni lian in Magadha, one at Benares, in the deer-park, one at Kanouj, one at Rajagáhá, one at the "handsome city," and finally one at Kouchiná. All these Stoupas recorded some great event in the life of Sakya[1].

Fa hian describes a Buddhist temple at about 1200 paces outside the South gate of the town. It had two pillars, the pillar on the left hand, had the representation of a *wheel* on it, and that on the right, an *ox*. These notices are of considerable importance, as they explain the reason of the appearance of the wheel and bull upon the numerous Buddhist coins from Affghanistan, Canouj, Ougein, and Gujarat[2]. M. Remusat's note says, that the wheel is a familiar emblem of the Buddhists, emblematical of the successive passages of the soul in the circle of existences; also of universal dominion [Chakravarti], and it was efficacious in praying when TURNED ROUND WITH PRAYERS STUCK UPON IT! The gardens, shrubberies, flowers, and reservoirs of pure water about the temple, are described by Fa hian as delightful.

Sakya's cousin, King Prasena[3], was the first to make a statue of him in sandal-wood, which was the model of all the subsequent statues of Buddha. Hence he must have been a Buddhist. It was placed in the great temple of seven stages, but a rat having carried off the lighted wick of one of the lamps, the temple was set on fire, and it was burnt down. The statue of Buddha, however, was not injured. The rats have not forgotten their ancestral habits, for within my knowledge precisely similar circumstances have occasioned the destruction of several houses in our cantonments in India. Fa hian describes a multitude of pilgrims from all countries being assembled at this temple, but the inhabitants or resident priests said they had never before known Chinese pilgrims to arrive.

Fa hian goes on to say "Hence, to the eastward of the road there is a chapel of the gods of the heretics sixty feet high, immediately opposite to one in honour of Buddha. Formerly, the Brahmans disputing the honours given to Buddha, the shadow of the temple of Buddha, with the setting sun, fell daily upon the chapel of the

[1] Page 180.

[2] The appearance of a bull upon the coins in the first instance had led to a belief of their having some relation to the worship of Siva; but the various emblems and monograms upon the same coins showed that they could not have a Hindu origin; and this mention by Fa hian, of a bull carved upon a Buddhist temple, shows the compatibility of the association of this animal with Buddhism.

[3] There is a Prasenajit in the Vesala line of the Solar race in the *Useful Tables*; but he is the fifth before Sumetra, whom Sir William Jones places 2100 years B.C., and Colonel Todd 57 years B.C. The chronicles are evidently at fault!

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heretics; but with the rising sun, the shade of the chapel of the heretics, would not fall on the temple of Buddha, but fell to the North. This miracle converted the Brahmans, and they became good Buddhists. The only object in quoting this puerile story of Fa hian's is in attestation of the Brahmans having temples to the gods [although there is not any mention of images], evidently before the fourth century[1]. M. Remusat has here a note on the subject of Brahmans which in the end I shall have occasion to quote.

Fa hian states that there were formerly round the great temple, NINETY-EIGHT MONASTERIES all provided with proper cells. He adds there are now ninety-six sorts of sectaries; each having numerous disciples, some of whom honour the three Buddhas of times past. From his details they evidently did not differ much from the orthodox Buddhists, and they may be the originals of the Jains. M. Remusat says this mention of the veneration of the Buddhas, predecessors of Sakya, is important, carrying as it does Buddhism into great antiquity.

Fa hian mentions that at about a mile and a quarter to the S.E. of Sravasti is the spot where Buddha [Sakya] interposed himself to prevent King Sieou li, the son of Prasenajit[2] of Kosala, from attacking the tribe of Sakya, of Kapila, the latter being the native country of Buddha, and the Sakyas being of his own family and tribe. A tower was on the spot. M. Klaproth has no hesitation in expressing his opinion that this Kapila is the native country of Sakya, and that it is the present Fyzabad, or Oude, and the ancient Ayodhya[3]. He considers that it was tributary to Magadha, whence the belief that Magadha was the native country of Sakya;—but a Chinese map places Kapila to the N. of Benares and the kingdom of Ayodhya, Kosala and Kausambi. It was, therefore, on the banks of Rohini or Rohein: Professor Wilson places it N. of Gorakhpur, near where the branches of the Rapti issue from the hills, but all these authorities have a close approximation in their locations of Kapila.

This chapter is finished by Fa hian's stating that at about seventeen miles to the W. of Sravasti is the birth-place of Sakya's predecessor, the Buddha Kassapo, *and the tower there contained the relics of his entire body!* Hence, forty-eight miles to the S.E. carried Fa hian to the birth-place of Sakya's predecessor, Buddha Kakusando a place which must have been at the foot of the Nepal hills, above

[1] Page 175.

[2] The *Puranas* mention Taeshaka as the successor of Prasenajit.—Vide *Useful Tables.*

[3] Page 201.

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Gorakhpur. These facts afford further proofs that the belief in the succession of Buddhas, was itself very ancient.

This chapter of Fa hian terminates M. Remusat's invaluable labours: death stopped his hand, and M. Klaproth takes up the translator's office, like his predecessor, alas! to be cut off in the midst of his splendid career; and it remained for M. Landresse to bring their labours before the public in a manner most honourable to them and to himself.

Four miles to the eastward of the birth-place of the Buddha Kakusando, was the celebrated city of Kapila, the birth-place of Sakya himself, and the scene of many events of his life. Fa hian found it a solitude, there was neither king nor people. There were only the ecclesiastics, and a few houses of the lower classes. Nevertheless, although the city had disappeared, the Kingdom remained; for the Chinese annals mention ambassadors coming to China from Kapila, A.D 428, after Fa hian was in the country, and also in A.D. 466. The palace of the King, Sakya's father, Suddhodana, was here; here also were the gates out of which he issued on excursions by the command of his father, to divert his mind from his religious contemplation, and which I have previously noticed. Fa hian enumerates many spots connected with events in the life of Sakya; and on each spot a tower or column was erected to commemorate the event.

Fa hian also records the visit of Ai, the Tao szu or Lao tseau [in Sanskrit तपस्वी tapasvi or ascetic] who came from his solitudes to see the infant Sakya. The Chinese identify him with the Tao szu of China who existed there *before* the introduction of Buddhism; and they were called by the Chinese "*doctors of reason.*" It does not follow, as I shall have occasion to show by the means of Mr. Turnour, and, indeed, as I have shown by Arrian, that these ascetics were connected with Brahmanism or Hinduism, but rather that they appeared to be Buddhist sectaries; their *emblem* was the Buddhist mystic cross, and Sakya tells two of them that they had made considerable progress towards the dignity of "ARHAN." The Japanese chronology gives dates for all the events mentioned by Fa hian, which dates range between B.C. 1018 to the date of Sakya's becoming a priest, which is fixed in 998 B.C.

Fa hian's mention of the tribe of the Sakyas brings forth a note of M. Klaproth's, with quoations from the 26th volume of the *Tibetan Kăh gkyour*, by M. Csoma de Körös, and from the *Pali Mahawanso*, by M. Burnouf, making the lineage of the Sakyas[1] abso-

[1] शाक्य

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lutely identical with that of Rama, descended from Ikswaku of the solar line, and founder[1] of the royal race of Ayodhya, or Oude, which Ikshwaku, B.C. 3500, came from Potala, which means the port [the modern Tatta], at the mouths of the Indus. He obtained the hand of a princess on condition of any child by her succeeding to the throne to the exclusion of former children. She had a child; the former children, (four brothers,) Rama and Lakshmana like, were banished; they emigrated to Kapila, and became the race of Sakyas. This is the identical story of Rama and his salacious father, and though from a Tibetan source, it is confirmed by the Hon. Mr. Turnour in his translation of the *Mahawanso, Introduction*, p. 35, and by M. Burnouf, from this same source. However this may be, it is certain Sakya's family came into possession of Ayodhya! Of course the Sakyas neither appear in the Puranic lists as a people, nor as a tribe; exist they did, nevertheless!!

Amongst other places Fa hian mentions the spot in the garden where Sakya was born on his mother stepping out of the bath. Fa hian simply says that two kings of the Dragons [the Coluber Nag is to be understood by these], washed the infant: but Buddhist legends, probably subsequent to Fa hian's time, say that Indra and Brahma and the four kings of the sky and their suite of Devatas attended the birth, and that Indra and Brahma wrapped the infant in a celestial robe, and afterwards escorted it and its mother to the king. Here again is no mention of Siva and Vishnu, who had they been known to the Buddhists, would, no doubt, in common with Indra and Brahma, have been made to do homage to the wonderful infant[2].

Fa hian concludes the chapter by saying that the kingdom of Kapila, although teeming with monuments of Buddhism, was then a great solitude, the knots of people were few in number and widely separated; and in travelling the roads it was necessary to take precautions against white elephants[3] and lions. In fact the present formidable Tarai jungle had begun to overwhelm the habitations of man, but the Buddhist monuments are daily discovered in attestation of the truth of Fa hian.

Hence twenty miles to the east took Fa hian to the kingdom of Lan mou, a name not now identifiable, but he must have got to the very base of the Nepal hills, to the N. or N.E. of Gorakhpur. The king of the country, having obtained a relic of Buddha, had built a tower over it; adjoining was a tank. Fa hian says the place was solitary and sterile, and not long since there were not any persons to attend to watering and sweeping the temple; but elephants of

[1] Page 215. [2] Page 220. [3] Page 199.

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themselves performed the office of watering the ground, sweeping the Buddhist Chaitya or tower, and collecting flowers for it. There were some Tao sse [doctors of reason] from various countries who had come to venerate the relics, but encountering the elephants, they took fright, and clambered up into trees; but discovering what the elephants were about, they were so much touched by their pious labours that they became orthodox Buddhists, and they laboured to convert the king and induce him to erect an establishment for the ecclesiastics; and in effect Fa hian found a monastery and ecclesiastics serving the temple. Fa hian says the tradition respecting the Tao sse was not of a remote period. We see here, from the Tao sse going to venerate the relics of Buddha, that at *least* they must have been Buddhist sectaries. M. Klaproth has a note, saying, in Tibetan they are called "sectaries of the mystic cross, called in Sanskrit Swastica 卐" and that their doctrine was the ancient religion of Tibet until the introduction of orthodox Buddhism in the ninth century; he points out the fact that the Tao sse "Ai," on the birth of Sakya, went to Kapila to draw his horoscope; and calls attention to the frequent mention by Fa hian of their existence in central Asia and India, and adds, "It appears they were diffused over the countries to the west and south-west of China." In the extracts from the life of Buddha, in the *Chin i tian*, cited p. 282, two Tao szu are spoken of as greeting Sakya when he was prince, and about assuming the religious habit. They are described as having attained the five supernatural faculties, and completed the four contemplations; and as these acquisitions are steps towards the dignity and holiness of Arhan, they must plainly have venerated some Buddhist principles; but Sakya bluntly tells them, although they knew so much, they had yet to learn the supreme reason[1]. The facts mentioned by Fa hian and the opinions of M. Klaproth are of considerable importance, as they give us a glimpse of religious doctrines prior to Sakya's appearance; not unlikely to be the corrupted doctrines of Kassapo, or the other preceding Buddhas.

Fa hian mentions that Asoka wished to take down and rebuild the tower at Lan mo, in addition to those he raised in other parts of India. The Chinese-Japanese chronology says the number of towers raised by Asoka was 8000, and the date of their erection was 833 B.C. Twelve miles to the east of the town of Lan mo, Fa hian found the spot whence Sakya sent his chariot and white horse back to his father's city, when he abandoned his home and took the religious habit. Here a tower had been erected.

[1] Page 230.

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Fa hian's next journey of twelve miles to the east carries him to the tower raised over the spot where Sakya's body was burnt; there was here also a monastery. Hiuan thsang says the tower was thirty Chinese toises high, and that it was situated in a forest of Indian fig-trees [Ficus Indica], and that in the monastery of this tower were the thrones of the *four preceding* Buddhas[1]!! Forty miles east from this tower, Fa hian found the city of Kusinara [city of the Kousa grass], evidently near to the present Bettiah. Between two trees[2] N. of the town on the banks of the river Gandak, Buddha breathed his last at the age of 80. Hiuan thsang gives a particular description of the trees of this forest; and mentions the sculptures representing the death of Buddha. In the neighbourhood there were numerous towers, columns, or other memorials of Buddha, and Fa hian and Hiuan thsang describe a column with an inscription upon it, recording Buddha's death. A column exists at the present day, very probably that seen by the Chinese travellers, of which a drawing and copy of the inscription is given in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, for October, 1834. It was discovered by Mr. Hodgson, the resident in Nepal. The inscription in the old Pali [or primitive Deva Nagari] language and character has been deciphered by the extraordinary ingenuity and tact of the lamented Mr. Jas. Prinsep, and is found to be an edict of As-o-ko, the Buddhist monarch of all India, B.C. 325 to B.C. 288, against the destruction of animal life, and enjoining the observance of Buddhism; so that the Chinese pilgrims must have been misinformed with respect to the purport of the inscription. The same inscription is engraved on the columns of Dehli, Allahabad and Mattiah, and in Cuttack and Gujarat on rocks. In confirmation of the locality being anciently devoted to Buddhism, Mr. Liston, in June 1837, discovered in Perganah Sidowa, in the eastern division of Gorakhpur, at a place called Kuisa a colossal alto-relievo figure of Buddha surrounded by compartments in which were represented various actions of his life; and in the neighbourhood were several heaps and mounds of rubbish, no doubt the remains of a Buddhist city.

The date of the death of Buddha, according to the Chinese and Japanese, has already been given. Hiuan thsang says, respecting the date of Buddha's death, that the accounts differ; some fixing it at 1500, others at 1300, 1200, 900 and 1000 years before HIS TIME. Now as he wrote A.D. 640; these dates place the death of Buddha at 860, 660, 560, and as late as 360 B.C.

Over the spot where the eight kings shared the relics of Buddha

[1] Page 236. [2] *Sal. Shorea robusta.*

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after the body was burnt, a tower was erected; all the towers, and several monasteries, still existed, and were seen by Fa hian, but the population of the city was small, chiefly consisting of the ecclesiastics and the families of the lower classes. The *Ni pan king*, a Chinese work, states, with respect to the eight kings or people sharing the relics of Buddha, that they marched troops for the purpose of carrying them off, but at the persuasion of a BRAHMAN they consented to share them, and the following was the distribution.

1. The *heroes* of the town of Kiu chi one part. They raised a tower or Chaitya over them.
2. The *laymen* of the kingdom of Pho kian lo pho, one part. They raised a tower.
3. The Kiu liou lo of the kingdom of Szu kia na pho. Do. do.
4. All the *Kshatryas* of the kingdom of A le tche, one part. They raised a tower.
5. All the *Brahmans* of the kingdom of Phi neou, one part. They raised a tower.
6. All the Li tche of the kingdom of Phi che li. Do. do.
7. All the Sakyas of the kingdom of Tche, lo kia lo. Do. do.
8. The king A tche chi of the kingdom Mo kia tho. Do. do.

If the word Brahman be understood in the Hindu sense, it is not very intelligible how a Brahman adversary should interfere to distribute the relics of Buddha amongst Buddhist princes, or how the *Brahmans of the kingdom of Phi neou should take a share of the relics of Buddha and raise a tower over them!* But if the Brahmans be looked upon as a *tribe*, and secular persons, as is asserted by the Buddhists, we can understand that there might be Buddhist Brahmans, as well as Buddhist Sakyas, or Buddhist Sudras,—as there are Brahman Jains to this day.

Eighty miles to the S.E. carries Fa hian to the scene of many other events in Buddha's life; and here again the unvarnished truth of the simple traveller is confirmed. He speaks of a pillar being raised by Sakya's family, with an inscription on it; also a tope commemorating the REPUBLICAN inhabitants of Vaisáli, [Allahabad,] called the Lichchiwi, who wanted to accompany Buddha when he put off his existence [Nirvana]. Professor Wilson points out, that following the Gandak for about seventy miles there is a stone pillar at present standing near to Bakra[1]. The inscription is not visible; but as half the column is buried in the earth the inscription probably exists; and the column is no doubt the one alluded to by Fa hian.

[1] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, March, 1835.

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The remains of a tower or tope are close by, and an image of Buddha with the celebrated moral stanza:—

"Ye dharma hetu prabhava." &c. &c.

engraved upon it has been met with.

Twenty miles further to the east, Fa hian enters the city of Vaisáli[1]. The garden given by a *Thais* of the town to Buddha was still in existence, also several towers; some of them raised to commemorate foolish legends. Hiuan thsang visited Vaisáli 200 years afterwards, and found the city in ruins, although he says its foundations had then a circuit of 20 to 23 miles, and the palace or inner fort had a circuit of $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles. There were then, the ruins of more than 100 monasteries; and of the three to five that remained, the few ecclesiastics had about ten chapels, and did not appear to be much better than accomplices of the heretics living mingled with them. The faith of the people was a mixture of false and true. The country was rich and populous, and the people happy and contented. The republic had a circuit of about 1600 or 1700 miles. Hiuan thsang does not make any mention of feuds between the Buddhists or the heretics or of any violence on the part of the latter. We may infer therefore that the Saiva's had not yet attained to power, even if their doctrines had spread; and they had certainly not commenced their acknowledged persecution in A.D. 638!

Fa hian says that it was at Vaisali[2] that a begging priest, 100 years after the death of Buddha, reduced his doctrines to writing: these were examined by 700 ecclesiastics [Arhans and other priests]; and people afterwards, to commemorate the event, built a tower on the spot which Fa hian saw. A Mongol history, according to Klaproth[3], refers this collection and reduction to the time of Bimbisaro[4], king of Magadha, and a contemporary of Buddha. Nevertheless, in the 110th[5] year after Buddha, B.C. 433, when king Asoka reigned,

[1] The Modern Allahabad.

[2] Vaisali, the present Allahabad, the seat of so many Buddhist traditions and events during 900 to 1000 years, is fabled by the Brahmanists to have been founded by Visala, of the race of Ikshwaku and Alambusha. Rama and Lakshmana visited it. In 157 B.C., the great monastery called the Mahawanno wiharo at Allahabad, and the city and neighbourhood, sent 18,000 Buddhist priests under Baddharakkito, a chief priest, to take part in laying the foundation-stone of the great Thupo, or temple in Ceylon. *Mahawanso*, chap. 29, p. 171.

[3] Page 248. [4] B.C. 603.

[5] There must be a mistake here, as Asoka did not reign in the 110th year after the death of Buddha, but in the 224th year. The Mongol date of the convocation differs only ten years from the date assigned in the Pali annals of Ceylon; but Fa hian, with his accustomed accuracy, confirms the exact date of the second *convocation*, as recorded in the *Mahawanso*.

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700 Arhans assembled in Vaisali, and settled the doctrine. But in consequence of some novel opinions broached by Mahadeva in the convent of Djalamdhara, when Kanika was king of Gatchou or Gatchi, 500 Bodhisattwas, 500 Arhans, and 500 Panditas assembled at the above convent in Kachmir, and settled the doctrine. Another Mongol history makes the first convocation to take place immediately after the death of Buddha, under the presidency of his favourite disciple Ananda,—the other two convocations taking place at the time specified. The *Mahawanso* of Ceylon mentions three convocations[1], *and it is curious to find this accordance from the extremities of Asia, and from the books of such widely-separated nations as the Mongols, the Ceylonese,* the Chinese, the Burmese, and the Siamese. The Chinese work, the Fou fa thsang yaan King, contains the following remarkable notice respecting Ananda: "After the death of Buddha, he collected 500 pious men in the CAVERN of Pi pho lo [the tree of Photi], and jointly with them collected the Vinayas[2]." Of Kassapo, another of Buddha's disciples, the same work says, "he collected a great assembly in the CAVERN of Pi pho lo, and in other places, and arranged the Abidharmas[3]." From these passages, it would appear that cavern-excavations must have been contemporary with *or even prior* to Buddha [Sakya]: for it is not to be supposed a cavern capable of containing 500 persons could have been prepared between the time of Buddha's death and the first convocation under Ananda, in the very year of Buddha's death. A natural cavern is out of the question; for we see too many *hundreds, not to say thousands* of Buddhist excavations in the rocks in India, the remains of antiquity, not to be satisfied that their preparation was part of the Buddhist religious system.

Sixteen miles from Vaisali [near the present Sinhiya], Fa hian came to the place called the Confluence of the Five Rivers. Three of them are immediately identifiable,—the Gandak, the Ganges, and the Sone; the other two may have been formed by two branches of the Ganges, or other rivers are not far off to make up the number. Here *Ananda* ascended the funeral pile[4] on an island on the river, and his relics, like those of his master Sakya, were claimed by princes, the *king*

[1] The first being held at Rajagaha, B.C. 543; the second at Wesali [Vaisali or Allahabad] B.C. 443; and the third took place B.C. 309, at Patna [Pataliputto] when Asoko was emperor.—TURNOUR's *Mahawanso.*

[2] Portions of Buddhist Scripture.

[3] Ibid.

[4] We have here an instance of accordance in the customs of the Buddhists and the Gymnosophists, in the case of Calanus, the Gymnosophist, who accompanied Alexander from Taxila to Persia, who when the infirmities of age came upon him,

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of Vaisali [he must have been elected, as it was a republic], and the king of Magadha shared them, and had towers built over them. This was an early corruption of Buddhism, for the disciple's memory was made to be honoured in the same manner as the master's.

Fa hian crossed the Ganges, and at four miles to the south he came to the city of Patna[1] [Patalipura, or Pupphapura, or Palibothra, of the Greeks, but not exactly on the site of the modern town.] This was the capital of the celebrated king of all India, As-o-ko, or Piyadasi, son of Bindusaro, whose edicts are now found engraved on rocks from Cuttack to Girnar in Gujarat, and on the Delhi and other columns; and who was not only the great patron of Buddhism, but also *apparently*, in his zeal, an innovator on its doctrines; for he *interdicted* the taking away of animal life, which could not have been part of Buddha's doctrines, as he died of indigestion from eating pork! Fa hian found the magnificent palace of Asoko still standing, built of stone, the windows of which were ornamented with such admirable sculptures and engravings as far exceeded the ability of the then age to produce[2].

Fa hian, after speaking of the Buddhist orthodoxy and piety of Asoko's son, Mahindo, [Pali,] [Mahendra, Sanskrit,] who chiefly spent his time in contemplation in the mountain called the Peak of the Vulture, in Central Bahar, [where, in chapter 29, we learn were

burnt himself, *Ananda like*, on the funeral pile [πυρα], *after the manner of his country*, [ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ κλίνης γὰρ κομισθῆναι φερόμενον, ἐσταφανωμένον τε τῷ Ἰνδῶν νόμῳ, καὶ ᾄδοντα τῇ Ἰνδῶν γλώσσῃ. Lib. VII. Cap. iii.] before the whole Greek army.

[1] In Magadha or Bahár. This kingdom sent an embassy to the emperor of China, Tai tsoung, A.D. 647. Between A.D. 650 and 683, the emperor Kao tsoung sent an ambassador to Patna, who raised a monument with an inscription upon it in the temple of Mo ho phon thi. Subsequently, the emperor Te tsoung between A.D. 780 to 804, had an inscription made upon a bell which he presented to the temple of Na lan tho at Patna. This is the last mention of Berar met with in Chinese historians.—Klaproth, page 256. Those facts prove that Buddhism was not extinct at Patna in the ninth century. The inscription in the temple may yet be found in the ruins of old Patna. The origin of the name in Sanskrit is Pataliputra पाटलिपुत्र; in Pali, Pupphapura, or Pátaliputto, Child of the tree [Bignonia suaveolens], derived from a Buddhist legend. In A.D. 640, Hiuan thsang found it in ruins, and overrun with jungle, although its circuit was then nearly twenty-three miles; but even Old Patna, although the capital of the Buddhist emperors, was comparatively recent in relation to the origin of Buddhism; the seat of government having been removed to it from Rajagáhá [Sanskrit Rajagriha], page 257. In 157 B.C., the priest Mattinno took with him to Ceylon 60,000 Buddhist priests from the fraternity of 100,000, in connexion with Asoko's great monastery at Patna, to assist in laying the foundations of the great Thupo, or temple, or shrine, in Ceylon built by King Dutthagamini.—*Mahawanso*, chap. 29, p. 171.

[2] Page 252.

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many hundred caverns or cells for the ecclesiastics,] has the following remarkable words. "At that time [As-o-ko's reign[1]] there was a Brahman of the transcendental or metaphysical[2] section of the [Buddhist] priesthood living in Patna [Pataliputto], of unbounded knowledge, prudence, and ability; whose conduct was so pure that the king paid him all possible honour, and for fifty years the whole kingdom looked to this single individual with the utmost confidence. He so advanced and diffused the doctrine of Buddha, that heresy could not prevail against it." In the acceptation in which the word Brahman is usually received by Europeans, a "Brahman Buddhist priest" seems an incongruous term; but I believe I shall have the means of showing that these terms of Fa hian afford an additional proof that the term Brahman was a civil and not a religious distinction, for there are Brahman Jains to this day.

Fa hian found many monasteries in Patna, inhabited by six or seven hundred ecclesiastics of the Ethical section; but the religious of the highest virtue belonged to the transcendental class. There were also colleges of a grave and majestic architecture, where Buddhist priests and students from all parts of the world assembled, who were desirous of informing themselves in philosophy; and here again follows a curious passage, Fa hian saying the "Masters or instructors of the *children of the Brahmans* were called Mandjousri," from a *Buddhist* personage of that name at the head even of the Bodhisattwas, who are next to the Buddhas. M. Klaproth says, from Chinese authority, that it was an honourable title applied only to the *most learned* of the Brahmans; but it could not have been applied to them at all, had they been *heretical* Brahman priests! Fa hian adds: "those of the begging ecclesiastics who inhabit the monasteries are all from *Central India*[3]," which M. Klaproth designates as comprising the modern provinces of Allahabad, Agra, Delhi, Oude, and Bahar, extending however, to the West, to the Vindhya mountains.

Fa hian next describes the state in which he found the kingdom of Central India, speaking of it as if it were under one king in his time. The cities and towns were large, the people rich, and they loved discussions; but they were charitable and just in their actions. Annually, on the eighth day of the month Mao [the early part of May], being the birthday of Sakya Muni, a four-wheeled car, with a building of five stages upon it, one above the other, so that the whole looked like a tower, was hung with carpets, and *white felt*; upon which were painted the figures of the "*celestial divini-*

[1] B.C. 325 to 288. B.C.

[2] Maha Yana.

[3] मध्यदेश, Madhyadesa.

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ties[1].' The whole was ornamented with gold, and silver, and embroidery, and COLOURED GLASS! Above all was a roof or canopy of embroidered stuff; and at the four corners were contrived little chapels, in each of which was a seated figure of Buddha, with erect figures of Bodhisattwas by the side of each. There were probably twenty of these cars; and all the world was in the streets; there were theatrical representations, feats of the athletæ, concerts of music, and at night illuminations; hospitals were opened for the sick, cripples, and orphans; and everything was done to solace and relieve them by the representatives of the different chiefs of the kingdom residing in the city. People flocked from the provinces; the *Brahmes*, [whether this means the Brahmans or not I do not know] visited Buddha, and the Buddhists arrived and located themselves according to their order[2]. This celebration, procession, pyramidal car, and accompaniments, recalls Jagannath's procession, whose temple exists in a country not only once eminently Buddhist, but apparently on or near the very site of the chaitya, which held the tooth-relic of Buddha before its transfer to Ceylon, where *it now rests under English lock and key!* The temple of Jagannath also was not built until after the decline of Buddhism, and the Hindu procession looks as if it had its type in that of Buddha.

Fa hian says, the great tower or tope built by As-o-ko stood about a mile south of the city, and in front of it was the print of Buddha's foot. South of the town was a stone column with an inscription upon it to this effect: "The King As-o-ko having thrice made a present of all India to the priests of Buddha, thrice bought it back from them at the price of all his treasures." Hiuan thsang two centuries afterwards, saw the print of the foot and the column, but describes the inscription on the latter as almost effaced[3]. At 4 or 500 paces to the north of the tower, according to Fa hian, King As-o-ko built the town of Ni li, in the centre of which was erected a column surmounted by a lion[4], and an inscription was placed on the column, recording the foundation of Ni li, the reason for it, and the year, the month, and the day of the foundation. Hiuan thsang speaks as if Ni li were a palace.

The above columns may yet be found buried in the neighbourhood of Patna, on the site of the old city. From Patna Fa hian

[1] These divinities, according to the Buddhist ideas, would be Indra, Brahma, the Regents of the Sky, &c. &c.; but all *inferior* in dignity even to the Arhans.

[2] The anniversary is kept to this day in Buddhist countries.

[3] Page 261.

[4] Two similar columns at Mattiah and Bakra have been described in the J. A. S. B.; but the column near to Patna would be invaluable were it found, as it would fix the date of As-o-ko's reign without question.

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moved thirty-six miles to the S.E., to the mountain Indrasilaguha[1], where was a great but *low* cavern or excavation, according to Hiuan thsang, with tracings on the rocks, said to be by Indra when he interrogated Buddha. This cavern no doubt still exists in Bahar, although undescribed.

Four miles to the S. W. Fa hian found a tower built where Saripatto[2], a famous disciple of Buddha, died. Four miles further to the West was the new Rájagahá[3], built by Ajata Sattu of the Hindus, as Professor Wilson says, which As-o-ko abandoned, and founded old Patna. There were two monasteries and a magnificent tower in the place. Quitting the town by the south, at the distance of a mile and a quarter, was the valley which led to the five mountains, which formed, as it were, the walls of the ancient city of Rajagaha, the residence of As-o-ko's ancestor Bimbisaro[4], the father of Ajata Sattu. From West to East it had an extent of about two miles, and from North to South from three to four miles: there were some Buddhist remains, but the place was entirely desolate and uninhabited[5]; and the site of the city, even, is pretty generally unknown to Europeans, although Dr. Buchanan mentions it in his *Statistics of Bahar*.

It would appear that the peak of the vulture was on one of the five mountains surrounding the old town of Rajagaha, and it was the highest, being about five miles S.E. up the valley. On the mountain was the throne of the *four Buddhas*, affording further proof of the belief in three Buddhas previous to Sakya. In the same hill was the cavern of Sakya, and several hundred cells for the Arhans. These should be looked for and described. Fa hian hired two Buddhist mendicants as guides to conduct him to the grottoes in the peak, and taking perfumes, flowers, and lamps, he made his offerings; but the memory of Buddha's association with the place, and the desolation in which he found it, brought tears into his eyes. He remained there one night. Returning from the old to the new town

[1] इन्द्रशिलगुहा the cavern of Indra's rocks.

[2] Saripatto is mentioned in the *Mahawanso*.

[3] राजगृह in Sanskrit. Rajagaha in Pali.

[4] The Vimbasara of the Puranas.—Prof. Wilson. Bimbisaro is in the Buddhist chronology; but not in Prinsep's Dynasty of the Magadha Kings, *derived from the Puranas*.

[5] Yet this desolated site, which Fa hian required guides to explore, about 569 years before his visit, was teeming with population; and the profound Buddhist teacher, Indagatto, led 8000 Buddhist priests from Rajagaha to Ceylon, to take part in laying the foundations of the great Thupo or temple at Anuradhapura.—*Mahawanso*, chap. 29, p. 171. The magnificence of this temple had not declined when Fa hian was in Ceylon.

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he passed a Buddhist chapel served by ecclesiastics, which was still in existence at Hiuan thsang's visit. Fa hian mentions also the spot where the *sacred books* were collected by Ananda and the 500 Arhans, after the death of Sakya, and he notices many excavations for meditation in the mountains.

Thence passing sixteen miles to the west, he came to the town of Gaya[1], a place peculiarly sacred to the Buddhists, partly on account of Buddha having there undergone sufferings for six years, and partly on other accounts; and in modern times not less sacred to the Brahmanists although at a locality a little removed, but still near the Fulgo river. Professor Wilson attributes the absence of mention of the Hindu Gaya by Fa hian to sectarial resentment, but this very absence of mention seems a proof that the Hindu Gaya *was not then in existence*, for Fa hian has elsewhere no concealments respecting the temples of the heretics. Fa hian found the city of Gaya deserted: and Hiuan thsang says he found only about a thousand families of *Brahmans who were descended from the saints* [Buddhist][2]. Here again we find Brahmans preserving their name, although of Buddhist origin; whereas had the name *then* indicated a religious distinction, they must necessarily have lost caste and ceased to be Brahmans; nor could they become Brahmans again, their ancestors having once been Buddhists. A remarkable inscription, in Pali character and Burmese language, has recently been discovered here [1833], and published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, and Klaproth also gives it[3]; recording that the Buddhist temple originally built, B.C. 325, by King Asoko, who is called Ruler of the World, and which had three times fallen into decay and been restored, was for the fourth time rebuilt in the year A.D. 1305; and in 1306 it was consecrated, and *the famous tree called kalpa vriksha was worshipped*. Many other inscriptions have since been discovered attesting Fa hian's and Hiuan thsang's accuracy. According to Fa hian, for many miles around Gaya, there are numerous spots sanctified by some event in Sakya's life. At one place he saw the very tree under which Buddha had sat eating rice that was given to him by two girls sent by *Indra* when he was almost exhausted, and under which tree he had sat for six years enduring sufferings, and lest Fa hian should be disbelieved in his own country he very earnestly says, that in Central India, the climate is so temperate, that some trees may not only live 1000 years, but 10,000 years. Fa hian, no doubt, speaks of the Bur or Wur, Ficus Indica, or Bengalensis, which lets down roots from its branches; and may be said never to die; for it goes on renewing itself, and there is no

[1] गया. Properly Buddha Gaya. [2] Page 277. [3] Page 278.

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physical impediment to the tree under which Buddha sat, and which was seen by Fa hian, being seen at the present moment! The Wur is not found I believe in China. This mention of the commencement of Buddha's sufferings gives rise to a note by M. Klaproth, giving an explanation in Buddha's own words of the cause of his being subject to these sufferings. Buddha commences by saying, "There was formerly in the territory of Benares the son of a Brahman, named Ho man, and the son of a potter named Hou hi; these children were young, and entertained a great affection for each other[1]." It is not necessary to pursue the story; but the passages contain conclusive evidence that the Brahmans could not at that time have had the sacred and exclusive character which they now pretend to, otherwise such an intimacy as Buddha describes between a Brahman's son and a Potter's son could not have existed. If such words were never spoken by Buddha, the passage at least shows the view the Indian or Chinese author of the narration entertained of the equality of Brahmans and Potters in the social system.

In this chapter [31st], Fa hian again notices the passed Buddhas, and points out a spot where they accomplished the law, Sakya amongst the rest, and where those who are to follow will do the same thing,—he points out also the place were Sakya was tempted, St. Anthony like, by the Devil, his imps, and *three young ladies:* and the spot where Brahma came to offer him a golden *wheel with one thousand spokes*, an emblem of universal spiritual dominion, but which he would not accept from Brahma. But in this chapter Fa hian runs riot in his legends; nevertheless their localities had all been commemorated by towers and images of Buddha, all of which existed in his time, and this accounts for the numerous images of Buddha which have been discovered around Gaya.

Fa hian says, at the spot where Buddha accomplished the law there were three monasteries, with establishments for the ecclesiastics, who were very numerous; and they all lived in abundance, for the people supplied them with everything they wanted. He speaks of the grave manners and set demeanour of the ecclesiastics, and says, the precepts of Buddhism were rigidly practised. The chapter concludes by Fa hian stating that the four grand towers or topes, raised to commemorate the four chief events in Buddha's life; namely, his birth, his accomplishment of the law, his turning the wheel of the law, and his death; had been preserved *uninterrupted*, from the time of their erection until Fa hian's time; that is to say, from 700 to 900 years. Of course, one of these grand towers or topes was at Buddha Gaya. The tower is gone; but the numerous rock-caves, and the

[1] Page 270. *Chin i tian*, Book 77, page 28, et seq.

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numerous inscriptions in Old Pali, deciphered by Mr. James Prinsep, remove all doubt about the sanctity of this Buddhist locality.

We have here Fa hian again bearing testimony, that Buddhism had not experienced any hostility from its foundation to the time he wrote; that is to say, certainly for the preceding 900 years, according to Mr. Turnour's era of Buddha, but for 1079 years, according to Fa hian's own assertion when he gets to Ceylon.

The thirty-second chapter opens with a story about As-o-ko, which ends in his constructing a *hell* to punish criminals in [Hiuan thsang says it was at Ougein]; and this gives rise to a valuable note[1] of M. Bournouf's, in which he explains the Buddhist system of hells, of which there were no less than sixteen great hells and sixteen smaller hells.

A belief in a future state of rewards and punishments is plainly incompatible with atheism, with which the Buddhists, or a section of them, are charged.

This story about As-o-ko terminates in his repenting of having constructed a hell. A Buddhist priest preaches to him; he repents him of his sins; obtains faith; and from that time forward honours and believes in the three jewels, Buddha, the law, and the clergy. What his faith was before this time is not said. Whether he was a Doctor of Reason, or to which of the eleven heresies [Buddhist and Hindu] he inclined, is nowhere stated; but his father before him was a supporter of Brahmans.

In the thirty-third chapter, Fa hian says that he went to visit the mountain of the foot of the cock, in the heart of which Buddha's predecessor, Kassapo[2] Buddha, was supposed to have entombed himself. Fa hian says, the *doctors of reason* [Tao sse] of the Buddhist mystic cross 卐 *came annually from all kingdoms and all countries* to adore Kassapo. This statement would seem to remove all doubt with respect to the faith of the doctors of reason. They must have been Buddhists; differing, however, in some points of faith, from the followers of Sakya, who possibly appeared as a reformer of the previously existing Buddhism.

Fa hian not having yet visited the sacred city of Benares, the scene of the preachings and labours of all the Buddhas, and particularly of the initiatory labours of Sakya, retraced his steps to it from Patna. On his way he visited the temple of the "vast solitude," called, in Pali, Issi pattene [so says M. Klaproth[3],] and in the *Mahawanso* it is called Isi pattana, in the neighbourhood of Benares [Báránasi in Pali]. It was one of Sakya's stations, and Fa hian found ecclesiastics still there. The *fraternity* of this temple, however, in 157 B.C., contributed 12,000 Buddhist priests under the Mahathero

[1] Page 296. [2] Page 362. [3] Page 306.

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Dhammaseno, to take part in laying the foundations of the great temple or chaitya, at Anuradhapura in Ceylon[1]. So far however, from the temple's being in a vast solitude, which the Chinese name implies, it was situated in an agreeable canton. Hence Fa hian went to Benares. He describes the temple in the deer-park about three or four miles from Benares, which commemorates an event in Buddha's life. The Chinese, in one of their etymologies, derive the name Pho lo nai [Báránasi in Pali or Benares] from the Buddhist term "deer-park," *as if this were the proper name of the city*, which would leave no doubt of the Buddhist origin of this *now* holy Hindu locality. Fa hian mentions also several towers in the neighbourhood, attached to which were two monasteries.

Fa hian says little about the religious state of Benares when he was there; probably, because he had previously said, that every king and kingdom eastward and southward of the Jumna was Buddhist; or probably, because he did not find anything in the state of Buddhism to call for remark. Had Buddhism been in a declining state he would have said so, and had heresy been making progress, he no doubt would have mentioned it, as was his custom elsewhere; but he does not say a syllable about an heretical temple. That Buddhism in Fa hian's time, at Benares, was not in a state to call for remark, it is fair to infer from Hiuan thsang's account of the city 200 years afterwards, in which 200 years, Buddhism was fast falling into decay. Nevertheless, when Hiuan thsang visited Benares in A.D. 630—40, he found there thirty Buddhist monasteries, and 3000 Buddhist priests and disciples; independently of 1500 priests and disciples attached to the temple in the deer-park: this temple was more than 200 feet high, and its summit was crowned with a gilded arrow, it was surrounded by about 100 chapels, each with its gilded arrow; there were in them numerous divine images gilded; and statues of Buddha and the Tathagatas in stone; *all in the attitude of turning the wheel!* He says, that the majority of the inhabitants of Benares [which contained 10,000 houses,] were heretics; that they had about 100 temples, in which were about 10,000 persons who worshipped the great god "self-existent" [Iswara]; the worshippers either cut their hair, or tied it in a knot on the top of the head, and they went naked and covered themselves with cinders[2], the elders living in constant austerities. If, therefore, Benares had thirty monasteries and 4500 Buddhist priests and disciples, in the *decline of Buddhism*, it may be well supposed they were abundantly rife 200 years before, in Fa hian's time.

There can be little doubt but Siva is intended by "self-existent;"

[1] *Mahawanso*, chap. 29, p. 171.

[2] Page 307.

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but there is no allusion whatever by Hiuan thsang to the Linga, which could not have failed to have struck him, had the worship of that emblem been general by the heretics. Although heretics were now so numerous in Benares, a Mongol work[1] considers that it was always the seat of Buddhism from all antiquity. Sakya's five celebrated converts, are, in this work, made to address him in the following words:—"Since thou art become the true Buddha of the world, deign to honour Benares with thy presence; for at that place has been the throne of the 1000 Buddhas of the past period." Sakya acceded to their wishes, and chose for his seat that of the three Buddhas of the present age, Kakusando, Konagammo, and Kassapo[2].

Fa hian concludes the chapter by observing, that at 59 or 60 miles to the N.W. of the deer-park was the kingdom of Kausambi[3]. He did not visit it; but learnt that there were several towers in it; and Hiuan thsang says there were about ten monasteries, in a state of dilapidation, and with not more than 300 priests[4].

Fa hian's next chapter opens with some remarkable information. He says, "About 800 miles distant from hence [Buddha Gaya], to the south, is the kingdom of the Dekhan, where there is a monastery of the passed Buddha Kassapo [Sakya's immediate predecessor]. It has been excavated in the rock of a great mountain, and has five stages or stories. The lower one is in the form of an elephant, and contains 500 stone chambers: the next is in the form of a lion, and contains 400 chambers: the third has the form of a horse, and contains 300 chambers: the fourth has the form of a bull, and contains 200 chambers: and the fifth has the form of a pigeon, and contains 100 chambers. At the upper part there is a spring, which follows the course of the rock; and, in falling, it enters the chambers, and issues by the door. In all the chambers there are windows pierced in the rock to admit the light. At the four angles of the edifice the rock had been cut into steps; but at present little ladders are used to mount to the spot where formerly some one had left the print of his foot in the rock.

"The monastery was called Pho lo yeŭ; which, in the Indian language, means pigeon[5], from some Arhans flying into the monastery; Fa hian says the monastery was inhabited permanently by Arhans, although the mountain was desert, and was some distance from vil-

[1] The history of the Origin of the Four Truths of the whole Law.

[2] Page 312.

[3] This is mentioned in the *Mahawanso*. There was a great chaitya in the capital, which Hiuan thsang also describes.

[4] Page 313.

[5] M. Klaproth suggests, from the Mahratti पारवत, the blue pigeon.

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lages. The inhabitants were unacquainted with the law of Buddha[1]. Fa hian concludes by saying, that the roads in the Dekhan were dangerous, and painful, and difficult to distinguish. Those who wished to travel paid a certain sum to the king of the country, who sent guides with them. Fa hian ingenuously says, he was not able to visit the monastery of the pigeon himself; and his account is derived from the people of the country."

Those who have read my Description of the Caves of Ellora, may be induced to recognise in these stupendous and magnificent works the originals of Fa hian's monastery and 1500 chambers.

Considering the constant bias of human nature to enhance the value of that in which a personal interest is mixed up, I am surprised the travellers from the Dekhan did not lead Fa hian a little more astray than they appear to have done. My description of temples supported by elephants and lions, of a temple of *three stories* [Teen lokh], of windows pierced in the rock, of multitudinous chambers, of the course of rivulets down the mountain and over and into the caves, of the uninhabited locality, and, finally, even the name may be supposed to have originated in the flocks of blue pigeons which no doubt *then*, as *now*, inhabited the perforations in the mountain: my description, I repeat, offers so many matters of approximation to the general points of the inflated and distorted accounts given to Fa hian by the people from the Dekhan, that it may fairly be permitted to us to consider that Fa hian is describing Ellora. The excavations in Salsette would afford the next approximation, and after these the wondrous labours at Junir (Jooneer), and the Ajanta Ghát. Fa hian's silence with respect to the Linga caves at Ellora, which he would have designated as those of the heretics, offers to my mind satisfactory proof that in his day they were not in existence. Apparently for the preceding 1000 years there had not been Hindu dynasties or a Hindu population sufficiently wealthy, powerful, or numerous, to have produced them.

Fa hian's silence also assists to confirm the opinion of that acute and learned orientalist, Mr. Erskine, who, in speaking of the Linga cave [that is to say, dedicated to Siva as the regenerator] at Elephanta, which is precisely similar in its design and character to the Linga caves at Ellora, [with the exception of the three-faced bust of Siva, which is only met with in small caves at Ellora,] said it [the

[1] Page 315. Fa hian probably alludes to the Goands and Bheels, who, no doubt, were as orthodox Buddhists in his time as they are orthodox Hindus or Brahmanists in present times. In fact, the religion of these singular races of men has always been of a peculiar character.

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Elephanta cave] might be about 800 years old. Professor Wilson is equally indebted to Fa hian with Mr. Erskine; for th ugh he supposes that the Linga temples at Ellora were excavated *after* those of the Buddhists, about the eighth century, *yet he inclines to a tradition*[1] *that the Buddhists did not appear in the peninsula of India before the third century after Christ,* and their excavations *therefore* could not have been made before the FIFTH or SIXTH CENTURY. Fa hian removes all these doubts, even though the multiplied inscriptions and coins now made available, had not converted doubt into certainty[2]!

From Buddha Gaya it would appear that Fa hian returned to Sravasti, and took up his abode in the great temple or monastery of Tchha houan, or Jeta[3], where he remained for three years, studying the language called Fan[4], and making a collection of sacred books, as he could not procure them in the north of India, the Buddhist doctrines being promulgated verbally. He then gives the details of the books he had collected; which gives rise, in the first place, to a note of M. Landresse, in which he quotes Mr. Upham, from the Singalese annals, stating that three weeks after the death of Buddha [Sakya], 500 Arhans, headed by Ananda, assembled, and in seven months reduced Sakya's doctrines to writing; and, in the next place, he quotes Mr. Hodgson, of Nepal, who says, according to the Buddhists of Nepal, the body of the law is made up of the Sutra and the Dharma, and that Sakya himself was the first to collect and

[1] Descriptive catalogue of the Mackenzie manuscripts, by H. H. Wilson. Calcutta, 1828. *Page* 69.

[2] The remains of Buddhism in the Dekhan are even more magnificent and extensive than in its native seats on the Ganges. The cave-excavations are well known as wonderful monuments of art; but additional proofs of its prevalence are met with in the remains of the great Buddhist temples at Bhilsa and Oomrawati, and the Buddhist coins from Ougein. That this celebrated city teemed with Buddhists is attested by the Bhilsa inscriptions; but we have a new proof of the fact from the Ceylon annals, which state that B.C. 157 the Buddhist high priest Dhammarahkito took with him 40,000 disciples from the Dakkhinágiri temple at Ougein to Ceylon, to assist in laying the foundation-stone of the great temple at Anuradhapura. This was before Vikramaditya reigned in Ougein. *Mahawanso*, chap. 29, page 171.

[3] जेतवन in Sanskrit: the temple of the victor. Jeto wiharo, in Pali.

[4] As we find, without exception, from every *Buddhist* inscription yet deciphered, that the language was Pali, there can be little doubt the term Fan applies to that tongue. Buddhism must, indeed, have been in a flourishing state, in 157 B.C., at Sravasti [Sawatthipura, in Pali], when the Mahathero Piyadassi took with him, from the monastery of Jeto and the neighbourhood, no less than 60,000 Buddhist priests, at the invitation of King Dutthagamini of Ceylon, *to take part* in laying the foundation-stone of the great chaitya, or temple, at Anuradhapura, in Ceylon. *Mahawanso*, chap. 29, page 171

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put into writing the doctrine LEFT BY HIS PREDECESSORS, to which he added his own[1].

On quitting Sravasti, Fa hian's companion, Tao tchhing, captivated by the grave, decent, orthodox, and admirable conduct of the ecclesiastics, compared with those of his own country [the frontiers of China], resolved not to return home, but spend his life amongst them. Fa hian, whose first wish was to benefit his countrymen, by enabling them to participate in his knowledge, returned therefore alone[2].

Fa hian now descends the Ganges, and apparently in a boat, for he says, "Following the course of the Ganges to the east for seventy-two miles, there is on the right bank the kingdom of Tchew pho[3], [the ancient Tchampa, now Bhagalpur]. The Buddhist chapels on our route *appeared* inhabited by ecclesiastics;" and he passed four towers.

When Hiuan thsang visited Tchampa or Tchampapura, on the bank of the Ganges, he found it to be a city about thirteen miles in circumference. There were about ten monasteries, but they were in a bad state, not counting more than 200 ecclesiastics. The heterodox had about *twenty temples*.

Klaproth says the name of Tchampa is preserved in the name of the town of Champanagar, close to Boglipur.

Fa hian hence passes to the eastward [no doubt descending the Ganges] for about 200 miles, and comes to the kingdom of Tomoliti[4], at the mouth of the Ganges, on the sea, now preserved in the modern Tamlouk, on the right bank of the Ganges. There were twenty-four monasteries in the kingdom, all peopled with ecclesiastics, and Buddhism was in a flourishing state. Hiuan thsang found eight or ten monasteries, inhabited, however, by about 1000 ecclesiastics. The heretics had about *fifty* temples; but there is no mention of enmity or persecution. He describes Tamlouk as having a circuit of more than three miles; and it carried on a great trade, both by sea and land. By the side of the town there was one of King As-o-ko's towers, built in honour of the throne of the *Four passed Buddhas*, of which the traces remained.

[1] *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 16, page 241.

[2] Page 349.

[3] चम्पा, or चम्पापुर, according to the *Puranas*, the ancient capital of Karna, the elder brother of the Pandu princes. It was annexed to Magadha by Bimbisáro: p. 329.

[4] ताम्रलिप्ती, Támralipti in Sanskrit, Támalitti in Pali, is mentioned in the *Mahabharata* and the *Vayu* and *Márkandeya Puranas*.—WILSON.

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M. Barnouf, quoting from the *Mahawanso* of the Cingalese, says that Fa hian had rendered into Chinese the Pali name of Tamalitti, and not the Sanskrit; and it would probably be found that all the Chinese travellers had done the same thing with the Indian names handled by them. In this case, at least, the city was called by the Indians by a *Pali name*, and *not* by the *Sanskrit name* met with in the Puranas.

Fa hian remained at Tamlouk two years, copying the Sacred books, and *painting* the images. Large vessels sailing to the S.W., Fa hian embarked at the commencement of winter, and in fourteen days and nights he arrived, A.D. 412, at the Kingdom of Lions, Ceylon[1]. He describes the size of the island; speaks of its pearls, the product of the sea on the coast, not only then, but from Alexander's time to the present; and one district in the island produced precious stones, just as is the case now. Hiuan thsang also visited Ceylon, and says the chief town had a circuit of nearly thirteen miles!

Fa hian unfortunately did not visit Orissa, where was one of the eight great Buddhist chaityas, and which province has recently furnished such matters of interest in its Buddhist inscriptions and remains.

I come now to Fa hian's last chapter but one. He speaks of Ceylon as originally inhabited by demons, genii, and dragons, who had, nevertheless, a taste for commerce, and in time became civilized. He says that the climate is so temperate, that the difference between winter and summer is not discernible, and that the verdure remains all the year round. We see from these simple terms how much his descriptions are to be relied upon, when he speaks from his own observation. He mentions the impression of one foot of Buddha's on Adam's peak, and that of the other to the north of the tower of the royal residence, the impressions being sixty miles apart. Over the impression to the north of the town, a tower, or tope, or chaitya, or temple, had been built, the height of which was 472 English feet [higher than St. Paul's], which was ornamented with gold and silver, and with everything the most precious[2].

The legend respecting the impression of Buddha's foot says it was at the request of Raja Samba Deva, who, addressing Buddha, said, "*Many Buddhas have left their relics here;* deign to add a jewel,

[1] सिंहल, Sinhala; that of lions.

[2] This is the great temple built 157 B.C., in laying the foundation of which several hundred thousand Buddhist priests assisted from all parts of India. *Mahawanso*, chap. 29, page 171.

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and leave the impression of thy foot, which shall be a blessing to the island[1]."

There was attached to this prodigious tower, or temple, a prodigious monastery, called the "Mountain of Security," which was built by Walakarabhaya, or Deveny Paetissa, in the 456th year after Buddha, or 87 years B.C., in which were 5000 ecclesiastics. There was also a hall of Buddha, adorned with chasings of gold and silver. Amongst other precious things there was an image of Buddha of blue Jasper, twenty-three feet six inches English high; the whole body was set with precious stones, and sparkled with inexpressible splendour and majesty. The right hand held a pearl of inestimable price. Fa hian then records the touching anecdote regarding "Home, sweet home," which I noticed at the commencement of this paper. This circumstance occurred when he was worshipping in this chaitya or temple.

Fa hian mentions the introduction from Magadha into Ceylon for the first time of a branch of Sakya's tree, under which he had attained supreme wisdom; and which, from its letting down roots from the branches, must have been the *Ficus Indica, Bengalensis*, or *nitida*, and not the *Ficus religiosa* as M. Landresse supposes, which does not let down roots, nor the *Bauhinia scandens* as M. Klaproth supposes. [Fa hian, p. 215.]

In the city there was an edifice ornamented with everything precious for the sacred relic, the tooth of Buddha, which had been bought or obtained from the king of Kalinga [Orissa,] A.D. 275, by King Mahasana or Mahasen of Ceylon, who died however before its arrival in Ceylon. This celebrated relic, after falling into the power of the Malabars and the Portuguese, is now safely lodged under the lock and key of the English ! !

Fa hian states the king of Ceylon was pure in his conduct, and abstained from the practice of Brahmanical rites; and the inhabitants were firm in their faith and veneration. From the foundation of the kingdom there had never been famine, death, calamities, or troubles. Fa hian is not quite correct with respect to "troubles," for in the preceding 900 years there had been three foreign usurpations, one in 237 B.C., another in 205 B.C., and the third from 103 B.C. to 90 B.C., and several of the kings had been put to death or murdered. *Mahawanso, Appendix* LXI; but Fa hian may mean religious and not political troubles. When he was in Ceylon A.D. 412-413 Maha Nama reigned.

The city was inhabited by numerous magistrates, nobles, and

[1] Page 341.

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merchants, engaged in foreign commerce. The houses were handsome and the edifices well ornamented. The streets and roads were broad and straight; and at all the crossings were built *lecture-rooms*, or rather halls to preach in. The 8th, 14th and 15th of the moon, were dedicated to high service or preachings, and a great quantity of the *four castes* assembled to hear the law. In fact, the French text may be translated, a crowd of the population of the four castes assembled to hear the law. Fa hian subsequently describes the four castes being present at the funeral pile of an Arhan, and making the offerings. [p. 351.] We have here another proof of the truth of Fa hian; the 8th, 14th and 15th, do not accord with modern Buddhist usages; nevertheless, they were commanded to be observed more than 700 years before Fa hian's time, in the edicts of As-o-ko, on the pillars of Delhi, Allahabad, Mattra, and Radhia!! [*J. A. S. B.* vol. vi., p. 594.] The four castes, of course, included the Brahmans, and we have in this simple expression an additional ground for supposing that the distinction of castes was civil and not religious. Under an eminently Buddhist government and an eminently Buddhist people, and where M. Landresse says Brahmanism had *not yet* exercised any injurious influence, we find the *four castes* going to church, as it were, *periodically three times a month*, which they scarcely would have done had they been sectaries and heretics. From the reports of the people Fa hian understood that there were 50,000 or 60,000 ecclesiastics in Ceylon. In the city the king fed 5000 or 6000 in common. They lived by begging, and took no more food than their cup or begging-pot would hold[1].

I come now to a very important passage in Fa hian, affecting, as it does, the modern common belief in the era of Buddha [Sakya]. He says, "The tooth of Buddha is universally exposed to the public in the middle of the third moon. Ten days beforehand, the king having selected with care a large elephant, places on it a preacher habited in royal apparel, who goes round, and by beat of drum proclaims in detail all the events in the life of Sakya Buddha, including his sufferings [which it is not necessary for me to repeat];" and concludes with saying, "All living beings being thus saved [or having secured salvation], he [Buddha] entered into extinction [died], and since his death there have passed 1497 years! When the lights of the age ceased to burn, all mankind were oppressed with grief." The Cingalese sacred books, the *Mahawanso*, and the Buddhists of Ceylon of the present time, state that Buddha died 543 years B.C.; and yet the Buddhists in Fa hian's time, and in his hear-

[1] Buddhist priests are bound to obtain their daily food by begging.

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ing, annually and formally proclaimed, by beat of drum, that Buddha died 542 years before this date, or in 1085 B.C. The discrepancy cannot readily be reconciled; but it will be borne in mind, that the Chinese, Japanese, Burmans, Siamese, and some other Buddhist nations, in their practice adopt an era closely approximating to that mentioned by Fa hian. The *Mahawanso* of Ceylon, however, is decidedly opposed to it. But I have previously shown that Professor Wilson, in the *Oriental Magazine* for 1825, quotes eleven authorities, every one of which makes the era of Buddha more than 1000 years B.C.: the earliest makes it 1336 B.C., and the latest of the eleven 1027 B.C.: four other dates, quoted chiefly for Buddha's death, are 959, 991, 960, and 835, all B.C. The simplest solution of the discrepancy exists in the belief that the dates have reference to the eras of distinct Buddhas.

Fa hian continues his description of the celebration of the festival of the tooth-relic, stating that it was carried in procession to the Monastery of Security, and that every possible honour was done to it in every possible way [he gives the details]; that the ceremonies lasted ninety days, and it was then brought back again to the city.

A mile and a quarter to the west of the Monastery of Security there was a mountain with a chapel on it, and nearly 2000 ecclesiastics lived about it; amongst the number, a Buddhist priest, of great virtue, who was held in the highest veneration by the people. He had lived for forty years in a stone house [excavation in the rock, no doubt]; and he had contrived to domesticate rats and snakes in his abode, so that they did not injure each other. We have here a prototype for the modern Hindu ascetics, who excite the awe and veneration of the vulgar by precisely similar means.

Hiuan thsang, when he visited Ceylon, found Buddhism still in a flourishing state, and he confirms most of Fa hian's accounts.

Fa hian mentions the king's having endowed a chapel, and recording his grant of lands and houses *upon iron*, concluding with the usual phraseology and terms met with on the copper plates dug up in Gujarat, Malwa, and elsewhere.

Fa hian, after spending a couple of years in Ceylon, and having obtained several books in the *Fan*[1] *language*, which were not to be

[1] Evidently Pali; for, from the origin of Buddhism, even to the present day, the sacred Buddhist works in Ceylon are in that language, with the exception of the occasional use of Singalese; and the *Brahman* convert Buddhogoso, shortly after Fa hian's visit to Ceylon, translated a part of the Buddhist scriptures then in Singalese, into *Pali*. Had Sanskrit been commonly in use, the translation by a *Brahman* would surely have been into that language, and not into *Pali*.

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met with in China; embarked them and his images, and all his property, in a merchant-vessel, which was capable of accommodating 00 men. Behind this was attached a little vessel [a long-boat, ore ..oly], in case of dangers. The wind being fair, they sailed to the east for two days, but were overtaken by a tempest. The vessel leaked, and some in their fear got on board the small vessel, and the cable was cut, and she was detached. Fa hian and others laboured to keep down the leak; heavy matters were thrown overboard; and Fa hian was in great trepidation for his books and his images. He prayed heartily that the ecclesiastics might get safely back to China, trusting that the gods would protect those who had made so long a journey, with the pious object of obtaining the law! The tempest lasted thirteen days and thirteen nights, at the end of which time they found themselves at an island, where having stopped the leak, they put to sea again. The sea abounded with pirates; and it was vast, and without shores; and they directed their course *only by the sun, the moon, and the stars*; and when the weather was cloudy, *it was necessary to follow the wind without any guide.* The merchants, in consequence, were in consternation with respect to the course; but when the weather cleared up they made *easting* again.

We find from this remarkable notice, that the mariners' compass was unknown to the Chinese, or Indians, in the fifth century, although, according to Palladius [ΤΟΥ ΠΑΛΛΑΔΙΟΥ *περὶ τῶν τῆς Ἰνδίας ἐθνῶν, καὶ τῶν Βραγμάνων*], the loadstone [*μαγνῆτις*] was well known to the inhabitants of Ceylon [*Ταπροβάνη*].

The terrors and troubles of the voyage are very graphically told by Fa hian. At the end of ninety days they arrived at a kingdom called Ye pho tè [Yevadwipa, or Java], where the *heretics and the Brahmans* were in great numbers, but where the law of Buddha was not practised. M. Landresse, nevertheless, quotes authorities noticing the introduction of Buddhism into Java between 24 and 57 A.D.[1] Here, again, we find the Brahmans distinct as a class, and separated from the *heretics!* The terms are, "the heretics and the Brahmans."

Fa hian is the first author who mentions Java in the Chinese annals; but, A.D. 436, an embassy was sent from Java to the Emperor of China. It is not singular that at this early period Brahmans should have made their way so far to the eastward, when it is considered that at this time of their history they were actively engaged in trade and commerce, there being many on board the ship in which Fa hian was a passenger, who were taking goods to China for sale.

[1] Page 365.

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Fa hian remained in Java five months, and, embarking with merchants in another vessel also of 200 souls, with fifty days' provisions, sailed to the N.E., toward Canton. At the end of thirty days they were overtaken by a frightful storm. Fa hian, with all the Chinese ecclesiastics [on board], prayed with all his soul to Kouan che[1] for succour. On the return of fine weather, the *Brahmans* counselled amongst themselves, saying, "The presence of this Buddhist priest, this mendicant, on board *our vessel*, has brought upon us all these evils; let us put him on shore on the first island. We must not, for a single man, expose ourselves to such dangers." But his protector on board said, "if they dared do so, he would denounce them to the Emperor of China." The *merchants*, in a state of doubt, did not venture, in consequence, to put him on shore. The *Brahmans*, therefore, were here the *merchants*. It might, indeed, otherwise have been well asked, without the assertion that they were traders, what object could have carried Brahmans to China in a vessel of *their own*? And even had Fa hian not answered it, by positively designating them as merchants, the plain inference would have been, that it was not as religious characters they were making the voyage in a ship of their own[2].

At last, A.D. 414, Fa hian touched the land of his fathers at Thsing tcheou; and the governor of Tschang Koung, who was a Buddhist[3], learning there were Buddhist *priests*[4], images, and sacred books on board, descended the river in a boat to the sea, and, having received them, he returned to the city. The merchants—of course including the *Brahmans*—departed for Yang tcheou [Nankin]. Those of Thsing tcheou invited Fa hian to pass a winter and a summer with them; at the end of which time, ardently desiring to get to his native place, he quitted them, but stopped in Nan king to publish his sacred books.

It is hence seen that some of the merchants on board with Fa hian must have been Chinese Buddhists, as they invited him to live with them apparently at their own homes. The Brahmans, it may be supposed, went to the grand emporium of commerce, Nankin, to dispose of their goods.

Fa hian winds up his narrative with a few simple and phrases. He says he spent six years before he reached Ma

[1] Avaloketeswara, one of the ancient Buddhas.

[2] Page 361.

[3] Buddhism, therefore, had penetrated at this period to the south of China.

[4] Fa hian, therefore, had companions; although he speaks of the Brahmans conspiring to get rid of him only.

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[Bahar] from China. He spent six years there, and three years more elapsed before he reached China again. In that time he traversed at least thirty kingdoms. He speaks in the strongest terms of the propriety of conduct,—the gravity of demeanour, and the piety of the Buddhist ecclesiastics of India. He says, "*I cast not back my eyes upon the past; I have been exposed to perils, and have escaped from them; I have traversed the sea, and have not succumbed under the severest fatigues; and I have had the happiness to receive these great and noble favours; and my heart is moved with emotions of gratitude that I have been permitted to achieve the great objects I had in view.*"

I cannot part with Fa hian without noticing some broad facts which he has established. The country between China and Ceylon was divided into numerous small kingdoms. Buddhism prevailed throughout, with a sprinkling of heresy. The art of making *coloured* glass *was known*, and gunpowder and the mariners' compass were unknown; and an extensive commerce by *sea* existed between India and China. Sculpture had attained a high degree of perfection [of which proofs exist in the Buddhist caves], as well as the art of working in gold and silver, of which we have also proofs in the contents of the topes which have been opened. Animal life was held sacred; and in some kingdoms criminals were not punished with death, but by banishment or fine.

From the notes of Messrs. Remusat, Klaproth, Landresse, and Burnouf, I have repeatedly quoted from the travels of Soung young in the sixth century, and those of Hiuan thsang in the seventh century. Unfortunately, *complete* translations of the works of these travellers have not yet been made; but M. Landresse attaches to Fa hian's travels a table of contents of the chapters of Hiuan thsang's work, which, as it gives glimpses of the state of India in the early part of the seventh century, 200 years after Fa hian's visit, I deem it right to quote from the analysis. Hiuan thsang not only visited all the countries noticed by Fa hian as far as Ceylon, but extended his travels into almost every part of Hindustan, including Malabar, Gujarat, Katywar, Cutch, and Scinde. His narrative has the drawback of being inflated and prolix. He is puerilely superstitious, and teems with absurd legends, and is altogether destitute of that simplicity and good faith which characterize Fa hian.

Hiuan thsang entered Affghanistan by Bamian, and passed to Cabul, traversed the kingdom of Gandhara, and, having crossed the Indus into the Panjab, he makes the *first* mention of a temple to the wife of Iswara. Whether Davai or Parvati is here meant is questionable. The Chinese speak of a Maha Iswara [Siva?], as con-

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tradistinguished from Iswara; the female mentioned, therefore, is probably not Davai. Indeed, in none of the Chinese travellers is there clear testimony of the worship of Siva or Vishnu at all. The locality appears not far from that assigned to Hindus and Brahmans by Alexander's historians and Fa hian; and Professor Wilson considers a small district of the Panjab the nursery of the Brahmans, if not their birth-place and cradle.

Hiuan thsang makes an excursion into Udyana, and mentions the chains of mountains, the difficulties of the journey, the passing rivers by flying bridges, &c. A print of Buddha's foot attracts his attention; numerous localities sacred to Buddha are pointed out, monasteries named, and legends detailed. He returns to Gandhara, and crosses the Indus where it was one mile and a quarter broad; travels 280 miles to the S.E., across the mountains, which would take him through Multan, towards Bikaner. The country touched the Indus on the *west*, and was dependent on Kashmir. Many stoupâs, or topes, are pointed out, all said to have been built by As-o-ko. He returns to Ten tcha chilo, and repasses the Indus, and found that in Ou la chi, a dependency of Kashmir, the people did not follow the law of Buddha. He then visits Kashmir, 330 miles to the S.E. from Ou la chi; and says the kingdom was founded fifty years after the death of Buddha, by his disciple Ananda[1]. At the capital there were four topes, all built by As-o-ko, who was king of Magadha 100 years after Buddha. Kia hi sse kea was king of Gandhara 400 years after; and Sse ma tsia lo was king of Tou ho lo 600 years after Buddha. These names may possibly be identified on the coins brought to light in Affghanistan and the Panjab. From Kashmir he passes, after 180 miles to the S.W., into the Panjab, a *dependency* of Kashmir; and, at 130 miles further to the S.E., into Ko lo tche pou lo, a dependency of *Kashmir*. He has here the remarkable expressions, that the whole of the countries from Lan pho to Ko lo tche pou lo are *wild*, the inhabitants *brutal*, and the languages *barbarous*. No mention is made of Brahmanism, or heretics, or temples, in the Panjab; part would appear, therefore, to have been still Buddhist, from the topes yet existing, and part inhabited by the above-mentioned barbarians. Whether he applies his severe observations to the Bhattés, and to Bikaner, and Jesalmer, the probable nidus of the Rajputs, is a question. Hence, 231 miles to the S.E., is Thse kia, which was to the east of the Indus; and the capital was Tche ko lo, where formerly reigned Ma yi lo kea lo.

[1] Ananda's name is not to be found in the Raja Tarangini which was compiled several centuries *after* Hiuan thsang's visit to Kashmir.

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Topes of As-o-ko[1] were there. About 170 miles to the east was Tchi ha pou ti, apparently somewhere up the Sutledge, and near the Himalayas, built by the *Chinese*. Peaches and pears were *first* introduced here *by the Chinese*.

After very long wanderings, and getting to the snowy mountains apparently up the Sutledge, and naming countries which he may not have visited, he turns south apparently from Surmour, and passing great mountains and a great river [Jumna?], he reaches Mutra; there were still three topes built by As-o-ko. 170 miles N.E. of Mutra is Sa tha ne che, called the "Land of Happiness," the capital of which had a circuit of nearly seventy miles!! Hiuan thsang must mean Delhi. One of As-o-ko's topes was here, and thirty miles south a great monastery. 130 miles to the N.E.[2] was Sou lou kin na, with the Ganges on the east, and the Jumna running through the country. The capital was on the Jumna, and here was a tope of As-o-ko's. Passing the river, to the east, is the kingdom of Mo ti pou lo, the *king of which was a Sudra*. There were several topes and monasteries at the capital. N.W. of this country, on the east bank of the Ganges, is the town of Mo iu lo [which produces rock-crystal]. At that place there is a *Brahmanical temple*, with a reservoir on the Ganges, which the Hindus call the "Door of the Ganges," no doubt meaning Hurdwar. 100 miles to the north, in the mountains, about the sources of the Jumna and Ganges apparently, is a kingdom *governed by a female*, and it is called the *Kingdom of the Women of the East*[3]. He returns to Central India, and, passing the Ganges in the kingdom of Pi lo san nou, finds the ruins of a tope built by As-o-ko. Seventy miles to the S.E. he comes to the grand tope built over Buddha's ladder, described by Fa hian. Seventy miles to the N.W. he reaches Kanouj, the king of which was *a Vaisya, or of the Merchant tribe*. There was a tope built by As-o-ko here. About thirty-three miles distant was the town of Na po thi po kiu lo, on the Ganges, *where was a Brahmanical temple*[4]. It is seen from this distinction that there were not any Brahmanical temples in Kanouj in the early part of the seventh century! From

[1] Called Dhammásoko, in Pali.

[2] Once for all, it is necessary to state that many of Hiuan thsang's bearings and distances are impossible; whether from ignorance, looseness of expression, or wilful misrepresentation, is uncertain; apparently, however, from the second cause, for there can be no doubt of his having visited most of the countries he describes.

[3] This probably refers to the Polyandry of these regions, which exists to this day.

[4] The mention of *individual* Brahmanical temples seems to indicate their *non-existence* in localities, cities, or cantons, where mention of them is omitted.

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Kanouj, passing the Ganges, in 200 miles he came to Oude[1]. Various topes and monasteries are mentioned at the capital, but no mention of Brahmans. After visiting two kingdoms or principalities in which he mistakes some other river for the Ganges, probably the Gogra, at 230 miles to S.E. from A ye mou kiei, where was a tope, he reaches the junction of Ganges and Jumna at Allahabad. The capital was at the junction, and a tope was in the neighbourhood. There is not the slightest mention of this *now holy place* of pilgrimage of the Hindus having even a solitary Brahmanical temple in Hiuan thsang's time!!

Hence passing a great forest, and travelling 170 miles to the S.W., he came to Kausambi. Here there were many topes or stupás, a statue of Buddha, the grotto of the venomous dragon [coluber nag], &c. &c. Hence to the N.E. was Sravasti, where was the great monastery of Jeto[2], so long the residence of Buddha himself. The birth-place of Sakya's predecessor, Kassapo, is noticed.

Hiuan thsang subsequently comes to Kusinagara, [in Pali, Kusinara] and then to Benares, which he found a great city on the Ganges. He notices the several topes, Buddha's deer-park, and the great monastery, and numerous other Buddhist remains, and very candidly speaks of the *heretical temples* and heretics; but does not make any mention of Brahmans.

Following the Ganges for 100 miles, he comes to Tchen tcheu, and seventy miles to the east a monastery, and then visits Vaisali, where were numerous topes, monasteries, &c.[3] To the N.E. of Vaisali were the remains of an ancient city of a Buddhist universal monarch [Chakravarti] called *Mahadeva*, so that these names were not necessarily Hindu.[4] He then visits Nepal, and returns to Magadha. The ruined city of Patiliputto[5] stood on the south bank of the Ganges, but the Patna of Hiuan thsang's time is not on the exact site of the modern Patna. He describes numerous topes, monasteries, and other Buddhist remains; and makes an excursion to Buddha Gaya, the birth-place of Kassapo, Sakya's predecessor. He is full of details; but there is no mention of a *Brahmanical temple*, or the celebrated Hindu *Tirtha, which exists at present*; and Fa hian was equally silent respecting it.

[1] From the distance he must mean the neighbourhood of Fyzabad and not Lucknow.

[2] Jeta, in Sanskrit.

[3] There is some confusion here; for Wesali [Sanskrit, Vaisali] is the Pali name of the modern Allahabad, which he had already visited.

[4] The *Sanskrit* terms Chakravarti and Mahadeva, *in Pali* are respectively Chakkawatti and Mahadewo.

[5] In Sanskrit, Pataliputrá.

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He subsequently mentions a very curious fact. He visits a *town on the Ganges*, amidst mountains and forests, called Yi lan nou po fa to, close to which was the mount called Yi lan nou, *which vomited forth so much smoke as to obscure the sun and the moon.* We have evidently ere an account of a volcano now extinct; and, as his next visit is to Bhagalipur, it must have been between Patna and the latter place; the hot springs and basaltic rocks at Monghyr would seem to point it out as the most probable locality, and the neighbourhood is worthy of examination.

He continues to descend the Ganges, mentioning the topes and monasteries. At length he says, to the east of the Ganges, at the limits of Eastern India, is the country of Kia ma leou pho [Assam?], with a circuit of 3300 miles; the people of the country not being converted, nor had they built monasteries. The king was a Brahman, his surname being Pho se ko lo fa ma, and his name Keou ma lo [young man].

Further east, amongst the mountains, there was not another kingdom; but Kia ma leou pho touched the barbarians of the S.W. In a couple of months, by the most difficult and dangerous roads, it was possible to reach the southern frontier of Chou[1].

It is found, from this statement, that Buddhism had not penetrated into Assam [or probably Ava] in the early part of the seventh century.

Hiuan Thsang now mentions the names of six kingdoms which he did not visit; and we at last come again upon recognisable ground at Tam-a-litti[2], (the modern Tamlouk,) at the month of the Ganges. He mentions its great commerce, and the tope noticed by Fa hian. Instead of embarking, as Fa hian did, he travels by land to the S.W., into Orissa, (Kalinga,) noticing in his way various topes and monasteries, and, amongst others, the monastery of Phou se pho ti li, on a mountain; possibly meaning the Buddhist excavations described by Lieut. Kittoe at Khandgeri[3]. Not far from this, on the sea-shore, was a town much frequented by those engaged in commerce. Before he reaches Kalinga, however, he passes through a small state, called Koung iu tho, of *ten* villages, *where a peculiar language was spoken, and Buddhism was not practised.* He then enters a desert tract, and passes through a thick forest, and reaches Kalinga. *Here there were few of the orthodox, and many heretics.* Nevertheless, no mention whatever is made, in his passage through

[1] Bhotan?

[2] In Sanskrit, Tamralipti.

[3] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. vi., page 1072, and vol. vii. page 683. Vide Inscriptions in Appendix.

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Orissa, of the temple of Jagannatha, now so celebrated and venerated; it therefore could not have existed in the fifth century. Indeed, Mr. Stirling proves, from the annals of Orissa, [*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 315,] that the temple of Jagannatha was not completed until A.D. 1198, about 560 years after Hiuan thsang's time. The temple to Siva, at Bhobanaser was completed A.D. 657, equally after Hiuan thsang's visit, and that at Kanarak, A.D. 1241. The tope built by As-o-ko was close to the city. Hence 600 miles to the N.W., amongst the mountains, was the kingdom of Kiao sa lo, the king of which was a Kshatrya. The people were black and savage. The Stupa, or tope, built by As-o-ko, was to the South of the town. Mention is made of a Deva Bodhisattwa having formerly arrived from Ceylon; and an *excavated mountain is noticed.* 300 miles to the south was Andra. The language was peculiar; but the alphabet was that of Central India [Magadhi]. The habits of the people uncivilized. Several topes of As-o-ko and others mentioned. 330 miles to the south is Ta na ko thse kia. The people black and savage. Three monasteries noticed. 330 miles further to the S.W. is Tche li ye. The people were savage, ferocious, and heretics; and there were *temples of the gods*, [gods of the heretics?] There was a tope, or Stupa, of As-o-ko, and a monastery. Hence a desert forest extended for more than 500 miles to the south, to the modern Konjevaram, [Conjeveram,] the birth-place of a great Buddhist saint. The language and letters differed a little from those of Magadha. At this period, therefore, it is seen there was no great departure from the Magadhi language and alphabet, although the difference is now considerable. Here was one of the great topes built by As-o-ko, *and it has disappeared to give place to the celebrated Hindu pagoda to Mahadeva as the Linga, proving the posteriority of Hinduism in these parts*; although, until this absence of notice, the origin of the pagoda was involved in the obscurity of supposititious antiquity.

One thousand miles [3000 li] to the south took him to Molo kiu tho, or Tchi mo lo, on the borders of the sea; but the distance ought to have taken him far into the ocean. Hiuan thsang's distances are evidently, in many instances, *on dits* only. It is probable he got to Cape Comorin, as he says the kingdom to the south was bounded by the sea, and people here embarked for the south; and he afterwards proceeded *eastward* to Ceylon. Great riches came to Tchi mo lo by sea. The people were black and savage [rude?] There were stupas built by As-o-ko and his younger brother, Ta ty. Arriving at Ceylon, he says, "it is not comprised within the limits of India." He tells the legend of the King's daughter carried off by

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a lion, as related in the *Mahawanso*, proving the antiquity of the legend, derived from a source common to himself and the *Mahawanso*, unless, indeed, he had seen the latter—a matter not at all improbable. He says the island was converted to Buddhism in the first century after the death of Sakya, by Mahindo[1], the younger brother of As-o-ko. He adds that two centuries after a schism took place, the doctrine being divided into two classes. He mentions also the temple of the tooth of Buddha. These statements accord pretty well with the *Mahawanso*. He then talks of islands to the east and the west, at a distance of thousands of miles, proving that he had met with travellers as gullible as himself. Proceeding north from Ceylon, for 600 or 700 miles, through a thick forest, he reaches Koung Kian na pou lo [Kankara i. e. Canara]. He here gives an interesting piece of information, by stating that to the north of the town was the forest of[2] Zo lo trees, *the leaves of which served to write upon in all the kingdoms of India*, as they do to this day in Canara and Southern India. To the east of the town was one of As-o-ko's Stupas. Proceeding to the N.W. for 800 or 900 miles, and passing through thick forests, he comes to the Ma ha la tho, [Mahrattas,] whose country was 2000 miles in circuit, and whose capital was on the east bank of a great river [Wurdah?]. 300 miles to the west the river Nai mo tho [Kistna?] is passed, and he arrives at Pa lou ko tchen pho; the inhabitants of which live by maritime commerce. 600 to 700 miles to the N.W. is Ma la pho[3], or the central kingdom of Lo. The capital is to the S.E. of the river Mou ho.

In the five Indias the two principal kingdoms for the study [of the law of Buddhism] are Ma[4] la pho, or Lo, to the S.W., and Magadha to the N.E. These bearings would place Ma la pho, or Lo, in the modern province of Aurungabad and Bijapur[5] [Poona], in the Dekhan; and the prodigious cave-remains of Buddhism in these provinces seem to authorize the location. When Hiuan thsang was there, the history of the country stated that sixty years before King Chi lo a ti to[6] had reigned. About seven miles to the N.W. of the town *was a Brahman village. The paucity of Brahmans is manifested*

[1] Mahindo [in Sanskrit Mahendra] was the son of As-o-ko, and not his brother.

[2] Borassus flabelliformis. The leaves of the Coco nut are also used.

[3] Malwa may be meant, and Candeish and Deoghar may have constituted part of it.

[4] Deoghar?

[5] M. Jacquet says it is Malwa.

[6] M. Jacquet calls him Shiláditya. By copper plate grants dug up in Gujarat, Siladitya the fourth reigned at Balabhi, A.D. 559, which is not far from the time mentioned by Hiuan thsang; but he is speaking of Malwa and not Gujarat.

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by the fact of Hiuan thsang thinking it of interest to record the existence of a Brahman village!

Proceeding to the *S.W.* is the place of 'embarkation, [possibly Callian or Bancoot; the former particularly being of ancient interest,] and at 800 miles to the N.W. is A tcha li, or A tho li. But Ma la pho [Deoghar?] appears a radiating spot for Hiuan thsang; and he returns to it to say that at 100 miles to the N.W. is Khi tcha [Chandor, or Nassak?] which was without a king, as it was a dependency of Ma la pho. About 300 miles to the north of this was Fa la pi[1] [Candeish?] or the northern Lo, being the northern limit of Southern India, the king of which was a Kshatrya, of the race of Chi lo a ti to, of Ma la pho [Deoghar]. At that time the King of Kanouj, named Tou lou pho pa tho[2], and the King Chi lo a ti to, stood in the relation of father-in-law and son-in-law, both being Buddhists; and yet the former was a Kshatrya and the latter a Vaisya. Thus affording further evidence that these distinctions were merely of a civil or secular nature, and existed amongst the Buddhists as amongst the Hindus; as is the case to this day amongst the Jains [according to Dr. Buchanan Hamilton and Colonel Miles], who have their four castes of Brahman, Kshatrya, Vaisya, and Sudra, without the slightest religious distinction[3]. In the Mackenzie MSS., a dispute is mentioned between a *Saiva* Brahman and a *Jain* Brahman.

Fa la pi [Candeish] abounded with foreign merchandise, and there were Stupas of As-o-ko. From Fa la pi, at about 230 miles to the N.W., was A nau tho pou lo [Anantpour[4]], in the limits of Western India; there was not any king, as it was a dependency of Ma la pho [Deoghar]. About 170 miles to the WEST from Fa la pi[5] [Candeish], was Sou la tho [Surat], the capital of which stood on the river Mou yi [Tapti?] Hiuan thsang remarks that this country was the natural road towards the Western Ocean, and Surat was, no doubt, the port by which the rich merchandise of which he speaks was introduced into Candeish and Malwa. He says the people of

[1] M. Jacquet says it was Vallabhi, or Balhara in Gujarat, and there were 100 monasteries and 6000 Buddhist ecclesiastics at it in Hiuan thsang's time.

[2] Druva Bhatt the second, of Wathen's Inscriptions. Jacquet says A.D. 550, instead of A.D. 328, but neither of these dates correspond with Hiuan thsang's visit.

[3] Account of Canara.

[4] How Anantpour can be placed to the N.W. of Vallabhi I do not understand; therefore, either M. Remusat is wrong in calling Fa la pi, Vallabhi, or A nan tho pou lo is not Anantpour.

[5] From this it is plain Fa la pi could not have been Vallabhi, which stood on the *western shore* of Gujarat.

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Surat loved maritime enterprises. Near the city was the Mount Yeou Chen to [Buddhist].

Returning to Candeish he says, 600 miles to the north, is Kiu tche lo, *where were many heretics and few orthodox Buddhists.* The capital was called Pi lo ma lo. This would carry him to Ajmer and Jeysalmer, the very locality of the heretic Rajputs; the nidus, probably, of the petty princes who about this time, or a little before or a little after, commenced to establish their sovereignties in various parts of India. Prinsep's *Useful Tables* give the following dates for the foundation of some of the Rajput houses:—Ranas of Mewar, A.D. 727. The Anhulwara dynasty of Gujarat, A.D. 696. Rahtores, of Kanouj, A.D. 300. But one of these, Basdeo [Vasadeva], must be a questionable Rajput, as his daughter married Bahram, King of Persia; moreover, they are said to be of INDO-SCYTHIC origin, by Col. Tod, and their genealogy was furnished to him by a *Jain priest*, and we know by Fa hian, that in A.D. 400-8, when he was at Kanouj, a *Buddhist sovereign* reigned; and on the early Kanouj coins there are Buddhist emblems. By the tables, the first Rajput prince of Kanouj was Nayana Pala, who *conquered* Ajipala of Kanouj, A.D. 469; but when Hiuan thsang visited Kanouj, A.D. 638, the King was a Vaisya, or of the merchant tribe. The Kachwaha Rajputs of Jaypur founded Narwar, A.D. 294. The Raos of *Jesalmer* claim descent from the Yadus; but the first date is 94 B.C., when Raja Gaja invaded Kashmir, and the next date is A.D. 15, when Salbahan conquered the Panjab. These claims of the Jesalmer Rajputs to antiquity are not contradicted by Fa hian and Hiuan thsang, who indeed locate them in the deserts and in the Panjab as in their native soil. With respect to the Rajas of Malwa, whose capitals were Ougein and Mandor, we know that the former city was eminently Buddhist, as late as the third century of our era; it was the residence of As-o-ko, 300 years B.C., and possessed also one of the great Chaityas, called Dakkhinagiri, the *Mahawanso* stating that it supplied 40,000 *Buddhist priests*, under Dhammarakkhito, B.C. 157, to be present at the foundation of the great Chaitya in Ceylon. The ancient coins of Ougein also have Buddhist emblems; and we see from the inscriptions of the second century of our era, at Bhilsa in Bhopal, that very numerous *communities of Buddhists still existed in Ougein* to make gifts to the Buddhist Chaitya at Bhilsa; no reliance, therefore, can be placed on the Puranic genealogy of the early princes of Malwa; who, moreover, if not Buddhists, were worshippers of the sun, and not Brahmanists. The Chohan Rajputs of Ajmer and Delhi claim high antiquity, B.C. 700; but Tod supposes them

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to be of Parthian descent, and therefore not Hindus originally. But the above extracts are sufficient to show the modern origin of the chief Rajput dynasties at the period of the decline of Buddhism; but the subject will be enlarged upon in the sequel.

The next chapter says, "thence about 900 miles to the S.E. is Ou tche yan na [Udjiyani, Ougein], where was a Stupa, and the place for the *Hell* built by As-o-ko." It will be recollected that As-o-ko was regent at Ougein, under his father, and it was celebrated for its great Buddhist monastery.

About 330 miles N.E. of Ougein is Tchi tchi tho [through Cutchwara?], the King of which, of the *Brahman tribe*, was a *firm believer* in the three jewels, Buddha, the law, and the clergy. Thence, 300 miles to the north, is Ma yi che fa lo pou lo, where the people are all heretics, not believing in the doctrine of Buddha. This is the Rajput locality again. Thence returning to Kia tche lo [Ajmer], and passing a desert, that of Jesalmer, to the north, and *crossing the Indus*, he reached the kingdom of Sintou [Sinde]. The capital was called Pi tchen pho pou lo. The king was of the Sudra tribe. Here is no mention of heretics; the king was, therefore, Sudra and Buddhist. As-o-ko had built *many* Stupas or topes in the kingdom. Hence 300 miles to the *east*, passing to the *eastern* bank of the Indus [recrossing it], was Meou lo san pou lo, where were many worshippers of the gods, and few Buddhists. Thence 230 miles to the N.E. was Po fa to. There were four Stupas or topes of As-o-ko, and *twenty temples of the heretics*. From Sinde to the S.W., at 500 or 530 miles, was A thian pho tchi lo [Cutch], the capital of which was called Ko tchi che fa lo [Cutch], the walls of which, on the *west*, were on the bank of the Indus, and near to the sea; this would correspond with the modern Karachi. There was not a king, as it was a dependency of Sinde. As-o-ko had built six Stupas there. As there is no mention of heretics, Cutch must have been Buddhist in the seventh century, and the inscriptions and coins prove it to have been so for centuries before. Thence, at less than 700 miles to the *west*, is Sang ko lo [the maritime provinces of Beluchistan], which had a circuit of several thousand miles in every sense. The capital was called Sou toa li che fa lo. The country was on the shores of the Great Ocean. There was not any king, as it was a dependency of Persia. *The alphabet was the same as that of the Indians*, but the language was a little different. In the capital town *was a temple of Maha Iswara*. Thence to the N.W. was Persia [Pho la sse], which is not comprised in India. It had a circuit of several times 10,000 li [one-third of

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a mile]. The capital was called Sou la sa tang na. There were many temples where the disciples of Thi na pa worshipped, and *two or three monasteries*. It is plain, therefore, there was little of genuine Buddhism in Persia in the seventh century. There was a tradition about Buddha's begging-pot. Hiuan thsang now jumps back to Cutch, and says at 230 miles to the north is Pi to chi lo, which is without a king, as it is a dependency of Sinde. To the north of the capital, at five or six miles, in a great forest, was a Stupa, several hundred feet high, built by As-o-ko; and not far to the east the monastery built by the great Arhan Ta Kia ta yan na. From these bearings he must have passed through Nusserpur, Chaukor, and Bhukker. 100 miles further to the N.E. was A pan tchha, without a king, as it was a dependency of Sinde. There was a Stupa built by As-o-ko. 300 miles further to the N.E. was Fa la nou, a dependency of Kia pi che [some part of Affghanistan or Northern Beluchistan].

It is said on the west this country touches Khi Kiang na, in the mountains [Solimani?]. The language has little analogy to that of Central India. Thence to the N.W., passing great mountains, large streams, and many small towns, after 600 or 700 miles the limits of India are left behind. Hiuan thsang arrived at Thsao kiu tho, the language and alphabet of which were different from those of India. There were Stupas built by As-o-ko. At 170 miles further to the north he arrived at Foê li chi sa tang na, the capital of which was called Hou phi na. The king was of Turkish race, nevertheless he was attached to the three Jewels, Buddha, the law, and the clergy. He subsequently passed the Himalaya mountains, and speaks of the highest peak in India. He descended for three successive days, and, passing countries subdued by the Turks, comes to Hotuo; Buddhists being numerous, and those who *honoured spirits* few in number. It is hence seen that spirit-worship, and not that of fire, prevailed with those who did not believe in Buddha.

Hiuan thsang, on his further progress homewards, talks learnedly of the most elevated plains of the world [Tartary], which we know to be 16,000 feet above the sea, and of the water shed in different directions; and points out the spot where a King of Persia received his bride, a Chinese princess; but, as he has got beyond the limits of India, it is not necessary for me to accompany him further. Before parting with him, however, it appears necessary to say that, from the particular and detailed manner in which he specifies the localities of heretics, and even the existence of a single heretical temple, not failing, also, to notice if a king be orthodox or heterodox,

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that it is justifiable to infer, where he omits such mention, that the country, king, and population, in all probability, were Buddhist. Admitting this inference to be well founded, it is seen, at least as far as the analysis of the chapters of his work shows it, that in the seventh century, with the single exception of Assam, and possibly of Orissa, there was not an instance of Brahmans [as heretics] having attained to *political power*, and the kings of the Kshatrya, Vaisya, and Sudra *tribes* were so few in number, that it may be doubted whether the Rajputs had as yet generally emerged from their locations on the banks of the Indus, and the Bicaner and Jesalmer deserts, to establish their various dynasties in Central India. The work of Hiuan thsang being only partially translated, the information supplied by him is derived from the analysis of the several chapters of the work which appears as an appendix to Fa hian; it is necessarily very meagre, and it remains to be seen what further evidence of the state of India, in the seventh century of our era, will be afforded *by the details* of the work when its translation is completed. The period is one of very high interest; for a great revolution was silently taking place. Buddhism, apparently crushed by the weight of its gigantic monastic system [which commenced centuries before Monachism was thought of in Europe] and rendered unpopular by the rigid self-denying and elevated character of its practical doctrines, was fast disappearing from India, and Brahmanism, as a system, was about to take its place, and rise to political and religious power; not, however, by persecution or violence, for Hiuan thsang's silence on the subject is sufficient proof that up to his time, whatever the private feelings of sectaries were, no blood had been shed in religious disputes; indeed, the weapons of the Buddhists were reason, argument, and charity, and so general had been the prevalence of their doctrines in India, Buddhism being the religion of the state, as well as of the people, for the preceding 1000 to 1300 years, that there had not been any heterodox government with the means to put it down by force, or with the means even of venturing upon successful partisan hostility. It is pretty confidently believed that a persecution of the Buddhists did take place, for mention is made of it in the history of Kashmir and in the Mackenzie MSS., but it must have been after Hiuan thsang's time, and not by the Brahmans, but very probably by the Saiva Rajputs, at the period of the extension of the worship of the Linga, and when they were fixing their dynasties in Central India.

I have now completed a very careful examination, not only of the facts recorded by Fa hian, but of his phraseology; for on the

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bearing of the latter, depends very much of the weight of some of the conclusions at which I have arrived, I trust with an unprejudiced judgment, and solely influenced by a sincere desire to establish the truth, as far as the scanty means afford. The occasional notices supplied by Soung young and Hiuan thsang have invigorated Fa hian's narrative; but the European world is indebted to the luminous and erudite commentaries of Remusat, Klaproth, Landresse, and Burnouf, for the means of appreciating the nature, extent, and value of the information communicated by the three Chinese travellers.

The works of the three Chinese travellers, and the learned commentaries upon them, together with the numerous inscriptions and multitudinous coins which have recently come to light, afford more than presumptive proof,

1st. That the Buddhism taught by Sakya prevailed generally in India, as the predominant religion, from the Himalayas to Ceylon, and from Orissa to Gujarat, from the sixth century before Christ[1], certainly to the seventh century after Christ, and that its final overthrow in India did not take place until the twelfth or fourteenth centuries.

2nd. That there are grounds for the belief of the existence of Buddhas, and of a qualified Buddhism, anterior to the sixth century before Christ, back to an extremely remote period.

3rd. That the "doctors of reason," or followers of the mystic cross 卐 [Swastika], diffused in China and India before the advent of Sakya, and continuing even to Fa hian's time, were professors of a qualified Buddhism, which is positively stated to have been the universal religion of Thibet before Sakya's advent.

4th. That India was generally split into small monarchies or states, but occasionally consolidated under one head, as the talents and vigour of an individual prince enabled him to subjugate his contemporary princes.

5th. That evidence is wanting of the local or universal dominion of princes of the *Brahmanical faith* during the prevalence of Buddhism; but that in Fa hian's time there is his positive testimony that there was not a single Hindu *reigning* prince in India; and as late as the seventh century Hiuan thsang found few rulers of the Brahmanical faith.

6th. That certain facts and expressions in the Chinese and other authors seem to indicate that the Brahmans were a *secular*, and not a *religious*, community; in fact, as is stated by Ma touan lin and

[1] From the eleventh century B.C., according to the Chinese, Japanese, and the Buddhists of Central Asia.

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Soung yun, "*a tribe of strangers*;" and that they had neither religious nor political influence nor power until after the invention of the Puranas, and during the periods of confusion consequent on the decline of Buddhism, the rise of the Rajput states, the spread of Saiva and Vaishnava worship, and the Mohammedan invasion.

7th. That various expressions of the Chinese authors admit of the inference that the divisions of caste in India were secular, and not religious, as the four castes, as they were called, existed equally amongst the Buddhists as amongst the Hindus; and exist to this day amongst the Buddhists of Ceylon and the Jains.

8th. That as mention is made only of the universal use of one language by the Chinese authors, and as the whole of the ancient Buddhist scriptures are still found in the Magadhi or Pali language, while there is not any mention whatever of *ancient* copies in Sanskrit, and as all the *most ancient* inscriptions relate to Buddhism, and are in the old Pali language, it is to be inferred that the *Fan* language, which Fa hian studied, and in which the sacred books were written which he carried with him into China, was an ancient form of Pali, and not Sanskrit; in fact, that proof is wanting of the existence of Sanskrit until six or seven centuries *after* the extant proofs of the existence of the Pali language.

9th. That no evidence whatever is afforded by the Chinese travellers of the worship of the Linga in India as late as the seventh century; although it would appear that the followers of Maha Iswara are enumerated amongst the heretics some centuries before that date.

10th. That Brahmanism, such as it *is taught by the Puranas*, and such *as it has been known to Europeans for the last two or three centuries*, had no operative existence, or rather practical influence, until the decline of Buddhism.

Before proceeding further, although the facts, circumstances, and analogies, placed in juxtaposition by myself, are so perspicuous and strongly marked, I beg to disclaim, in the most distinct manner, the slightest pretensions to give a character of definite or conclusive proof to the above inferences or deductions. The whole subject of ancient Indian history has hitherto been too much embarrassed by the absence of the necessary data and by the *preconceived* opinions entertained respecting it, to admit of much more than mere speculation in discussing its state, progress, and character: in availing myself, therefore, of the new lights which have so unexpectedly broken in upon us, I desire to be considered rather a narrator than a disputant; an inquirer, and not a teacher; and a labourer in the collection of

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materials for competent architects to use in the erection of a dignified and permanent structure for TRUTH.

In accordance with these views, it remains for me to adduce information from such other sources (than the translations from the Chinese) as may be within my knowledge, to support, strengthen, or justify the speculations consequent upon the examination of the travels of Fa hian, and the able comments upon them. The ancient Western authors give us some aid; the ancient Indian inscriptions and coins give us much more; but the recent publication of the Buddhist Pali Historical Annals of Ceylon, by that able, zealous, and disinterested public servant, the Hon. Mr. Turnour, afford matter both corroborative and instructive, which no other source of information worthy of equal confidence can supply.

These Annals, or Royal Chronicles, are designated the *Mahawanso*; and the following is the account which Mahanamo, the compiler of the most ancient part, as far as the thirty-seventh chapter, in A.D. 302, in the reign of Mahaseno, gives of his work:—

"Mahawanso is the abbreviation of Mahantánan wanso, 'the genealogy of the great.' It signifies both pedigree and inheritance from generation to generation; being itself of high import, either on that account, or because it also bears the two above significations, hence 'Mahawanso.'

"What that Mahawanso contains [I proceed to explain]. Be it known that of these [*i. e.* of the aforesaid great] it illustrates the genealogy, as well of the Buddhos and of their eminently pious disciples, as of the great monarchs, commencing with Mahásammato. It is also of deep import, inasmuch as it narrates the visits of Buddho [to Ceylon]. Hence the work is [mahá] great. It contains likewise all that was known to or has been recorded by the pious *men of old* connected with the supreme and well-defined history of those unrivalled dynasties [wanso]. Let [my hearers] listen [to this *Mahawanso*].

"Be it understood, that even in the [old] *Atthakathá*, the words 'Dípatthntiya sádhusakkatan' are held as of deep import; they have there [in that work] exclusive reference to the visits of Buddho, and matters connected therewith. On this subject the *ancient historians*[1] have thus expressed themselves:—

[1] Mr. Turnour, in subsequent investigations, finds that the first thirty-six chapters of the *Mahawanso*, bringing down the chronology to A.D. 302, are, in fact, the *Dipawanso*, and were written by a different author to *Mahanamo*; the latter carried on the Mahawanso to the reign of his nephew Dathuseno, between A.D. 459 and 477, the Dipawanso being from previous histories.—J. A. S. B. vol. vii. p. 922.

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"I will perspicuously set forth the visits of Buddho to Ceylon; the arrival of the *relic* and of the *Bo-tree*; the histories of the convocations; and of the sophisms of the Theros; the introduction of the religion [of Buddho] into the island; and the settlement and pedigree of the sovereign [Wijayo]. It will be evident from the substance of the quotations here made, that the numerical extent of the dynasties [in my work] is exclusively derived from that source—[it is no invention of mine].

"Thus the title *Mahawanso* is adopted in imitation of the history composed by the fraternity of the Maháwiháro[1] [at Anurádhapura]. In this work the object aimed at is, setting aside the Singalese language, in which [the former history] is composed, that I should sign in the Mágadhi. Whatever the matters may be which were contained in the *Atthakathá*, without suppressing any part thereof, *rejecting the dialect only*, I compose my work in the *supreme Mágadhi language*, which is thoroughly purified from all imperfections. I will brilliantly illustrate, then, the *Mahawanso*, replete with information on every subject, and comprehending the amplest detail of all important events, like unto a splendid and dazzling garland, strung with every variety of flowers, rich in colour, taste, and scent.

"The former historians also used an analogous simile. They said, 'I will celebrate the dynasties [wanso] perpetuated from generation to generation; illustrious from the commencement, and lauded by many bards, like unto a garland strung with every variety of flowers: do ye all listen with intense interest[2].'"

The *Mahawanso* of Mahanámo, therefore, although compiled in A.D. 302, is derived from *previous histories then extant*; and in his first chapter of the work the author establishes the fact.

"Adoration to him who is the deified, the sanctified, the omniscient, supreme Buddho.

"Having bowed down to the supreme Buddho, immaculate in purity, illustrious in descent, without suppression or exaggeration I celebrate the *Mahawanso*.

"That which was *composed by the ancient* [*historians*] is in some respects too concise; in others diffuse; abounding, also, in the defects of unnecessary repetition. Attend ye to this [*Mahawanso*], which, avoiding these imperfections, addresses itself to the hearer [in a strain] readily comprehended, easily remembered, and inspiring sentiments both of pleasure and pain; giving rise to either pleasing or painful

[1] The great monastery.

[2] Turnour's Introduction to the *Mahawanso*, page xxxii.

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emotion, according as each incident may be agreeable or afflicting[1]."

The chief sources of his information, however, seem to have been the Buddhist scriptures, the *Pitakattaya*[2], in Pali, written B.C. 89, and the *Atthakathá*, in *Singalese*, as Mahanámo himself asserts, it not being translated into Pali until between A.D. 410 and A.D. 432, by Buddhaghoso. Mr. Turnour says the contents of the *Pitakattaya* and *Atthakathá*, divested of their Buddhistical *inspired* character, may be classed under four heads:—

1st. The unconnected and desultory references to that undefined and undefinable period of antiquity which preceded the advent of the *last twenty-four Buddhas.*

2nd. The history of the last twenty-four Buddhas, who appeared during the last twelve Buddhistical regenerations of the world.

3rd. The history from the last creation of the world, containing the genealogy of the kings of India, and terminating in B.C. 543.

4th. The history from before Christ 543, to the age of Buddhaghoso, between A.D. 410 and A.D. 432.

The first two divisions are necessarily fabulous and useless, and are only so far of interest, as they record the belief in the continuous succession of Buddhas from the origin of time. With the exception of some few names of kings and priests, towards the end of the list in the third period, of whom there may have been records, it also must be something more than apocryphal; but it is also an object of interest, as it admits of a comparison with a similar list of kings in the Brahmanical system. The fourth division is of a very different character from its predecessors, as it offers a systematic and detailed chronology of kings and events, both in India and Ceylon; and the Buddhist characteristic habits of record in the Pali language, as is testified in their multitudinous inscriptions in their cave temples, on the remains of their buildings, and on their coins, or obelisks, give a verisimilitude and unsophisticated bearing to this chronology, and lead us to believe that it was *aided by*, if not *based upon*, records, some of which we see at this day engraved on stone. From Mr. Turnour's four divisions, it is seen that a certain parallelism prevails between the Buddhist and Brahmanical systems;—in the cycles of time recurring ad infinitum,—in the present cycle

[1] Chap. i., p. 1.

[2] Which is divided into three Pitakas,—Wineyo, Abhidammo, and Sutto. To these are to be added, the *Atthakathá*, a commentary, first written in Singalese, and translated into Pali by Buddhaghoso, A.D. 410 to 432.

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being divided into distinct periods,—in pretended lists of kings from the origin of the world,—in Buddha and Rama being derived from Ixwaku, or Okkáko in Pali, a common ancestor,—and in the preliminary events occasioning Rama's expulsion from his father's court, and the history of the origin of the Buddhist Sakyas, Buddha's ancestral tribe, being identical. Which of the parties is the plagiarist is in discussion.

The author of the Dipawanso concluded his labours at the thirty-seventh chapter. Buddhaghoso [*a Brahman convert*] continued the record until between A.D. 410 and A.D. 432, Mahanámo until A.D. 477, and it was carried on by successive authorized chroniclers until A.D. 1798, to the date of our own possession of the Island of Ceylon.

The *Mahawanso*, in its details, manifests the same love of the marvellous, the same credulity and superstition, the same exaggeration in description, and the same adulation of kings and princes, which is met with in the annals and religious history of heathen and Christian nations called civilized, of Ancient and Modern Europe. With these drawbacks, common, however, to the annals and religious history of all nations, the *Chronology* of the *Mahawanso*, from the birth of Buddha before Christ 623, does not admit of a question with respect to its general accuracy; and neither Brahmanism nor the Sanskrit language can show any work[1] of an unquestionable date, approaching to within many centuries of it [B.C. 623], nor a work with the shadow of a claim to its honesty of intention, and its accuracy of chronological record; and Mr. Turnour seems justified in stating that, "After the most accurate examination of the portion of the *Mahawanso* compiled by Mahanámo, I *am fully prepared* to certify that I have not met with any other passage[2] in the work [unconnected with religion and its superstitions], than those already noticed, which could by the most sceptical be considered as prejudicial *to its historical authenticity*. In several instances, he adverts prospectively to events which took place posterior to the date at which his narrative had arrived; but in every one of these cases, it is found that the anticipated incidents are invariably *anterior* to his own time[3]." In addition to this testimony, Mr. Turnour elsewhere

[1] The Raja Tarangini, the Institutes of Manu, the Ramayana and Mahabharata, and the Puranas, will be subsequently noticed.

[2] Mr. Turnour alludes to the date of Wijayas landing in Ceylon, and to some trifling discrepancies consequent on the question, whether certain kings were sons or grandsons of others? but, he adds, "After King Dutthagamini, B.C. 164, *there does not appear to be the slightest ground* for questioning the correctness of the chronology of Ceylon history, *even in these minute respects*."—Introd. p. ii.

[3] Turnour's Introduction to the *Mahawanso*, p. li.

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adds, "Suffice it to say, *that from the date of the introduction*[1] *of Buddhism into Ceylon*, B.C. 307, that history is authenticated by the concurrence of every evidence which can contribute to verify the annals of any country."—Introd. p. LI.

The *Mahawanso* making its appearance contemporaneously with a translation of a work from a part of the world so widely separated from Ceylon as China, and appertaining to a people so opposed to the Ceylonese in their physical circumstances and civil institutions, adds to the interest of both works; for the *Mahawanso* confirms the truth of the simple-minded Fa hian's relation in numerous instances; and he in his turn stamps the *Mahawanso* with additional authenticity in independently recording from the localities to which the *Mahawanso* refers, some of the legends, facts, and circumstances, which are found in its text!

I have thought it necessary to give these details respecting the *Mahawanso*, as I have repeatedly had to quote it; and the text and Introduction of Mr. Turnour will be further available.

I now purpose to take the inferences in the order in which they stand, and see how far they are supported by authors, independently of the Chinese travellers. With respect to the general prevalence of Buddhism in India, from the seventh century before Christ until the seventh century after Christ, the personal testimony of Fa hian, that when he was in India, there was not a single prince eastward of the Jumna who was not of the Buddhist faith, and that it had continued UNINTERRUPTED from the time of Sakya Muni [Buddha], would seem to render further testimony unnecessary, up to the beginning of the fifth century A. D.; and though Buddhism had declined, Hiuan thsang, in the middle of the seventh century, mentions only two princes who were not Buddhists. At the period of the visits of these travellers, it would not appear that there was an universal monarch of India, but that it was divided into numerous petty sovereignties. For the period anterior to Fa hian's time, it is seen that in the third century before Christ, when India was under one sole monarch, Piyadasi [or Asoko], he perpetuated his Buddhist

[1] The first chapter of the *Mahawanso* says, that Buddha himself introduced his doctrines into Ceylon in his three visits, B.C. 587, he treading in the steps of former *Buddhas*. He himself also left a lock of his hair as a relic, and after his death the thorax bone relic having been received at the funeral pile of Sakya by the Thero Sarabhu, was brought into Ceylon. The asserted introduction, therefore, of Buddhism into Ceylon by Mahindo, the son of Asoko, must have been a revival. It may be, that it was the introduction of an *innovation* in the doctrines of Buddhism, which I shall notice in the sequel.

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edicts[1] on rocks and obeliaks in the north and the south, and in the east and the west of India; at Dehli, at Allahabad, in Oude, in Orissa, and in Gujarat, and numerous other Buddhist inscriptions have also been found in all parts of India. The *Mahawanso* records not only the rise and diffusion of Buddhism all over India, from the seventh century before Christ, but it bears testimony to the early continued and almost incredible separation of a disproportionate body of the whole population from secular duties.

In B.C. 157, the prodigious monasteries [some of them containing from two to three thousand monks] and their dependencies of Rajagaha, *Benares*, Sravasti, Allahabad, Kosambie, Ougein, Patna, Oude, Kashmir, and the great monasteries in many other parts of India, and in foreign countries, poured forth their priests to take part in laying the foundations of the great temple at Anuradhapura in Ceylon[2]. Admitting great exaggerations in the number mentioned,—and they might be reduced by many thousands,—there would still remain a sufficiency to attest the universal prevalence of Buddhism, from the simple fact of society being able to bear the separation from its productive body of such prodigious numbers of ecclesiastics, who, from the moment they entered the priesthood, ceased to be productive, and became, in fact, absolute drones, and were entirely supported by the remaining portion of society. This relation between supporters and supported, producers and non-producers, testifies to the general prevalence of the Buddhist doctrines; and even had we not the record of the *Mahawanso*, the magnificent, multitudinous, and widely-diffused Buddhist cave temples and monasteries, significantly tell us, that the wealth, and power, and energies, of governments, as well as of individuals, must have been devoted for ages to effect their completion.

Mr. J. Prinsep, in translating some old Pali Buddhist inscriptions from the caves in the Dekhan, transmitted by me to him, says, [supposing the inscriptions to relate to the caves], "In this case, we may at once pronounce from the alphabetic evidence, that the caves were thus constructed or embellished a century or two prior to the Christian era, when Buddhism flourished in the height of its glory from Kashmir to Ceylon[3]." The coins, too, most of which are older than the Christian era, come in with their aid; for we find the great majority of those from Affghanistan, Scind, Cutch, Gujarat, the Panjab, Ougein, Behat, Kanouj, and other places, with Buddhist emblems upon them, indicating that they had issued from the Bud-

[1] Vide Appendix of Inscriptions.

[2] *Mahawanso*, p. 171.

[3] J. A. S. B. vol. vi., p. 1047.

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dhist mints of Buddhist princes. We have also the foundation of the Rajput states, at the period of the decline of Buddhism; the non-appearance of Brahmanical inscriptions or coins, until the same period of the decline of Buddhism; the comparatively modern origin of all the present celebrated Hindu temples and tirthas, or places of pilgrimage; the recent date at which Brahmanical literature flourished between the fifth and twelfth centuries of our era; the *Puranas* being invented or compiled in that interval; the history of Kashmir being written A. D. 1148[1]; the *Ratnavali* drama between A.D. 1113 and 1125[2]; and the other dramas translated by Professor Wilson, from the second century to the fourteenth A.D.[3]; the *Lilawati*, in the twelfth century; the *Bijaganita*, about A.D. 1183; and finally, the nine gems [literary men] of the golden age of Hindu literature, are made contemporaries of a Raja Bhoja, the first of the name flourishing A.D. 483, the second A.D. 665, and the third A.D. 1035!

Contrasting the above *two series* of Buddhist and Brahmanical facts with each other, the positive proofs of the antiquity and general prevalence of the Buddhist doctrines, and the absence of similar ancient proofs in favour of the Brahmanical system, the assertion of Fa hian appears to be borne out pretty satisfactorily, that Buddhism had generally prevailed for the preceding ten or eleven centuries *uninterruptedly;* and even though declining in some places in India, before Fa hian's time, and continuing to do so until Hiuan thsang's visit, the *uninterrupted general prevalence of the Buddhist* doctrines, seems to have continued to the middle of the seventh century of our era. It is probable that Buddhism *was interrupted* at this period by the Saivas; but it existed in Berar some centuries later; for an inscription without date, the character of which is about the tenth century, found in the ruins of a magnificent Buddhist chaitya or tope at Oomrawati, refers to the endowment of some Buddhist institution, and hopes this very excellent religion of the people will endure for ever. At Buddhagaya, in Behar, an inscription about A.D. 1197, judging from the mention of Lakshana Sena, the son of Belal Sen, who built the city of Gaur, has an invocation to Buddha by the treasurer of Dasaratha Kumara; and Mr. Prinsep infers, from Dasaratha's elder brother being called *Asoka* Chandra Deva, that the princes, as well as the treasurer, were Buddhists even at this date,

[1] Professor Wilson.

[2] Preface to the Ratnavali by Professor Wilson.

[3] Professor Wilson, in his Preface to his Plays, says, "None of the dramatic compositions at present known, can boast perhaps of a very high antiquity, and several of them are comparatively modern."—Page xiii.

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and Buddhism therefore existed. But there is also an inscription in Burmese, dated A.D. 1305, recording the restoration, after it had four times previously been dilapidated, of the temple of Buddha-gaya, by the Burmese king. Buddhism, therefore, was not extinct in the fourteenth century. The RAJA OF THE COUNTRY assisted in the restoration; he, therefore, may be supposed to have been a Buddhist.

2nd. The belief in a succession of Buddhas from the origin of things through the cycles of time, is part and parcel of the religious system of all Buddhist nations. It matters not, that pretended details, beyond a limited chronological period, must necessarily be fabulous; if it be shown, for the validity of the general question, that in the very dawn of history, there is a *recorded specific belief* in a particular fact, or series of facts. This belief will certainly not establish the supposed fact or facts which may be physically impossible; but when this is not the case, the proof of a very ancient admission of the existence of these facts, gives to them a certain air of credibility.

We have lithographed and almost imperishable proofs of probably twenty-three centuries yet standing, of the positive existence of Buddhism, in multiplied inscriptions in old Pali, and in wonderful sculptures; and in case Brahmanism could produce similar contemporary proofs in SANSKRIT, or in sculptures, its claims to antiquity *would then* stand upon an equal footing with those of Buddhism. Sakya [Buddha], in his sermons, repeatedly refers to former Buddhas; and this was nearly six centuries before Christ, and before the time of any of the Greek historical writers: and some of these facts recorded of Sakya are by his devoted disciple Ananda, an eye-witness and a listener, who at the first Convocation after the death of Sakya, addresses it by saying, "*the following was heard by myself*," when he propounded the Suttani of the Suttapitako.—Hon. Mr. Turnour, J. A. S. B. vol. vi. p. 526, and vol. vii. pp. 686, 789, and 919.

It is related of Sakya by the Chinese authors that, in his boyhood, and before he had enrolled himself amongst the Buddhist clergy, he met a Samanean [a Buddhist priest], and asking who and what he was, not only was the explanation given, but the doctrine [Dhammo] was expounded to him. Now, without a previous Buddha, there could not have been any doctrine already *propounded*, or Samaneans to *expound* it[1]. I have already shown from Fa hian's text that, seventeen miles west of Sravasti, he saw a chaitya which contained the relics [the entire bones] of Kassapo Buddha, the

[1] Fa hian, note, p. 207, from the Fan fang fa yuen, liv. xiii., p. 21.

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immediate predecessor of Sakya, and those relics were objects of worship. He speaks also from personal knowledge of Buddhist schismatics, who worshipped the three Buddhas *preceding* Sakya, and repudiated and would not worship Sakya himself, the *supposed founder* of Buddhism. Both Fa hian and Hiuan thsang also repeatedly mention having seen the thrones of the *four Buddhas* at Gaya, Rajagaha, Tamalitti [the modern Tamlook], and other places. These facts and assertions are quite in accordance with the Buddhist scriptures of Ceylon, the "PITAKATTYA," [or three Pitakas,] which Mr. Turnour first thought were written in Pali in the year 89 before Christ; but subsequently he states, in an examination of the *Dipawanso*, an older work than the *Mahawanso*, that many facts go far to prove that the *Pitakattaya* and the *Atthakathá* were *actually reduced to writing* from the commencement of the Buddhistical era.—J. A. S. B. vol. vii. p. 922.

The *Mahawanso* gives the names of the twenty-four Buddhas of the cycles, or last twelve Kappós, embracing those Buddhas mentioned by the Chinese travellers. In Sakya's first visit to Ceylon, B.C. 587, the King of Kalyani [about six miles from Columbo] and his people, "having heard the sermon on his doctrines preached, obtained the state of salvation and piety." There he thus supplicated THE SUCCESSOR OF PRECEDING BUDDHAS[1]: "Oh! divine teacher, such an act of mercy performed *unto us* is indeed great. Hadst thou not vouchsafed to come, *we* should *all* have been consumed to ashes."

Mahindo, also, King Asoko's son, who had gone on a religious mission to Ceylon, B. C. 306, thus addresses King *Dewanam piyatisso*, when recommending a site for a monastery: "Thus, oh king! this is a spot consecrated by the *four preceding* Buddhas[2]."

From Arrian's *History of India* I have extracted a passage, which states that, immediately after the time of Bacchus, one called Buddha was king, and the sovereignty was handed down from father to son uninterruptedly for ages. This certainty does not prove much, but it shows that, at the time of Alexander's expedition, it was made plain to Ptolemy and Aristobulus, his historians, that the name "Buddha" mounted to the fabulous ages; and we trace

[1] *Mahawanso*, p. 6. From this passage it also appears that the conversion of Ceylon did not take place by King Asoko's son Mahindo, but by Sakya himself. The mission of Mahindo may have had a specific object.

[2] *Mahawanso*, p. 96: and, at page 88, the former names of towns and places in Ceylon, at the time of the visit of the Buddhas, is stated by Mahindo; and Mr. Hodgson of Nepal, in addressing the late Mr. James Prinsep, has the following passage, which will be more enlarged upon: "I can trace something very like Buddhism into far ages and realms."—*J. A. S. B.*, vol. vi., p. 685.

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it thence, acknowledged by many nations, down to the present days, which is more than we can do for any Brahmanical divinity or hero. Had these authors, or Megasthenes, or the Chinese, recorded the names of Rama, or the Pandus, or Krishna, we should have had a kind of chronological standard of reference for them.

The existence of the extensive Buddhist excavations in the rocks at Rajagaha [one chamber being capable of accommodating 500 persons] during the lifetime of Sakya, admits of the inference that, from their extent, they could hardly have been executed during the time he promulgated his doctrines, and must, therefore, have been the work of Buddhists, his predecessors. It will be recollected, also, that the excavations in the Dekhan are referred by Fa hian to a period anterior to Sakya's ministry.

On the whole, there appears strong grounds for supposing that there were Buddhist teachers previously to the advent of Sakya; successive patriarchs, in fact, similar or superior to those who followed Sakya: some of whom, such as Kakusandho, Konagamano, and Kassapo, by their superior piety, knowledge, and success in the promulgation of their doctrines, obtained the superior distinction of being transmitted to after times as objects of reverence with all, and with some Buddhists as objects of worship. As the doctrines and practice of Buddhism fell into corruptions, neglect, or desuetude, the successive appearance of revivers, renovators, reformers, or sustainers, was requisite: such an one was Sakya.

Like the Christian doctrines, those of Buddhism were, in the first instance, promulgated orally, and not reduced to writing until after the death of the propounder. Sakya, from the age of thirty, was acknowledged as a divine teacher, and his ministry continued for fifty years; yet his doctrines were not written until the first convocation at Rajagaha [resembling our Councils of Nice and Trent for the settlement of the faith], immediately after his death, when the Buddhist scriptures were incorporated and recorded. In the Introduction to the *Mahawanso*, Mr. Turnour thought that the Buddhist scriptures were not reduced to writing until B.C. 104 to 76; and that, previously to that period, as they were traditionally propounded, it required the successive appearance of men of eminence to prevent the traditions running into confirmed corruptions; but, as I have stated, in his account of the *Dipawanso*, the precursor of the *Mahawanso* by at least 150 years, he says that certain facts [which are mentioned] go far to prove that the *Pittakattaya* and *Atthakatha* were actually reduced to writing from the commencement of the Buddhistical era.

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That Buddhism prevailed until the fifth and seventh centuries we have the personal testimony of Fa hian and Hiuan thsang, independently of inscriptions which bring it down to a later period. But we have also the Chinese writer, Ma twan lin, who, after mentioning former embassies from India down to A.D. 428, says, the King of Kapila, in A.D. 466, the kingdom of Soom, in A.D. 441, the kingdom of Ghandara, in A.D. 455, and the kingdom of Pho le, in A.D. 473, sent embassies to China. *All those kingdoms practised the doctrines of Fo* [Buddha]. From A.D. 605 until 616 a Kshatrya ruled in India: in his time there were no troubles or revolts. In A.D. 618 to 627 there were great troubles in the kingdom: the King She lo ye to [Siladitya] made war and fought battles, such as had never been seen before. All the provinces which faced the north submitted to him. Hiuan thsang arrived at this time, and She lo ye to received him at Magadha [Berar]; and, in A.D. 642, he sent an embassy to China, and the Emperor sent one in return, in A.D. 648, under a high military officer, Wang heuen tse: but, before his arrival, She lo ye to was dead; and his minister, Na foo te o lo na shun, who had usurped the government, refused to receive the embassy, and forced Heuen tse to retire to Thibet; and that state and Nepaul [Nee po lo] being in dependence upon China [as they are to this day] furnished troops, with which he attacked O lo na shun and took him prisoner. The wives and children of the late king retired to the Godaviri river. Heuen tse captured them, and he then returned to China with his prisoner, O lo na shun. Heuen tse had been assisted by a king of Eastern India, Kumara, and by the kingdom of Karna rupa [mentioned in the Allahabad inscription], with 30,000 horses and bullocks. —*Nouv. Mélanges Asiat.*, tom. i. p. 196. The repeated intercourse of the Chinese with India through these embassies, gave them the means of judging of the religious and political state of that country, independently of Fa hian and Hiuan thsang; and this independent knowledge strengthens and confirms the accounts of the travellers.

I would not desire it to be understood that I mean to express any decided judgment from a knowledge of facts, but simply that I give a record to my impressions from the perusal of such parts of the Pali Buddhistical annals and scriptures of Ceylon, and the French translations (so honourable to the nation) from various Chinese authors as have appeared before the public. There is a vast and fertile field of inquiry, and further researches in the Chinese and Pali languages may possibly produce a conviction that it is from those languages we are to expect authenticated accounts of the incipient civilization of mankind in the Eastern World, rather than from the Sanskrit tongue

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3rd. With respect to the third point, the facts and arguments already recorded would appear to suffice to establish a belief in the pre-existence of *some kind* of Buddhism in India before Sakya's time; but the question of the Lao tseu, or Tao sze, explained to mean "Doctors of the Supreme Reason," is of a *specific* character; and we find that the doctrines propounded by the teachers had extensive influence in China from the earliest times, and, of course, before Buddhism became known in China; and from the life of Sakya it is demonstrated that these Doctors of Reason were in India before it is supposed the Chinese first made their way to Hindustan. I have already quoted the opinion of M. Landresse that "we could not well deny the analogy which exists between the opinions of the Lao tseu and those of the Buddhists; an analogy which extends to the very base of their doctrines, as well as to the details of the popular belief, and which could scarcely have sprung up in two countries independently of communication." These doctrines constituted the faith of the population of Thibet so late as until the seventh or eighth century, when Sakya's Buddhism was adopted in that country; and we see, A.D. 400, that one of Fa hian's companions quitted him to go with one of those Doctors of Reason to Cophenes, who had come with them from China. Hence, therefore, there appears evidence of a peculiar creed operating in China, Thibet, and India, in the very dawn of civilization, and continuing until the seventh or eighth century; certainly until the commencement of the fifth century, since one of the Doctors was a fellow-traveller of Fa hian, and others were contemporary with Sakya. Whether the creed of the Lao tseu was religious or philosophical, metaphysical or practical, I will not undertake to discuss; but if their *humility* permitted them to travel from kingdom to kingdom with *suites* [for it was the *suite* of a Doctor of Reason that Fa hian's companion joined], it is certain, from the life of Sakya, that they were also ascetics, like some of the Buddhist priests and the Hindu Rishis. On the birth of Buddha taking place, Ai, a Doctor of Reason, identified by M. Remusat as Tapasvi Muni, residing in the woods near Rajagaha, by his preternatural knowledge was aware of the advent, and flew through the air to Kapillawattha, the residence of the king, Sakya's father, to congratulate the parent of the infant. The infant was brought to him: he examined it, and wept and laughed alternately, and explained that he foresaw in the future that he could not live to witness its glory, as the infant would become an incarnation, and therefore he wept; but that he rejoiced at having seen him, as it would absolve him from his sins. He had then his nativity cast by

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four Pandits, three of whom, as the child had impressions of wheels on his hands, predicted that he would become a Chakravarti king, or roller of the wheel over the earth [universal monarch, and equally a universal teacher]; and the fourth Pandit said the child would become an incarnation. This strange legend, M. Remusat says, is the substance of an inscription in the *Magah* language, which was found at Chittagong, and published in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii., page 383[1]. It is also told in the Ceylon scriptures, the *Attha-katthá*[2]; and the Thibetians have their legend, according to P. Georgi, about this same Tao sze, or Doctor of Reason, Ai; and the story in the inscription is told, but with much greater amplification and prolixity, and it ends with the Doctor of Reason adoring the future Buddha[3]. Had the worthy Doctor of Reason possessed a drop of Puranic blood in his veins, he would have fled to the extremities of the earth to have avoided this fatal stranger; but as he chose to visit and reverence him, it may be supposed that the creed of the Doctors of Reason approximated rather to Buddhism than Brahmanism. Additional support is given to this impression by the traditions related by Fa hian of certain Lao tseu, or Tao sse, *from various countries*, who were visiting Buddhist shrines, being appalled by seeing a certain shrine, in the woods of Lan mo[4], in the decadence of Buddhism, surrounded by elephants; and in their terror they sought their safety in the neighbouring trees[5]. Watching events, however, they observed such evidence of systematic arrangements in the movements of the elephants—some carrying flowers to the shrine, some water, and some sweeping it—that their terror was turned into wonder and admiration that irrational animals should manifest their reverence for Buddha by gratuitously performing the duties of a shrine of his, which had been deserted by his priesthood in consequence of the decrease of population and the encroachments of the jungle. The Lao tseu descended from the trees, made their offerings, and, impressed by the facts they had witnessed, became for the future orthodox Buddhists. By travelling to visit Buddhist shrines they must have been quasi Buddhists already. Fa hian says the event was of no remote occurrence, and the tradition was handed down to his time. Hiuan thsang mentions the same tradition.

That the Lao tseu were not viewed by Buddhists with a hostile feeling is manifested by the fact of no mention being made of them in the lists of heresies; and as a man may be heterodox without

[1] Fa hian, page 208. [2] *J. A. S. B.*, vol. vii., p. 802.
[3] Fa hian, note, p. 210.
[4] Somewhere N.E. of Gorakhpur, at the foot of the Nepal Mountains. [5] P. 237.

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being absolutely heretical, there is even no notice of them under the milder designation. A further indication of an anti-Brahmanical character is met with in the Lao tseu being called followers of the mystic cross, which is met with, initial and terminal, in so many of the inscriptions of the Buddhist caves of India, of which I have given examples, and which is also one of the most common of the associated emblems on so many of the Buddhist coins from all parts of India. We may add to these the extract from the life of Sakya, in the Chin i tian, already quoted by me, that two Tao sze, or Lao tseu, greeted Sakya before he had commenced his ministry; and he found them considerably advanced in the steps of knowledge towards the acquisition of the dignity of Arhan [a high order in the Buddhist priesthood], but that they had yet to learn the Supreme Reason. But Fa hian's assertion that the Doctors of Reason [Tao sze] came annually from all kingdoms and all countries to adore Kassapo, who was supposed to have entombed himself in the heart of the mountain of the Cock, would seem to leave little doubt about the nature of their religion.

These puerile tales, traditions, and trifling facts, have no further effect than to show that, 1400 years ago, there were professors of a creed neither Buddhist nor Brahmanical, which creed was referred to remote antiquity; which was known to Indian as well as Chinese nations; and that, practically, it approximated rather to Buddhism than to Brahmanism.

It would simply suffice, on the subject of the 4th point, to refer to Fa hian's narrative to prove, from the numerous petty kingdoms, above thirty in number, named and traversed by him in the beginning of the fifth century, that, in his day at least, India was without a paramount political head; and, 200 years afterwards, Hiuan thsang enumerates no less than 142 kingdoms, or principalities, which he either visited or could give some account of. Sakya's [Buddha's] father, in the seventh century before Christ, was a petty king, tributary to the rulers of Magadha, residing at Patna, or rather in those days at Rajagaha. This prince was Bimbisaro, B.C. 603[1], whom Sakya made an orthodox Buddhist; and it was in the eighth year of his son's reign, Ajatassitu, B.C. 543, that Sakya died, who also must have been a Buddhist, from the aid he gave to the first convocation[2]. It does not appear that either of these princes ruled over India; nor even at the period of Alexander's invasion, when it

[1] *Mahawanso*, p. 10, and Turnour's Introduction, p. xxix.
[2] J. A. S. B. vol. vi. p. 516.

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is supposed[1] Chandagutto [in Pali] was on the throne at Patna [Pataliputto], was he paramount, for Porus was an independent ruler, and Alexander restored his kingdom to him, and added some of his conquests to it; and it was a question whether Chandagutto [Sandracottus?] or Porus was most powerful.—Arrian's *Hist. Indicæ*, cap. v.; also *Anabasis*, lib. vi., cap. ii. But the family of Porus could not have reigned long; for Eucratides the Great, who ascended the Bactrian throne B.C. 181, was assisted by Mithridates I. against Demetrius, *king of India* [so called], and, on the latter being dethroned, Mithridates had for his share the provinces between the Hydaspes and Indus, and Eucratides all the rest east and south; these tracts, in fact, comprising the kingdom of Porus.

But as the *Mahawanso* places the commencement of Chandagutto's reign at 381 B.C., and its termination 347 B.C., if these dates be correct[2]; and there appears little right to question them, for they are derived from the facts and circumstances of the religious and political connexion of the Ceylon kings, with the individual kings of the Magadha or Patna dynasty named; then, instead of Chandagutto being on the throne on Alexander's arrival, it must have been the grandson of Chandagutto, the celebrated Asoko or Piyadasi, whose edicts in Pali, recorded on the columns of Delhi, of Allahabad and Matrah, on the rocks of Cuttack, on the shores of the *east of India*, and on the rocks of Girnar on the shores of the *west of India*, incontrovertibly attest his supremacy. How long this was maintained in the family is uncertain, further than that Dasaratha, the second king after Asoko, and who must have been contemporary with Agathocles, is mentioned in a Buddhist inscription in the Nagarjuna Cave at Buddhagaya in Behar; but supremacy had evidently passed out of their hands, when Fa hian visited India; nor had any other ambitious or talented individual been able to gather up the scattered and prostrate power. And equally when Hiuan thsang journeyed in India, A.D. 627 to 650, the country was divided into petty states; but during his residence in India, there sprung up, in the decline of

[1] Professor Heeren doubts the identity of Chandagutto and Sandracottus of the Greeks. Col. Tod, from a *Jain* inscription, makes a Chandragupta reign in Ougein in 427. If this be the era of Vikramaditya, it is A.D. 371, and if the *Jain* era of Mahavira, B.C. 106; but in neither case can this Chandragupta be Sandracottus. In the Chohans of Delhi, also, there is a Chandragupta, grandson of Manika Rai, whose date is fixed about A.D. 695.

[2] The Burmese inscription at Buddhagaya, dated A.D. 1305, states that the temple or chaitya was built by Asoko 218 years after the death of Sakya: Asoko therefore, lived B.C. 325, and this corresponds with the Ceylon annals, a strengthens their credibility.

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Buddhism, and during the rise of the Saivas, the movements of Brahmanism and the planting of the Rajput dynasties,—a Hindu power which was to overshadow India for some period of time, whose records on the Allahabad and Bhitari columns, and whose coins from Kanouj, give us some more substantial and honest proofs of their existence, of their "*having a local habitation and a name,*" than the *Puranas* would have done,—I mean the Sudra family of the Guptas; *but* which family, nevertheless, have no local habitation or name, even in the pretended *prophetical* chapters of the *Puranas*, the story of Chandragupta only, in the Vishnu and Bhágavat Puranas out of eighteen Puranas, having reference to the Magadha family of Patna, and not to that of Kanouj.

Dr. Mill says, he has nowhere in Hindu chronology met with the slightest mention of the most renowned of the race, Samudra Gupta, in whose honour chiefly the inscription No. 2, on the Allahabad column, was recorded. Pottinger, in his History of Sinde, mentions the dynasty of the Sasee [Saha or Sahu?[1]] Rajas, which had governed the kingdoms of Sinde for upwards of 2000 years [from before the seventh century, B.C.], whose princes at one period received tribute from *eleven dependent kingdoms*, and who had set the threats of the greatest monarchs of the world at defiance; but had there been a *paramount* sovereign in the valley of the Indus when Alexander descended the river, he would have been noticed in Arrian. There is also a paramount monarch [Adhiraja] mentioned in copper plates from Seone on the Nerbuddah, of the name of Deva Gupta, but there is no record made of his capital, and this new Gupta only comes to light through a prince [Prithivi Sena] who married his daughter, mentioning him in the inscription. The Deva Nagari of the inscription, deprived of a curious open parallelogram at the head of each letter, is that of the Allahabad column, No. 2: Deva Gupta, therefore, reigned after the Buddhists had lost their political power, and does not come into my category; nor does the *soi-disant paramount* sovereign Yaso Pala of Dehli, A.D. 1035, mentioned in an inscription on a stone in the Calcutta Museum.

The following is an extract from a paper in the Appendix, translated from the French, one of whose rare scholars had translated it from the Chinese. It is called, "*Ma twan lin's Citation of Chinese Authorities regarding India.*"

[1] Some of the successors of Sivajee, the Mahratta prince, were called *Sahu Maha raj*; the father of Sivajee was called "*Shah*," and it is evidently not by accident the English have been accustomed to call the sovereign of the Mahratta nation, the "*Sahu Raja.*"

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"Under the Tang dynasty, in the years Woo teh [A. D. 618 to 627], there were great troubles in India; the king [Siladitya?] fought great battles."

"The Chinese Buddhist priest, Hiuan thsang, who writes his travels, arrived in India at this period, and had audience of Siladitya."

From copper plates dug up in Gujarat, it appears there were three princes of the name of Siladitya, of the Balabhi dynasty at Patan; the first about A.D. 319 to 350; the second is placed A.D. 523; and the third A.D. 559; the last is *said* [but not in the inscription] to have been killed by the PARTHIANS, and his capital Balabhi to have been destroyed by them. Now, as Hiuan thsang visited Balabhi in the beginning of the seventh century, and saw Siladitya, who was a Buddhist, the Parthian invasion must have taken place after the date specified, or the era in the inscriptions has been mistaken. None of the princes of the Balabhis of Patan reigned over all India.

There is no such name as Siladitya in the list of the Magadha kings, nor in the rising Gupta family of Kanouj; but in the chronology of Kashmir there is a Lalitaditya, about A. D. 716, who conquered Yasovarma of Kanouj, [the Yasovigraha of inscriptions?] and overran India: but the Guptas, by their inscriptions and coins, evidently recovered their ascendancy as far as related to Central India. In the first inscription in honour of Samudra Gupta, the king of the North, [Kashmir?] who had oppressed his family, was Dhananjaya, but there is not any such name on coins, nor amongst the Kashmir Rajas; though it is worthy of remark, that there are a multitude of Guptas amongst the kings of Kashmir, one of whom, Xemagupta, A.D. 971, was pleased to distinguish himself by destroying many monasteries of the Buddhists.

The Allahabad inscriptions, the persecutions of Xemagupta, Ma twan lin's notices, the Balibhi inscriptions, and the dates of the rise of the Rajput dynasties, are highly important, showing, as they do, the anarchy which must have prevailed in India from the sixth to the tenth centuries, and thus accounting for the disappearance of the political power of the Buddhists; Fa hian found every potentate in India a Buddhist, and Hiuan thsang found much the same state of things two centuries afterwards: the fall of Buddhist power, therefore, must have been after their days.

Megasthenes speaks of there being 120 nations in India; no doubt with numerous petty kings: and though Arrian, in his History of India, mentions Spartembas, BUDDHA, Cradevas[1], and their suc-

[1] Lib. viii.

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cessors from father to son, reigning for ages, in early times, as kings *of India*, it has probably reference to the country north of the Indus. As traits, also, of the political state of India, we must not omit mention of the *Republic* of Vassali or Allahabad, in Sakya's time; of the *elective* kings of Gujarat and Cutch, some centuries afterwards; and of Susunágo, king of Magadha, who was *elected by the people*, 471 B.C.

The nations or tribes of the Cathæi, Oxydracæ, Suraseni, Malli, Adraistæ, and Sindomanæ, mentioned by Arrian, appear to have been distinct from each other; and the Malli and Oxydracæ were a free people, and therefore independent of control from Magadha; and finally, we know, when the Mohammedans invaded India, that they found the country in the hands of numerous petty Rajput or Sudra princes, most of whose dynasties, even from the showing of their own annals, although apocryphal authorities unless confirmed by inscriptions, were of comparatively recent origin. The Chohans of Ajmir and Dehli, of whom was Ajipala the founder of Ajmir, A.D. 145?: the Haravati Chohans, A.D. 1024: the Guptas of Kanouj, after the seventh century. The Rajas of Malwa are carried up apocryphally to B.C. 840, to Dhanji, who *restored* a *fire* temple, which was disapproved of by the *Buddhists*. The three Rajas Bhoja belong to this line, and Colonel Tod fixes them respectively, A.D. 567, 665, and 1035. But Professor Wilson rectifies one of the Princes Karaksen from A.D. 135 to A.D. 676, and this is a type of other rectifications, and of many more that are *required*. The Balabhi dynasty of Gujarat, A.D. 144, does not legitimately come in here, as they were originally sun-worshippers, and afterwards Buddhists and Jains, according to the annals of the latter; but Buddhist, according to Fa hian and Hiuan thsang. The eleven sovereigns of the Sah dynasty of Saurashtra [Gujarat], brought to light by their silver coins, are nowhere to be met with in Hindu works; no doubt, because they were Buddhists,—the chief emblem on most of their coins being the Buddhist chaitya, and on some of them there is a seated Buddha. —J. A. S. B., vol. iv., plate 49, p. 684, and vol. vi. p. 338.

The rise of the Anhalwara or Patan dynasty of Gujarat, [a fragment of the Balabhis, but it does not appear how from being Buddhists they became Rajputs,] is placed A.D. 696. Mr. James Prinsep, indeed, says the *traditions* of the Rajput states, lean to an Indo-Scythic derivation of their dynasties[1], and both the Mewar and Gujarat dynasties of the Gehlote or Sesodia Rajputs, although they claim descent from the Sun, have uniformly a Parthian, and

[1] J. A. S. B., vol. iv. page 677.

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therefore Buddhist, origin ascribed to them by the Persian historians. [J. A. S. B., vol. iv., p. 684.] And the origin of the Rahtore Rajputs of Kanouj, according to the *Jains* of Marwar as quoted by Colonel Tod, *was Indo-Scythic*. They sprung from the backbone of Indra; but the progenitor in the mortal form was Vavanaswa, A.D. 300, a *Yavan* or Greek of the Aswa or Asi tribe. Then follows Basdeo, A.D. 390, whose daughter married Bahram Sassan of Persia; not a very probable alliance, supposing the lady to be a high caste Hindu princess: the next prince is Ramdeo, A.D. 450, and it will be recollected that between these two dates Fa hian found a Buddhist on the throne; and in about A.D. 630, Hiuan thsang found a Vaisya ruling. The Guptas, therefore, of the Allahabad column and the coins of Kanouj; who were *Hindu Sudras*, if they reigned at all in Kanouj, must have come in after Fa hian's time, A.D. 402-6, or after Hiuan thsang's visit; and the latter is the most probable, from the form of the Deva Nagari used in their inscriptions and on their coins. Although their inscriptions mention Hindu gods, I have elsewhere shown that their coins have many Buddhist associations and emblems, as if they had not shaken off the memory of the past; but the moment the second series of Kanouj coins is touched upon with a known personage Govenda Chandra Deva, A.D. 1072, *all Buddhist emblems* disappear, and the Deva Nagari is easily convertible into modern Deva Nagari; and for the FIRST TIME the ancient Indian coins have reference to Puranic legends in the Boar avatar and discus of Vishnu. The rise of the Ranas of Chitor, another fragment of the Balabhis, is placed in A.D. 727. In A.D. 812, Chitor was invaded from Cabul, and in the next reign but one, about A.D. 850, Bhirtripad founded no less than thirteen principalities, for his sons, in Malwa and Gujarat; a pretty fair specimen of the *then* anarchical state of India. The Cuchwaha race of Rajputs of Jaypur, A.D. 294. Jodhpur, A.D. 210. The Raos of Jaysulmer come into Puranic fable; and it is probable from Alexander finding the Brahman tribe located in their territories or near to their territories; and from Fa hian bearing testimony in A.D. 401, that the Jaysulmer deserts were still inhabited by heretics, [probably Rajputs and Brahmans,] and Hiuan thsang stating the same thing; that the Raos may claim the distinction of being one of the most ancient, if not the most ancient and persistent of the Hindu dynasties. The first *date* is B.C. 94?, when Raja Gaja invaded Kandrupkal in Kashmir, and in A.D. 15? Salbahan conquered the Punjab, but was expelled from Cabul. This Rao is said to have had fifteen sons, *all of whom became Rajas*. We may suppose that some of them emerged from their deserts and essayed

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their prowess in Central and Western India. The dates, however, require confirmation from inscriptions or coins. The Orissa dynasty is made to commence A.D. 142. Whatever might have been the religion of the princes at this date, the reigning princes in Fa hian's and Hiuan thsang's time, by their testimony, were Buddhists; and in the Orissa chronology, there is a curious insertion of the Yavanas or Greeks having reigned between A.D. 318 and A.D. 473. From the Cuttack rock inscriptions in Pali, and from its having possessed a celebrated chaitya or temple for the tooth relic of Buddha, we know Cuttack to have been a peculiarly Buddhist country. The Rajas of Bengal date from inscriptions of Kumarapala, A.D. 1017, and there are some few names before this prince. *The* Mackenzie Manuscripts from the South of India also give accounts of the comparatively recent establishment of the Hindu dynasties of the South. Karnata Rajas, A.D. 984; Tuluva do., A.D. 800; Chola do., A.D. 700 to 1000; the Pandyans, however, run up into traditional periods. In running my eye very rapidly over the dates of many hundred inscriptions, translated by the Rev. W. Taylor of Madras, I did not meet with a solitary inscription of the 10th century; and the great majority of those recording gifts to temples or to Brahmans, were of the 14th, 15th, or 16th centuries, but chiefly of the latter. Mr. Walter Elliot, of the Madras Civil Service, who has published 595 inscriptions from the South of India, gives his earliest date A.D. 973 of the *Chalukya* dynasty, and tradition even only carries its origin to the fifth century. The other three great dynasties of the Dekhan, the Kalabhurija, the Bellalas, and the Devagiri, are still more recent[1]. The dates of these endless Hindu inscriptions thus tell a tale that cannot be misunderstood; they were most abundant when Brahmanical influence and Puranic beliefs were most prevalent, the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries, and they are *altogether wanting at the very period when Buddhist inscriptions and Buddhist annals tell us India professed the Buddhist faith*[2].

But it is unnecessary to carry the enumeration further. Sufficient evidence is afforded that from Sakya Buddha's time downwards, with few exceptions, India had been parcelled amongst petty princes until the Mohammedan conquest; and evidence has been afforded also, that until the breaking up of Buddhism, there are few, IF ANY, legitimate and incontrovertible instances of Hindu monarchies; of course, considering the Puranic lists apocryphal; and were there no other reasons for questioning their authority

[1] Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. iv. p. 1.

[2] If the Rajput families were of Indo-Scythic origin, a question might be raised whether they could have been *pure Hindus*.

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than the almost general omission of the names of the princes of every dynasty, whether Buddhist or Hindu, whose names and deeds have been brought to light in inscriptions and coins, these omissions themselves would stamp the Puranic chronologies with a character of suppression, unfaithfulness, and design, which must render the testimony they afford, suspicious and doubtful, even where true; and as they have *prophetic* chapters, it cannot be urged in their favour, that their inventors were necessitated, with a view to preserve consistently their claim to great antiquity, to omit all notice of comparatively modern dynasties. The most singular suppression or omission is that of Vikramáditya, who has established an era, 57 B.C., which is used by the Hindus at present, who, indeed, claim Vikramáditya as a Hindu prince; a doubtful claim; and his name not being met with in the solar or lunar lines, justifies the doubt. I shall, subsequently, have occasion to quote the opinions of competent authorities on the value of the Puranas as chronicles.

Professor Wilson, in speaking of the Vishnu Purana, the date of which he fixes about A.D. 954, says at this time the Kshatriya rule [it appears to me he should rather have said the Buddhist rule, for many of the Kshatriyas [Rajputs] had only recently established their dynasties upon the ruins of Buddhist monarchies; for Fa hian testifies that there was not a single Hindu ruler in his time,] was generally abolished; Brahmans, and even mountaineers, were ruling in Magadha or Bahar; at Allahabad, at Mathura [Mutra], Kantpuri, Kasipuri or Kanyapuri, [probably Benares or Kanouj]. The Guptas, a term indicating a Sudra family, reigned over part of Magadha; and Devarakshita, a person so named, ruled the maritime province of Kalinga. Sudras and cowherds ruled in Surat, along the Nermada [Nerbuddah river,] and at Ougein. And Mlechchhas [foreigners,] possessed the country along the *Indus*, along the Chandra Bhaga, or in the Punjab, Darvika, and Kashmir.

On the question of the fifth point, the absence of *credible* evidence justifies the inference, that during the prevalence of Buddhism there were few, if any kings in India, followers of the Brahmanical system. The prince, Sakya's father, is stated to have been a Kshatrya, but it remains yet to be shown that the belonging to this class in the civil distinctions of society in Buddha's time, necessarily implied the profession of a Brahmanical creed. King Prasenajet, of Kosala, who was Sakya's cousin, and a Kshatrya, was the first to raise a statue of Sakya in sandal wood, which was the model of all subsequent statues to Buddha. Bimbisaro, the king of Magadha, and liege lord of Sakya's father, and the contemporary of

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Sakya, is stated by the *Mahawanso* to have been converted to Buddhism by him; and as several other members of the Maurya dynasty and Sunga dynasty, who occupied the Magadha throne at intervals, running through many hundred years, are known to have been Buddhists, either from inscriptions, coins, or from the *Mahawanso*, it is but a legitimate inference that the intermediate kings were also Buddhists, for an alternation of Monotheism and Polytheism in successive members of the same families is not probable.

There are proofs of the following kings of the Magadha line having been of Sakya's faith:—Bimbisaro, B. C. 603, authority *Mahawanso* and Dipawanso[1]; Ajatasattu, B.C. 551, authority Pali Buddhistical annals, J. A. S. B. vol. vi. p. 516; Kalasoko, B.C. 443, authority *Mahawanso*; the celebrated Buddhist king Asoko, B. C. 319, authority inscriptions and *Mahawanso*; Dasaratha, B.C. 250 to 273, inscriptions in Buddhagaya caves; the four Mitras of the Sunga dynasty, B.C. 178,—coins and inscriptions at Gaya; Bhagavata, B.C. 80,—coin with Buddhist emblems from Behat[2]; Chandagutto, about

[1] J. A. S. B. vol. vii. p. 928.

[2] J. A. S. B. vol. iii. pl. 25, fig. 4, p. 436. This very coin, nevertheless, has the erect figure with the trident, which, by being met with on coins of Kadphises of Cabul, associated with a bull, has induced Professor Wilson to think that it affords evidence of Siva having been worshipped at that early period; but the *identical* figure is met with on numerous copper coins of Kadphises [many hundred] *without the bull*; and on a splendid gold coin taken out of the monument of Kadphises at Cabul, the erect figure is naked, has three tails, a *staff* in the right hand, and a *ball* in the left, evidently, therefore, not Siva. All the coins of Kadphises, also, whether with or without the trident figure and bull, have the Buddhist emblem [No. 29 of the plate of emblems,] which is found associated with the Buddhist inscriptions in the caves of Western India. Mr. James Prinsep thought that Kadphises reigned at Cabul about A.D. 200. Moreover, the coins of Kadphises have Greek legends on them; the king has a Persian cap on his head, and he stands beside an altar [vide Fa hian]. The bull is found on the Buddhist satrap coins of Jyoupur and Ougein, and it was otherwise an emblem common to the Buddhists and Saivas. On some of Kadphises' coins, also, the figure with the *bull* and the *trident, is a female*, thus disposing of Siva, J. A. S. B. vol. iii. pl. 34, fig. 1. And the association of the bull with Buddhism is put beyond doubt by a bull standing before the Buddhist sacred Bo-tree, on coins, J. A. S. B. vol. iii. pl. 18, figs. 11 and 12; and vol. vii. pl. 61, figs. 6, 15, 19. The miscalled Brahmany bull is also seen on the Greek coins of Apollodotus, Philoxenus, Azus, and Azilasus, J. A. S. B. vol. iv. p. 341. Moreover, it is carried, together with the horseman, into the *Mohammedan coins*, with the names of the kings in Deva Nagari, as well as Arabic, *Sri Mahomed Sami*, A. H. 588, A.D. 1192, Shams ul Din, A. H. 607, &c. &c., J. A. S. B. vol. iv. p. 682. Some of the Greek coins of Apollodotus have an elephant as well as a bull with Pehlvi legend; those of Diomedes, a bull and Pehlvi; of Azilasus, an elephant and Pehlvi; and those of Azus, a bull and Pehlvi. There is not any Buddhist emblem upon the coins of the Greek Bactrian monarchs; but the moment we pass to the Indo-Scythic coins with Greek characters, Buddhist emblems appear upon them, also upon the Nysæan and the Leonine coins.—J. A. S. B. vol. v. p. 28.

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A.D. 800, inscription at Bhilsa. An inscription at Gaya, A.D. 1197? indicates that Chaudra Deva, Dasaratha Kumara, and Srimat Laximana Sena Deva, kings of Gaur, were Buddhists at that recent date.

The father of Asoko, called Bindusaro, is said by the *Mahawanso* to have been of the Brahmanical faith; but with this exception, as the *Mahawanso* is silent with respect to the creed of some other kings of Magadha, it may be inferred from their consanguinity to known Buddhists, that they were also Buddhists; and this inference is strengthened by the assertion of Fa hian, that from the time of Sakya, the kings of Central India [Magadha] reverenced the Buddhist priests, and this practice of theirs was *uninterrupted*. Of the ten sons of Kalasoko, known as the Nandas, one of them is stated by the *Mahawanso* to have reigned *righteously* for twenty-two years, and his nine surviving brothers also to have reigned *righteously* for twenty-two years. We can scarcely suppose that this complimentary phrase, which is evidently used in a religious sense, would have been applied to *heretics*. The ninth brother, Dhana-nando, was put to death by the Brahman Chanako, who installed in the sovereignty *over all India*, a descendant of the dynasty of Moriyan sovereigns, endowed with *illustrious* and *beneficent* attributes, surnamed CHANDAGUTTO [the supposed Sandracottus of the Greeks], who reigned thirty-four years, B.C. 381. The *Mahawanso* does not make any mention of his being the son of a barber, according to the Greeks. The celebrated Buddhist, king Asoko, B.C. 319, was a grandson of Chandagutto, and reigned thirty-seven years. The Burmese chronology embraces the whole of the above Magadha kings, from the grandfather of Sakya, with similar dates, and considers them Buddhist. And here I may quote part of the Annual Address of the Marquis of Northampton to the Royal Society, on the 29th of November last. Eulogizing the late lamented James Prinsep of Calcutta, he says, "Mr. Prinsep *ascertained* that at the period of Alexander's conquests, *India was under the sway of Buddhist sovereigns and Buddhist institutions, and that the earliest monarchs of India are not associated with a Brahmanical creed or dynasty.*"

If we look to the coins and inscriptions which have been brought to light in such profusion of late years, it will be found that they give weight to the testimony of the Chinese travellers. We have not any coins having reference to Hinduism before those of the Guptas, who were Sudras of Kanouj, about the eighth century, A.D., and even their coins are not free from Buddhist associations; for the Swastica and No. 34 of the Buddhist emblems are on the gold coin, No. 10, pl. 26, vol. iii. p. 448, J. A. S. B., with the archer,

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altar, figure, and humped bull; and their inscriptions show in how humble a relation the Brahmans stood to princes at that period, affording a remarkable contrast to the inscriptions of two or three centuries later date, [that of Harsha, A.D. 973,] in which the Brahmans are styled "lords of the earth." The coins from Affghanistan speak to us of Greek and Buddhist-Scythic princes only, and probably of some fire-worshippers. Those from Ceylon are, of course, Buddhist; those from Gujarat and Western India are chiefly Buddhist; but from a few of them an inference is admissible, that some of the princes in whose honour they were struck, were sun-worshippers. Buddhism, however, or may be, its successor Jainism, long retained its hold in Gujarat, and, indeed, does so still. Dr. Kennedy, in his account of the recent campaign in Affghanistan, describing the tomb of Mahmud of Ghazni the destroyer of the celebrated temple of Somnath in Kattywar, says, the specimens of architecture and sculpture which were taken from Somnath by Mahmud in the eleventh century, [January A.D. 1026] and which are now in the garden of his tomb at Ghazni, are of Jain [Buddhist?] origin, confirming the speculations of Lieut. Postans, that this celebrated temple, despite the disguise of supplemental Brahmanical architecture, was *originally* a Buddhist structure, and *afterwards* was appropriated to the worship of Siva, and probably it was so dedicated at the time of its capture by Mahmud[2].

Mr. Vincent Tregear obtained some coins from the vicinity of Jyonpur[3], of the DEVAS and DATTAS, with legends in the oldest form of Pali some of them, indeed, antecedent to the Greek invasion; and more than one coin of PURUSHA DATTA, which it requires no great stretch of credulity to identify as the coin of PORUS, the antagonist of Alexander, and if this be admitted, then will probability be converted into almost certainty, and Porus prove a Buddhist monarch. At the time of Alexander's invasion, Buddhism must have been in the palmy days of its power[4], judging from the inscriptions, the coins, the topes, the temples, the monasteries, the obelisks, the multitudinous and gigantic cave excavations, and other works of art, most of which are referrible, not only by the internal evidence they afford, but by the testimony of the *Mahawanso*, to the period between the first and sixth centuries before Christ, and more particularly to the period when Asoko reigned, B.C. 319 to B.C. 282.

[1] Vol. ii. p. 60. [2] J. A. S. B. vol. vii. page 868.

[3] J. A. S. B. vol. vii. p. 1052.

[4] Mr. James Prinsep says, a century or two prior to the Christian era, Buddhism flourished in the height of its glory from Kashmir to Ceylon.—J. A. S. B. vol. vii. p. 1047.

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The coins[1] which were dug up at Ougein, and forwarded by Mr. Bax of the Bombay Civil Service to Major Ouseley of Sagar, are supposed to be the most ancient of all the coins hitherto found in India or Affghanistan. They have, indisputably, Buddhist emblems upon them, and the princes in whose honour they were struck must have been Buddhists. The emblems are,—the chaitya[2], Sakya's Bo-tree, the praying-wheel, a seated figure of Buddha; a curious emblem, probably one of the forms of the praying-wheel; and a new form of the cross, one or more of these being associated with a standing male figure with a long staff; a humped bull, [sometimes standing before the sacred Bo-tree,] an elephant, a tiger, the heads of oxen [such as Fa hian describes surmounting Buddha's staff], or a female figure seated cross-legged. Dr. Burns obtained precisely similar coins from Kaira in Gujarat, and therefore of the Ougein princes. Why have we not similar vestiges of kings of the Brahmanical faith?

From inscriptions upon copper plates dug up at Baroda in Gujarat, dated A.D. 812 and A.D. 822, it appears that at that time India was divided into four kingdoms; namely, Gajara to the west, the Malwa Raj, the Goura or Bengal, and the Sateshwara, south of the capital Elapoor. The names of the ruling kings are not given.

But sufficient facts and circumstances have been adduced, testifying to the prevalence of Buddhist monarchies, for twelve or fourteen centuries before facts and circumstances bear similar testimony to the prevalence or even existence of monarchies under the Brahmanical system, excepting always the apocryphal testimony afforded by Puranic fables.

With respect to the sixth point, the Chinese authors assert from personal knowledge, that as late as the early part of the sixth century of Christ, the Brahmans in India were a tribe of strangers, and the chief of the tribes of the barbarians. With the bias arising from the long continued tacit admission of the claims of the Brahmans to an origin emanating from the fabled ages, to a sacredness of character which isolated them from their fellow men, and to a dignity of station which placed them at the head of the religious system of nations, it is difficult for us to give credence to the assertions of the Chinese; and yet, by putting into juxtaposition numerous facts and circumstances, possibly trifling in themselves, they in the aggregate, and in the absence of positive testimony, sanction conclusions scarcely militating against the positive asser-

[1] J. A. S. B. vol. vii. p. 61, page 1054.

[2] Vide Appendix of Emblems.

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tions of the Chinese. The position of Brahmans in early Indian society, must be gathered from the negative evidence of what they were not, rather than from the *puranic* evidence of what they were said to be. In investigating their position, the question of caste must necessarily be touched upon; but it is a matter so extensive in its bearings, that it will demand specific consideration.

Our first object will be to obtain the *earliest* credible information of the ancient state of the Indian community; and this is supplied by Sakya [Buddha] himself, who, in the commencement of the sixth century before Christ, is fortunately interrogated by his disciples on the subject. The details furnished by Sakya can be tested by a comparison with the accounts of the state of India supplied to us by Arrian from the lost works of Ptolemy and Aristobulus, the companions of Alexander; the accounts of Megasthenes, the ambassador from Seleucus to the reigning monarch at Patiliputto, [the modern Patna,] and by various other Western authors: and the comparison will afford no small surprise that there should be so many points of accordance in the details furnished to us by the Buddhist scriptures and the Greek historians.

Sakya [Buddha] is represented in the *Agganna-Suttan*[1], which is one of the discourses in the *Patiwaggo*, section of the *Dighanikayo*, of the *Suttapitako*, to be explaining to his disciples WASETTHO and BHARADDWAJO[2], Brahman converts to Buddhism, the progress of the regeneration of the world and the constitution of society after one of its periodical destructions: the discourse took place in the city of *Sawatthipura*, the capital of Kosalo, [Oude,] and in the monastery of *Pubbaramo*. He says, "Living creatures first appear by an apparitional birth, subsisting on the element of felicity, illumined by their own effulgence, moving through the air, delightfully located, and existing in unity and concord." Then, it appears, a *savoury* substance was produced on the surface of the earth; one of the hitherto happy and passionless beings was induced to taste it, the rest followed his example, and the passions of sense fell upon them, and they lost their state of purity; successive supplies of objects of sense, and successive excesses, produced a state of degeneracy, leading to the union of the sexes; the increase of mankind, the building of houses to conceal their indulgencies, the appropriation of lands and their cultivation, the constitution of society, the conflicts arising from the pursuit of selfish objects, the outrages on property and

[1] J. A. S. B., vol. vii., page 693. Turnour's Translations.

[2] This is the identical name of the Brahman who gives the sumptuous feast to Bharata and his army at Allahabad, as related in the *Ramayana*, and who is one of the seven Hindu Rishis.

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persons, the punishments resulting, and the necessity for rulers, laws, and their administrators.

This is the *substance* of the first part of Sakya's discourse, and before proceeding further, I pause for a moment to draw attention to the unexpected coincidence between Buddha's views of the pure origin and subsequent degeneracy of mankind, and our own Biblical accounts. Adam, in Paradise, was pure, and happy, and passionless; he deemed his enjoyments imperfect, he tasted the forbidden fruit, and fell. Adam and Eve hid themselves from the Lord because they knew they were naked; they were driven from Paradise; the sexual passions arose, mankind multiplied, the earth was cultivated, the constitution of society with its evils, the necessity for rulers, &c., took place. But the chief points of coincidence are in the original innocency of man's state, his indulgence, and his consequent fall and degeneracy.

But taking up the state of society when outrages on property commenced, Buddha says:—"Men assembled and deliberated, saying most assuredly wicked actions have become prevalent among mankind; everywhere, theft, degradation, and punishment will prevail. It will be most proper that we should elect some one individual who would be able to eradicate most fully that which should be eradicated; to degrade that which should be degraded; to expel those who should be expelled; and we will assign to him [the person elected,] a share of our produce." A ruler, in consequence of so resolving, [SAMMATO] was elected, and being the first, he was called the MAHA-SAMMATO[1], [the great elect;] and being also the lord of [*Khettani*] cultivated lands, he secondly acquired the appellation of Khattiyo, [Kshatrya[2];] and as by his righteous administration he rendered [*rangeti*] mankind happy, he thirdly acquired the appellation of RAJA. Buddha adds: thus it was that they were elevated, but they are from the same stock of mankind, and of a perfect [original] equality with the people.

Buddha goes on to say, "This thought occurred to the people; 'Among mankind wickedness has descended: theft, degradation, fraud, punishment, and expulsion, have appeared. It will be most proper that we should [*bhaheyana*] suppress wicked and impious acts;' and they accordingly did [*bhahenti*] suppress wicked and impious acts. These *Bahmana* [suppressors or eradicators] hence derived their first name, BRAHMANA[3]." He then alludes to the

[1] This individual was Sakya in one of his former incarnations.

[2] The Brahmans make the Kshatrya, or warriors, the *second* caste, placing themselves first.

[3] In Asoko's edicts on the rocks in Cuttack, they are invariably called *Babhana*, [elsewhere in Old Pali written *Bamhena* and Bahmana,] the Sanskrit word *Brah-*

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Brahmana exulting in the wild life they were leading, in leaf huts built in the wilderness, and their being called in consequence Jhayaka; and their ceasing to exult in that life, and adds, like the Khattiyo, they are no more than a division of the same tribe, who were in all respects on a footing of original equality. This appointment of suppressors, eradicators, inquisitors, or inspectors, is confirmed in a most singular manner from the most opposite and unexpected sources,—the Buddhist emperor Asoko, and the Greek historian Arrian. The sixth edict of the celebrated Buddhist emperor Piyadasi or Asoko, on the rocks of Dauli in Cuttack, and those of Girnar in Gujarat, appoint instructors or CENSORS for all the relations of life, adding, "Moreover, for their [the people's] better welfare among them, an *awarder of punishment* is duly installed[1]."

Mr. James Prinsep says, the edict may be either regarded as having established a system of education regulating conduct through life, or a system of judicial administration to take cognizance, and decide on all departures from moral law. But Buddha, who speaks 300 to 400 years before the time of the edicts, says, the inspectors were appointed expressly to suppress wicked and impious acts; and from the translations of a Chinese novel by Mr. R. Thom, printed at Canton, called the "Lasting Resentment of Miss Keaou Lwan Wang," these very persons,—the inquisitors or censors,—form a part of Chinese [Buddhist] policy in modern times, for the lady appeals to the imperial censor, "*who was traversing that part of the country, inspecting and reforming abuses*," for redress!!

A reference to Arrian, quoted subsequently, shows that his sixth class of the people of India, at the time of Alexander's inroad, were precisely these inspectors, or inquisitors, or censors, [*episcopi*] who reported to the kings where regal rule prevailed, and to the magistrates in the democratic states. We have thus Buddha, Asoko's edicts, and Arrian, confirming each other[2].

mana being only met with in Modern Pali, J. A. S. B. vol. vii. p. 427, and *Bâhman* is a common term for Brahmans in the Dekhan to this day.

[1] J. A. S. B. vol. vii. pp. 254, 268, and 448.

[2] In confirmation, also, of the accuracy of Arrian's authorities, Ptolemy, and Aristobulus, and Nearchus, in respect to the allusion to democratical governments in India, we may point out the republic of Wassali [Allahabad], mentioned by Sakya [Buddha] himself, and the *elective* kings in Gujarat brought to light by the coins*; not forgetting Susunago, who was *elected* by the people to the Magadha throne, B.C. 471. And we have an instance of the practice still prevailing, in the chiefs of the Banswarra state *electing* a Raja last year.

* J. A. S. B. vol. vi. pp. 380, 381, and 385.

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But to proceed with Sakya's account of the *early* state of society. He says, "The portion of mankind who had formed domestic connexions [and built houses for themselves] became *Wussutakammante*, distinguished as skilful workmen or artificers, and in consequence of their becoming distinguished, from their domestic ties and skilfulness, they obtained the appellation of Wessa, [Sanskrit, Vaisya,] but they were of original equality with the rest of mankind."

Further, there were some persons who were addicted to hunting [luddá], from being called luddá, luddá, the appellation Suddá [Sanskrit, Sudra,] was formed. It was thus, that to this class or caste of Suddá, that name was originally given; but they were of original equality with the rest of mankind. "From *each of these castes*, certain individuals despising and reviling their own castes respectively, each abandoned his habitation, and led an habitationless life [*agariyan pabbajito*], saying, I will become [Sumano] an ascetic or priest." Hence Buddha exemplifies that the ascetic or sacerdotal order was formed from each of the four castes, and does *not appertain to any particular caste.* Moreover he says, they had no habitations, and must therefore have lived in the open air or in groves, or forests, precisely as Arrian's Gymnosophists are represented to have done[1]. And he concludes by saying, "Whether Khattiyo, Brahmo, Wesso, Suddo, or Sumano, if they sin in deed, word, or thought, they go to hell; but if they are righteous in deed, word, and thought, and be of the true or supreme faith, by the merit of that faith they are reproduced after death, in the felicitous heavens;" and in another place he says, "The sinful heretic, on the dismemberment of his frame after death, is born in the tormenting, everlasting, and unendurable *hell.*" We thus learn from the account of Sakya, that in his time society was divided into five constituent bodies,—the rulers and warriors,—the suppressors of crime, or inquisitors, or censors,—the artificers and mercantile class,—the hunters and shepherds,—and the ascetics or priests; but these were all civil distinctions, excepting the last, resulting from professions and habits, and were entirely uninfluenced by religious *prescriptions*, or rather *proscriptions.* Hence the Brahmans, or rather *Babhana*, although admitted to exist, were charged with civil functions, and were destitute of a religious character, which was confined to the ascetics or priests, who were derived from all the other classes. Hence, also, it may be understood, that there might be Brahman Buddhists, Kshatrya Buddhists, Vaisya Buddhists, and Sudra

[1] Asceticism and monachism existed amongst the Buddhist priesthood, as eremitism and monachism existed amongst the early Christians.

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Buddhists, without involving the necessity of their being converts from another faith.

We are thus afforded a standard of comparison with the state of society in India about 278 years afterwards, as described by Arrian, chiefly from the authority of the companions of Alexander, and partly from Megasthenes. The lapse of years could not have added two classes of society not enumerated by Sakya; namely, the soldiers and husbandmen, or cultivators of the soil. The former, therefore, must have been included in Sakya's Khattiyo class, and the latter in the Sudda. For the sake of immediate reference to Arrian's text of his *Historiæ Indicæ*, I have thought it right to annex the chapters in which he describes the constitution of society in India, from the edition, "Georgii Raphelii; Amstelædami, 1757[1]."

[1] XI. Νενέμηνται δὲ οἱ πάντες Ἰνδοὶ ἐς ἑπτὰ μάλιστα γενεάς· ἐν μὲν αὐτοῖσιν οἱ σοφισταί εἰσι, πλήθει μὲν μείους τῶν ἄλλων, δόξῃ δὲ καὶ τιμῇ γεραρώτατοι. Οὔτε γάρ τι τῷ σώματι ἐργάζεσθαι ἀναγκαίη σφὶν προσκέαται· οὔτέ τι ἀποφέρειν ἀφ' ὅτου πονέουσιν ἐς τὸ κοινόν· οὐδέ τι ἄλλο ἀνάγκης ἁπλῶς ἐπεῖναι τοῖσι σοφιστῇσιν, ὅτι μὴ θύειν τὰς θυσίας τοῖσι θεοῖσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἰνδῶν· καὶ ὅστις δὲ ἰδίᾳ θύει, ἐξηγητὴς αὐτῷ τῆς θυσίης τῶν τις σοφιστῶν τούτων γίνεται, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως κεχαρισμένα τοῖς θεοῖς θύσαντας. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ μαντικῆς οὗτοι μοῦνοι Ἰνδῶν δαήμονες, οὐδὲ ἐφεῖται ἄλλῳ μαντεύεσθαι, ὅτι μὴ σοφῷ ἀνδρί· μαντεύουσι δὲ ὅσα ὑπὲρ τῶν ὡραίων τοῦ ἔτεος, καὶ εἴ τις ἐς τὸ κοινὸν συμφορὴ καταλαμβάνει· τὰ ἴδια δὲ ἑκάστοισιν οὔ σφιν μέλει μαντεύεσθαι· ἢ ὡς οὐκ ἐξικνεομένης τῆς μαντικῆς ἐς τὰ μικρότερα, ἢ ὡς οὐκ ἄξιον ἐπὶ τούτοισι πονέεσθαι. Ὅστις δὲ ἁμάρτοι ἐς χρεὼ μαντευσάμενος, τούτῳ δὲ ἄλλο μὲν κακὸν γίγνεσθαι οὐδέν, σιωπᾷν δὲ εἶναι ἐπάναγκες τοῦ λοιποῦ· καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις ἐξαναγκάσει τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον φωνῆσαι, ὅτου ἡ σιωπὴ κατακέκριται. Οὗτοι γυμνοὶ διαιτῶνται οἱ σοφισταὶ, τοῦ μὲν χειμῶνος ὑπαίθριοι ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ, τοῦ δὲ θέρεος ἐπὴν ὁ ἥλιος κατέχῃ, ἐν τοῖσι λειμῶσι καὶ τοῖσιν ἕλεσιν ὑπὸ δένδρεσι μεγάλοισιν· ὧν τὴν σκιὴν Νέαρχος λέγει ἐς πέντε πλέθρα ἐν κύκλῳ ἐξικνέεσθαι, καὶ ἂν μυρίους ὑπὸ ἑνὶ δένδρεϊ σκιάζεσθαι· τηλικαῦτα εἶναι ταῦτα τὰ δένδρεα. Σιτέονται δὲ ὡραῖα, καὶ τὸν φλοιὸν τῶν δένδρων, γλυκύν τε ὄντα τὸν φλοιὸν καὶ τρόφιμον, οὐ μεῖον ἢπερ αἱ βάλανοι τῶν φοινίκων. Δεύτεροι δ' ἐπὶ τούτοισιν οἱ γεωργοί εἰσιν· οὗτοι πλήθει πλεῖστοι Ἰνδῶν ἐόντες· καὶ τούτοισιν οὔτε ὅπλα ἐστὶν ἀρήϊα, οὔτε μέλει τὰ πολέμια ἔργα, ἀλλὰ τὴν χώρην οὗτοι ἐργάζονται· καὶ τοὺς φόρους τοῖς τε βασιλεῦσι καὶ τῇσι πόλεσιν ὅσαι αὐτόνομοι, οὗτοι ἀποφέρουσι· καὶ εἰ πόλεμος ἐς ἀλλήλους τοῖσιν Ἰνδοῖσιν τύχοι, τῶν ἐργαζομένων τὴν γῆν οὐ θέμις σφὶν ἅπτεσθαι, οὐδὲ αὐτὴν τὴν γῆν τέμνειν· ἀλλὰ οἱ μὲν πολεμοῦσι καὶ κατακαίνουσιν ἀλλήλους ὅπως τύχοιεν, οἱ δὲ πλησίον αὐτῶν κατ' ἡσυχίην ἀροῦσιν, ἢ τρυγῶσιν, ἢ κλαδοῦσιν, ἢ θερίζουσιν. Τρίτοι δέ εἰσιν Ἰνδοῖσιν οἱ νομέες, οἱ ποιμένες τε καὶ βουκόλοι, καὶ οὗτοι οὔτε κατὰ πόλιας, οὔτε ἐν τῇσι κώμῃσιν οἰκέουσι. νομάδες τέ εἰσι, καὶ ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρεα βιοτεύουσι· φόρον δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἀπὸ τῶν κτηνέων ἀποφέρουσιν καὶ θηρεύουσιν οὗτοι ἀνὰ τὴν χώρην ὄρνιθάς τε καὶ ἄγρια θηρία.

XII. Τέταρτον δὲ ἐστι τὸ δημιουργικόν τε καὶ καπηλικὸν γένος. Καὶ οὗτοι λειτουργοί εἰσι, καὶ φόρον ἀποφέρουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων τῶν σφετέρων, πλήν γε δὴ ὅσοι

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The seventh class consisted of those who consulted on public affairs: they were few in number, but far superior to all the others in wisdom and equity. From them were chosen the leaders of armies and fleets, provincial governors, magistrates, and superintendants of rural affairs. Arrian concludes by saying, that it was unlawful for these classes to intermarry with each other; and it was not permitted to a husbandman to marry amongst the mechanics, nor the reverse; nor could one man exercise two trades, nor leave his own and adopt another; a husbandman could not turn shepherd, nor the latter turn mechanic. *Nevertheless, all classes might join that of the sophists,* [*in fact that class was so constituted,*] whose life, so far from being an easy one, was the most painful of all. The most singular feature in this description of the constituents of Indian society in the third century before Christ, IS THE ABSOLUTE AND TOTAL OMISSION OF THE TERM BRAHMAN, AND OF ANY ALLUSION TO THEM WHATEVER; moreover, the term never once occurs from the beginning to the end of Arrian's *Historia Indicæ*.

Is it possible to suppose, therefore, that a talented and distinguished person like Arrian, high in station, and with all the necessary means at his disposal, who sat down deliberately to give an account of a great people, should have forgotten to mention the primary and most influential class of society, the Brahmans. If they had been a numerous body, or held any station whatever; indeed, if they had existed at all, excepting as *Ma touan lin* describes them, 700 years afterwards, "chief of the tribes of *Barbarians*," [foreigners,] or as Soung yun speaks of them, "The Brahmans [who] are considered as the superior cast amongst the STRANGERS," they ought to have had a place in Arrian's account of the constitution of Indian society. In fact, when he notices them in his Alexander's Expedition, which is only done, I believe, thrice, and then casually, he evidently alludes to them as a tribe. After speaking of the towns of the Malli[1], which were below the junction of the Jelum and Chenab, he says, "Alexander led his forces to a town of the *Brahmans*[2]," apparently in the territories of the Malli, for it was said some of the Malli had sought refuge in it. The town and castle were vigorously and pertinaciously defended by *its inhabitants*, 15000 of whom lost their lives;] and this very defence proves that the Brahmans[3] were armed, and, therefore, not exclusively a sacer-

[1] A free people living under their own laws. Anabasis, lib. vi. cap. vi.

[2] Anabasis, lib. vi. cap. vii.

[3] In lib. vi. cap. xvii. Arrian identifies these Brahmans with the sophists [or gymnosophists] of Indian society, [οἱ δὴ σοφισταὶ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς εἰσιν,] and as the

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dotal class as they pretend to be from their very origin. But, in truth, there is no mention whatever of the Brahmans, [the Gymnosophists not being Brahmans,] until Alexander had descended below the confluence of the Hydaspis and the Acesines, [Jelum and Chenab,] to the Hydraotes, [Ravi,] somewhere about the present Multan, and proximately to the only locality in India where Fa hian found *heretics* congregated in numbers, the arid country between the Indus and the Jumna. Hiuan thsang, also, in the seventh century, locates a heretic population, without saying whether it was Brahmanical or not, between the Indus and Ajmir. And the Chinese general, Heuen tse, who had carried O lo na shun, the minister of King Siladitya of Berar, prisoner to China, A.D. 648 to 650, on his return to India to find the philosopher's stone, says, he travelled over the *kingdoms of the Brahmans,* [Po lo mun,] which were met with in the country called the waters of Pan cha fa, [Punjab.] But previously to enlarging on the probably secular character of the Brahmans, it is necessary to call attention to the points of correspondence between Buddha's description of the origin and constitution of Indian society, and the description of Indian society by Arrian. In the end of the seventh century before Christ, or the beginning of the sixth, Buddha divides the population of India into five distinct bodies:

1st. The rulers and lords of cultivated lands, *Khettani,* whence Khattiyo, [in Sanskrit, Kshatrya.]

2nd. Suppressors, eradicators, inquisitors or censors, [Bahmana or Bhabana; in Sanskrit, Brahmana.]

3rd. Artificers, mechanics, tradesmen, &c., Wessa, [in Sanskrit, Vaisya.]

4th. The shepherds, herdsmen, and hunters, Sudda, [in Sanskrit, Sudra.]

5th. The priests and ascetics, Samana, [in Sanskrit, Sramana,] constituted from the four preceding classes.

About 270 years afterwards, Arrian's authorities, the companions of Alexander, together with Megasthenes, divide the population of India into seven distinct bodies.

5th. The military tribe, which combined with the seventh class, [the counsellors,] corresponds with Buddha's first tribe.

6th. The inquisitors, suppressors, eradicators or censors, *corresponding precisely* with Buddha's second class.

4th. Artificers, mechanics, tradesmen, &c., corresponding exactly with Buddha's third class.

sophists belonged to all castes, it is impossible these miscalled Brahmans could have been the same as the modern Brahmans.

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3rd. The shepherds, herdsmen, and hunters, corresponding exactly with Buddha's fourth class.

1st. The sophists, corresponding exactly with Buddha's fifth class, for the sophists were *constituted from all* the other classes.

Arrian's second tribe is that of the husbandmen, the most numerous of all, but it is not specifically mentioned by Buddha; however, as he derives Khattiyo [Sanskrit Kshatrya,] from Khettani, cultivated lands, it should be comprised in his first class, for the Sudra tribe is limited, from their habits, to the hunters and shepherds; there is, therefore, no other location for the husbandmen than amongst the Khattiyos. Arrian describes the husbandman as respected, and having his rights preserved even in the strife of war.

Arrian's small seventh class of leaders of armies and fleets, governors and magistrates, is not distinctively put forth by Buddha, but it must be included amongst his "rulers," and belongs, therefore, to the Khattiyo tribe.

Although the above two accounts of the state of the Indian population were written with an interval of nearly three centuries between them, it appears to me that few persons can read the details without the strongest impression being left upon their minds, that both accounts essentially describe *the same state of society*, in fact, the same social organization of the nations of India; nor can the reader fail to be struck with surprise, not that there should be discrepancies, but that there should be such extensive accordance, after the lapse of three centuries, between the details supplied by foreigners, heretics, and Greeks, and those supplied by a learned native, himself prince, saint, spiritual leader, and historian.

It remains to be asked, whether these accounts describe a Buddhist or Brahmanical state of society. Buddha mentions Bahmans, [Brahmans,] but they belonged to a secular class; they bore civil offices, and the sacerdotal class was entirely distinct from them; and, indeed, it was so constituted, that it was impossible Brahmans could have belonged to it, with the exclusive character they now arrogate to themselves. Moreover, the institution of inquisitors, or censors, is a Buddhist institution; it is found recorded in Asoko's edicts in the third century before Christ, shortly after or contemporary with Alexander's invasion; and it exists to this day amongst the Buddhists of China. As far as this fact goes, therefore, Buddha's and Arrian's description relates to a Buddhist social system.

In all states of society, even in incipient civilization, it is found that members of the community are set apart for sacerdotal pur-

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poses. Buddha states, that this order in India was the Samana or Buddhist priesthood, and the account of Arrian practically does not militate against it; and as no other sacerdotal class whatever is mentioned as a constituent body, the people in general must necessarily have been Buddhist.

With respect to the pastoral class, shepherds and herdsmen, if it be represented by the modern Brinjaries, it is to this day not Brahmanical. It is not stated by Buddha what was the religious persuasion of the rulers, including the Khattiyos and the Wessos, [Vaisya,] but we have so many *ancient* inscriptions and coins of Buddhist kings, and NO COINS WHATEVER OF ANCIENT *Hindu rulers* until the seventh or eighth century A.D., or even doubtful inscriptions before the fourth century, that it is not unfair to infer, combined with the preceding facts, that the rulers were generally Buddhist, as is asserted by the Chinese; and I have already quoted Mr. James Prinsep's opinion, which is of the highest value, that at the time of Alexander's inroad, India was not only under Buddhist rulers, but Buddhist institutions. With respect to the Vaisya, [or tradesmen class,] a considerable proportion of the *bankers* and *Wanees* [dealers in grocery, grain, drugs, &c.,] are Jains, [a schismatic offset from the Buddhists,] in many parts of India to this day.

It is found that Arrian's sixth, fourth, third, and first classes, correspond exactly with the second, third, fourth, and fifth classes described by Buddha; the same arguments, therefore, apply to them, and the same deductions are admissible, as in the former instances. Arrian's fifth tribe of soldiers, and his seventh class of leaders of fleets and armies, &c., belong to Buddha's "rulers and lords of cultivated lands." A class of "*counsellors*" does not apply to a society with Brahmanical phases, and it might have grown out of the necessities of government and the progress of civilization between Buddha's and Alexander's time. Mr. B. Hodgson, however, in his translations of the Nepalese accounts of the peopling the valley of Nepal, quotes the following:—"Sakya Sinha, [Buddha,] who was born at Kapila Vasta, [Oude,] accompanied by the Raja of Benares, 1350 bhikshu's, COUNSELLORS OF STATE, and a crowd of peasantry, made a pilgrimage to Nepal." J. A. S. B., vol. iii. p. 220. "*The counsellors*," made a class of society by Arrian, but not so distinguished by Buddha, were nevertheless, according to these Nepalese authorities, as ancient as Buddha's time; and as they accompanied him as a religious teacher, they would be Buddhists. Although Arrian makes a distinct class of counsellors, Nearchus, speaking of the sophists, says:—"Brachmanas in

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civitatibus versari, et Reges sequi, et *eorum consiliarios* esse; cæteros vero quæ ad naturam pertinent contemplari; et ex his Calanum fuisse." Strabo, lib. 15. Now we know from all authorities, these gymnosophists, sophists, or miscalled Brahmans, from the *want of caste*, and from other causes, could not have been Brahmans; but as they conformed to a Buddhist state of society as priests and counsellors, they might have been Buddhists. I have stated that Arrian, in his *Historiæ Indicæ*, never once mentions the name "Brahman," nor alludes to it; but in his *Anabasis*, in the mention of the Brahmans in Upper Scinde, who had occasioned the defection of some towns, he INCIDENTALLY says, they were the sophistæ of the Indians, and, consequently, constituting his first and most dignified class. It is now desirable to show that Arrian, and probably, from him, many other Western authors, may have mistaken the Sámáná of the Buddhists for the Bráhmáná of the Hindus. Arrian makes the sophists or gymnosophists the sacerdotal class of Indian society, and they were constituted FROM ALL OTHER CLASSES OF INDIAN SOCIETY: ANY ONE WHO CHOSE MIGHT BE A SOPHIST; which goes the length of saying that an outcast might turn Brahman!! In the Hindu system, the Brahmans being sprung from the mouth of Brahma,—belonging to an exclusive body, into which it was impossible that any other part of the Indian population should enter or be received, who could neither eat nor drink with, nor even touch, their *fellow men* of a lower denomination without pollution,—it would surely not be necessary to proceed one step further to prove that Arrian's sophists, with sacerdotal habits and absence of caste, COULD NOT POSSIBLY HAVE BEEN BRAHMANS. But Arrian, and Fa hian, and others, supply additional facts, which strengthen the deduction, that the sophists or gymnosophists could not have been Brahmans, at least with their modern pretensions. The Brahmans are not known ever to have gone naked, like the sophists. The Brahmans are not known ever, with one exception, to have ascended the funeral pile alive, like Calanus and the Buddhist patriarch Ananda[1]; so far from it, their life was guarded by every conceivable religious and moral panoply that selfishness could invent, and superstition impress upon

[1] Turpe apud eos [the supposed Brahmans] putari corporis morbum: quem si quis veretur, seipsum igni e vita educit: nam constructo *rogo super eum peructus sedet, et accendi jubens immotus comburitur!* Strabo, lib. 15. And shortly afterwards, he says, Calanus ascended the funeral pile *according to the law of his country.*

Διαλεχθῆναι δ' ἑνί τούτων Καλάνῳ ὃν καὶ συνακολουθῆσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ μέχρι Περσίδος, καὶ ἀποθανεῖν τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ τεθέντα ἐπὶ πυρκαϊαν· τότε δὲ ἐπὶ λίθῳ τυχεῖν κείμενον.

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the minds of monarchs and nations; they guarded their lives, even against the wives of their bosom, by making it disgraceful and degrading for them not to rush into the flames which consumed the body of their deceased husbands; for which, however, there *is not any* authority in the Vedas. The Brahmans, in their modern arrogance and exclusiveness, cannot come into contact with their fellowmen of a lower caste than themselves, or partake of their hospitalities without pollution, much less, therefore, could they DINE with Greeks and foreigners as did the two sophists at Taxila, mentioned by Strabo on the authority of Aristobulus. *Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ τῶν ἐν Ταξίλοις σοφιστῶν ἰδεῖν δύο φησὶ, Βραχμᾶνας ἀμφοτέρους, τὸν μὲν πρεσβύτερον ἐξυρημένον, τὸν δὲ νεώτερον κομήτην, ἀμφοτέροις δ'ακολουθεῖν μαθητάς· παρερχομένους δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τράπεζων παραστάντας δειπνεῖν.*

One of these was *shaven*, the other *wore his hair*, and both followed Alexander for some time; indeed, the elder of the two, [Calanus?] continued with him, being clothed and fed. *Τὸν δὲ συναπᾶραι μέχρι τέλους, καὶ μεταμφιάσασθαι καὶ μεταθέσθαι τὴν δίαιταν, συνόντα τῷ βασιλεῖ επιτιμῶμενον δε ὑπό τινων λεγειν, ὡς ἐκπληρώσειε τα τετταρακοντα ἔτη της ασκήσεως ἃ ὑπέσχετο.* Strabo, lib. 15. And that there might be no mistake about this being the habit of the sophists at large, and that the miscalled Brahmans might take their food from anybody without pollution, Strabo says a little after, that they "investigated about nature, and foretelling of storms, droughts, and diseases; and entering into a city, dispersed themselves in the markets; and from whomsoever they met, bringing figs or grapes, they received gratuitously; and if oil, it was poured upon them, and they were anointed with it: and every rich house was open to them, even to the women's apartment, and when they entered, THEY SHARED IN THE MEAL and conversation." The hardiest maintainer of the identity of the gymnosophists and Brahmans will scarcely assert that a Brahman can partake of anybody's meal, or suffer himself to be greased by whomsoever pleases in the street.

Ἔφη δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τα περὶ φύσιν πολλὰ εξετάσαι, καὶ προσημασίαν ὄμβρων, αὐχμῶν. νόσων· ἀπιόντας δ' εἰς τὴν πόλιν κατὰ τὰς ἀγορὰς σκεδάννυσθαι· ὅτω δ' ἂν κομίζοντι σῦκα ἢ βότρυς περιτύχωσι, λαμβάνειν δωρεὰν περιέχοντος· ει δ' ἔλαιον εἴη, καταχεῖσθαι αὔτων καὶ αλείφεσθαι· ἅπασαν δὲ πλουσίαν οἰκίαν ἀνεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς μέχρι γυναικωνίτιδος· εἰσίοντας δὲ δείπνου κοινωνεῖν καὶ λόγων.

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In addition to the preceding, Megasthenes says, as quoted by Strabo, Ὅιος ἦν καὶ ὁ Κάλανος ακολαστος ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ταῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου τραπέζαις δεδουλωμένος, that Calanus was a dependant at the table of Alexander, a position in which no Brahman could have remained; but from the following it will be observed, the objection would not hold good in case the sophists were Buddhists. A friend of mine, long resident in Burmah, tells me, that the Buddhist priests daily quit their monasteries before sunrise, with a begging pot at their breast, their heads being entirely shaven and uncovered, and they pass through the streets without looking to the right or to the left, [like the Samanero who met Sakya before he became Buddha,] and without saying a word. The laity piously disposed put food, *already cooked*, into the begging pot: when the priest has enough he goes to his monastery and eats his breakfast. Before twelve o'clock he proceeds as in the morning, and collects his dinner: after twelve o'clock he cannot eat. It is thus seen that the Buddhist priest eats from the hands of every man without pollution; and, like the miscalled Brahmans [sophists] of the Greeks, requires neither fire nor kitchen.

If it be objected that the gymnosophists submitted to painful penances like the modern Hindu Tapasvis, or Sanyasis, it will be recollected that Buddha himself gave them the example in sitting under his sacred tree [Ficus Indica] at Gaya, for *six years*, until life was nearly extinct, expiating his misdeeds, whatever they were, or propitiating the *Great First Cause*. And the ascetic Buddhist priest, described by Fa hian, who lived for *forty years* in his cave near the mountain of Security, in Ceylon, exhibits another type of the sophists; indeed, ascetism and eremitism, as well as monachism, were a part of Buddhism. If it be borne in mind also, that the Brahmans of Alexander's time, if they were a sacerdotal tribe at all, were commanded by the Vedas daily to take animal life, and use flesh in their sacrifices and bloody rites[1], a habit not interdicted until the NINTH CENTURY by Sankhara Acharya, the Saiva *reformer*, after the fall of Buddhism, and that the sophists and gymnosophists lived, by their own account, Buddhist-like, [*vide* Palladius de Bragmanibus,] entirely and exclusively upon fruits, grain, herbs, and water, and never took animal life,—Brahmans and sophists must be as wide as the poles asunder in their habits.

Saint Ambrosius, who writes on the location, doctrine, and manners of the Brahmans, [*Brachmani a nonnullis gymnosophistæ a*

[1] Vide Dr. Stevenson's Translations of Portions of the Rig Veda.

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quibusdam philosophi seu sapientes Indorum appellantur,] says he had his account from the mouth of Bishop Musæus, who had travelled to India, China, the Punjab, and Affghanistan, *for the purpose of seeing Brahmans*, in the middle of the fourth century, A. D., and who saw Alexander's altars, nevertheless did not see a Brahman, "*Quædam ergo nova, non autem Brachmanos se vidisse affirmat;*" but Musæus conversed with Scholasticus, a Thebean, who went to India *vid* the Red Sea, landing on the coast of Malabar and proceeding to Ceylon, who had seen Brahmans; and as he was seized by some petty chief and kept in servitude for six years, he learnt the native language, and may be supposed, therefore, to describe with sufficient means of accuracy. He says, "Quod genus Brachmanorum *non ex propria tantum voluntate sæcularibus rebus renuntiat*, sed potius ut ex judicio Dei pendens, ac divinitatis ope suffultum. Naturaliter enim *nudi* in finitimis fluvii regionibus vivunt. *Nulli apud eos quadrupedes, nullus terræ cultus, nullus ferri usus, nullum instrumenti genus quo fieri aliquod opus possit.* Habent autem illic deliciosas atque optimas auras, et saluberrime temperatas. COLUNT SEMPER DEUM, cujus veram quidem ac distinctam notitiam se habere profitentur, omnemque providentiæ ejus ac divinitatis rationem discernere. Jugiter orant, orantes vero non orientalem partem, unde oritur sol, aspiciunt; sed cælum potius intuentur. Edunt autem ea quæ super terram pecudum more potuerint invenire, hoc est arborum folia, et olera sylvestria." He then says they live near the Ganges, and separate from their wives after the birth of a son; and adds "Hæc est ergo vita et conversatio Brachmanorum." We have here nearly the same description of the sophists, miscalled Brahmans, from the personal knowledge of a Christian bishop in the fourth century A.D., which Buddha gave in the sixth century B.C., of Buddhist priests, and Alexander's polytheist historians gave in the third century B.C. The so-called Brahmans of Ambrosius, therefore, could not have been Brahmans at all, because they emanated from society at large,—because they went naked,—because they were monotheists and not polytheists,—because they were entirely cut off from all secular occupations,—because they lived on water, and herbs, and grain, and did not offer animal sacrifices, [which the Brahmans did then and do now, formerly even partaking of the sacrifices,]—and because they led a sylvan and the Brahmans an urban life. A very few years after St. Ambrosius wrote from the personal testimony of Musæus, the worldly and secular habits of the Brahmans is attested by Fa hian, who had them on board ship with him, TRADING TO CHINA AS MERCHANTS!! The rest of

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Ambrosius's account is compiled from different authors; but, singularly, there is no mention of any other philosophic or religious sect, but that which he calls Brahmanical. In one place he makes Dandamis say to Alexander, "Nos honoramus Deum, et amamus hominem, negligimus aurum, *contemnimus mortem.*" And further, he adds, "Amicus mihi est omnium Deus, et de ipsis cum eodem rebus loquor, malorum hominum verba non audio. Cœlum habeo pro tecto, terra mihi tota pro lecto est. Fluvii mihi potum ministrant, mensam silva suppeditat. *Non vescor animalium visceribus*, ut leones, neque intra pectora mea inclusæ quadrupedum aut volatilium carnes putrescunt, nec sum mortuorum sepulchrum, sed providentia naturalis omnes mihi fructus ut lac mater infundit." An anonymous author, quoted in the book of Palladius, relates a colloquy between Dandamis, called *king* of the Brahmans, and Alexander, and puts into the mouth of the former the substance, and almost the words, of the Buddhist decalogue. "Nil appetit amplius quam ratio naturæ flagitat; locus non præbetur invidiæ, *ubi nullus superior est*: nulla nos ludiera spectacula nec equina certamina, nec scenicas turpitudines affectamus; *sanguinis fluenta manantia abhorremus*; nullus apud nos incestus, nullum adulterium, nulla corruptio nominatur." "Non suscipit *Deus* sacra sanguinea. Cultum diligit incruentum, spernit funesta libamina verbo propitiatur orantibus." "In honorem divinum pecudes innocuas non mactamus;" and the following passage occurs in marked contrast to the habits of Fa hian's *merchant* Brahmans: "Nos mercandi gratia pontum classibus non sulcamus," &c., &c. And the following passages would seem to refer to the multitudinous Buddhist caves in India:—"Quin potius, in *defossis* telluris speluncis, aut concavis montium latebris capaciter habitamus." And "Tutius nos defendit ab imbre spelunca quam tegula." From the following passage it would appear they were not all entirely naked, —a fact which would remove the only objection to their being Buddhist priests:—"Nullus apud nos pretiosus amictus est, nulla vestis fucato colore contexitur. Membra papyri tegmine, vel quod est verius pudore velantur."

The mention by this author of theatrical representations is curious, as it is one of the ten chief interdicts of the Buddhists to witness scenic representations, while *Brahmans wrote plays.*

The Brahmans are now *polytheists*, and the best that can be said of them is, that they may anciently have worshipped the elements, while the sophists worshipped ONE GOD. When Calanus was persuaded by Alexander to abandon his companions, and follow him, the sophists censured Calanus, that he should prefer any other lord

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to God:—"*Ὅτι ἀπολιπὼν τὴν παρὰ σφισιν εὐδαιμονίαν, ὁ δὲ δεσπότην ἄλλον ἢ τὸν Θεὸν ἐθεράπευε*[1]:" and Dandamis, in his reply to Alexander, expressly says, God is the great king. He is my Lord[2], and SOLE GOD. *Ἐμὸς οὗτος δεσποτης καὶ Θεος μονος.* And several other authorities to the same effect can be quoted.

By torturing metaphysical obscurities and incongruities, *those who desire it* endeavour to fix upon the Buddhists a disbelief in the existence of God in heaven, or a soul in man; but such beliefs are utterly incompatible with the acknowledged belief of the majority of the people in Buddhist nations, in a future state of rewards and punishments,—of heavens and hells of various degrees, necessarily involving a belief in a Judge and Dispenser of these rewards and punishments,—of a belief in transmigration, with a power of obtaining a knowledge of the previous states of existence; thus establishing continued identity and consciousness. The very fact of the pious and bloodless annual sacrifices to the *manes* of deceased ancestors, establishes the belief in the existence of the soul after death. But because the Buddhists also believe that it is possible for an individual, [practically one in thousands of millions or billions,] by PERFECT VIRTUE and PERFECT KNOWLEDGE, to escape from further *transmigrations*, or probationary existence, and to attain NIBUTTI, or Nirwana, or *final emancipation*, or absorption into the First Cause, who is necessarily passionless and incapable of suffering, the Buddhists are stigmatized as atheists. Buddha's own hymn, on his becoming a Buddha, testifies to his belief in God:—

Through various transmigrations
I must travel if I do not discover,
The BUILDER *whom I seek;*
Painful are repeated transmigrations!
I have seen the ARCHITECT, [and said,]
Thou shalt not build me another house;
Thy rafters are broken,
Thy roof timbers scattered;
My mind is detached [from all existing objects,]
I have attained to the extinction of desire[3].

Who is the BUILDER he must discover, ere he can escape from mortal sufferings? Who the architect that builds up his frame anew through successive painful transmigrations, until by *perfect virtue* and *perfect knowledge* he discovers the builder, and escapes from the architect who keeps him in a probationary state? The requisite degree of virtue and knowledge being attained, he ceases to have

[1] Lib. vii. cap. 11. [2] Palladius de Gentibus Indiæ.
[3] Vide The Ceylon Friend, 1837 to 1839, p. 169.

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sublunary feelings, desires, or sufferings,—has *final emancipation*,—loses personal identity, the *ΕΓΩ* ceases, and becomes incorporated with the First Cause! This may be startling to Christians, but it is not atheism.

In a sermon of Buddha's, he says, "On account of cleaving to existing objects, renewed existence (or *reproduction after death*) [occurs]; on account of reproduction of existence, birth; on account of birth,—decay, death, sorrow, crying, pain, disgust, and passionate discontent. But from the *cessation* of *ignorance*, is the cessation of consciousness, body and mind, sensation, reproduction, birth, sorrow, pain," &c. &c. Can it be that the propounder of these opinions was an atheist, and disbeliever in the existence of the soul? These notices of Buddha's doctrines are from translations from the Pali by the Rev. D. J. Gogerly in *The Friend*, and he elsewhere says, the Buddhists believe in *supernatural agency*, excepting the agency of an almighty, self-existent Being, the creator of all!

Buddha describes the Brahmans as filling secular offices only, between 543 to 600 B.C.; and Nearchus, quoted by Strabo, says the Brahmans followed kings, and from them their counsellors were chosen; others contemplated nature, and Calanus was one of these. Arrian mentions a *town* of Brahmans, and the inhabitants defending it pertinaciously, 325 B.C.; and Fa hian found them as merchants, taking goods to China for sale, in the ship in which he embarked, A.D. 412. We have them, therefore, through successive ages, proved to be engaged in secular and worldly pursuits. There being serious objections to the supposition that the sophists or gymnosophists were Brahmans, it remains to be shown what approximation there is between the sophists and the Buddhist priests. The Buddhist priests [Samana], like the sophists, could not engage in secular pursuits at all; they begged their simple daily food, and therefore ate out of everybody's hands without pollution or degradation, and could have dined with Alexander, like the sophists, without loss of caste; and the ascetic part lived on fruits, herbs, and water, like the sophists. They sprung from every class of society, like the sophists. Ananda, the Buddhist patriarch, like Calanus, ascended the funeral pile;—the Buddhists did not destroy animal life, like the sophists. In some of the Buddhist caves of Western India, personages, evidently of a sacred character, are sculptured entirely naked, as the gymnosophists are represented, and I have drawings of such figures[1]. Moreover, Clemens Alexandrinus, who makes a distinction between the Bahmans and the

[1] Vide Appendix.

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Samana, calling the latter Semnoi, Σεμνοὶ, plainly the Buddhist priesthood, says that the Semnoi passed all their lives *naked;* and that there may be no mistake about whom he means, he says they had pyramids over the bones of some god which they worshipped. This is in fact the Buddhist chaitya containing relics. Clemens and Arrian were contemporaries; and there can be no doubt from Clemens' statement, that the gymnosophists of the latter, as both describe the same class, were the Samana or Buddhist priests. Clemens also mentions the Buddhist nuns, and called them Σεμναί. And finally, like the sophists, the Buddhists were not polytheists, but originally worshipped the First Cause, or Buddha, as God, and did not worship the elements. Does it admit of a question, therefore, to which of the two classes—Samana or Bahmana—the description of Arrian applies? It may be objected, that the very fact of Arrian's stating that no man could quit his own class, and go into another, excepting only the sophists,—drop his own trade, and take up that of another, —or marry out of his own class, involves proofs of the existence of the Brahmanical institution of castes. But setting aside the fact of the sacerdotal order being derived from all the classes, which is utterly impossible in the Brahmanical system; the distinction of castes, or professions, or grades of society, as it may be severally called, exists to this day without being considered a religious institution amongst the Buddhists of Ceylon and the Jains of India, who are schismatic offsets from Buddhism; and my authority with respect to the Jains, is a profound Orientalist, Col. Miles. Describing the Jains of Gujarat and Marwar, whose images of their saints are always represented naked, like the gymnosophists, he says, "The marriages are *confined to their respective classes;*" that is, the Visas intermarry with the Visas, and the Dassas with the Dassas, &c. &c.[1] And with respect to the Buddhists of Ceylon, *The Friend*, a Ceylon magazine, for December, 1838, has an article on caste, from which the following is an extract:—"There is this difference between Brahmanical and Buddhist caste, that the former is considered to be a divine ordinance, whilst the latter is regarded SIMPLY AS A CIVIL INSTITUTION. Indeed, strictly speaking, there is no Buddhistical caste, though there is caste amongst Buddhists. The priesthood may be conferred indiscriminately upon all classes [this is what Arrian says of the sophists]; and when the rite of ordination has been received, the son of the meanest outcast can demand equal honours with the scion of majesty. In actual

[1] Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. iii. p. 353.

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practice, there have been too many innovations upon this wholesome appointment, and CASTE PREVAILS IN EVERY PART OF CEYLON [amongst the Buddhists], though not with the same severity as upon the coast of India. One single instance may suffice as an example. It is upon record, that in 1835, some of the schools in connexion with the Church Mission at Cotta were thrown into temporary embarrassment, for no other reason than because certain of the children, at their annual feast, drank coffee out of the same cup as some of their class-fellows of a lower caste, [that is to say, of a lower or different position in society?]" Arrian's sophists and Buddha's samanas might take a share of anybody's meal; but it is to be doubted whether the Buddhist Khettano would have dined with the Wessa, or the latter with the Sudda. Buchanan Hamilton, in his work on Mysore, mentions Brahman Jains; and the same fact is more than once met with in the Rev. W. Taylor's reports on the Mackenzie MSS.; and it is seen how often Fa hian has mentioned Brahman, and Vaisya, and Sudra Buddhists, and the four castes attending periodical Buddhist sermons and prayers in Ceylon 1429 years ago! Hence, no argument can be drawn from the marriage interdict mentioned by Arrian, that it was of a religious origin, and pertaining to castes; for caste, as a *religious distinction*, neither did nor does exist amongst Buddhists or Jains.

With respect to the interdict to the change of trades and occupations, it appears little more than the type of the system which has since prevailed in Europe in its guilds and corporations, for the same purpose,—that of insuring the utmost perfection in the manipulations of art: in the East by professions being handed down from father to son; and in the West, by none but the previously initiated or instructed being received into bodies whose specific object was the exclusive exercise of a particular trade or business.

Although it was impossible that the sophists or gymnosophists of Arrian could have been Brahmans, yet from his *casual* assertion to this effect, in his *Anabasis*, which has been already quoted, it is probable most of the Greek authors have adopted an error, which might very readily have originated in the principal authorities Arrian quotes,—Ptolemy and Aristobulus, mistaking Bahmana [Brahmans] for Samana [Buddhist priests], or Brahmana [Brahmans] for Sramana [Buddhist priests].

The interchange of the words involving the substitution of an initial letter only, might readily occur in modern times to those not thoroughly acquainted with Oriental languages; how much more likely, then, was it to occur to the Greeks, coming into Upper India

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as utter strangers, and utterly ignorant of the language of the people amongst whom they penetrated in a hostile manner, and little likely to have lengthened familiar intercourse with them? But even in the cases of Strabo and Clemens, the former making a distinction between Brachmanes and Germanes, and the latter between Brachmanes and Semnoi, the descriptions of both classes are applicable to different orders of the Buddhist priesthood. So far we can say of Arrian, that he describes ONLY ONE SACERDOTAL CLASS IN INDIAN SOCIETY, AND THAT ONE CLASS COULD NOT POSSIBLY HAVE BEEN COMPOSED OF BRAHMANS; from the simple fact of its being constituted from all classes of society. His error, however, has fixed an impression upon the mind of the European world, which has led to the facile credence of Brahmanical pretension, and diverted the thoughts from all inquiries or investigations impugning their claims. This is instanced in a marked manner in a book in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, published in London, 1665, the year of the great plague, and called *Palladius de Gentibus Indiæ et Bragmanibus*, which opens with "*De Brachmanibus sive Gymnosophistis, testimonia Veterum*;" thus at once identifying the naked philosophers with the Brahmans. The following authors are quoted in the volume:—*Strabo*, died 25 B.C.; Cicero, born 106 B.C., died 43 B.C.; Plinius, born 23 A.D., died 79 A.D.; Plutarchus, died 120 A.D.; Arrianus, born about 124 A.D., died 161 A.D.; Apuleius, in the second century; Clemens, born 150 A.D., died 203 A.D.; Porphyrius, born 233 A.D., died 303 A.D.; Philostratus, in the end of the second century; Postellus, born 1505 A.D., died 1587 A.D.; Palladius, born 368 A.D., died 431 A.D.; Vossius, born 1577 A.D., died 1649 A.D.; Labbæus, born 1607 A.D., died 1667 A.D.; St. Ambrosius, born 340 A.D., died 397 A.D.; and an anonymous Latin author. The oldest writer of the whole of these is Cicero, who confines his notice to a few words, and says, "The sophists of India *are naked*, and bear the Caucasian snows of winter without complaint, and *burn themselves* without a groan[1]." This is not a description to apply to Brahmans; but it applies to Calanus, who nevertheless is called a Brahman by Strabo, from the authority of Aristobulus; and it applies in part to the Buddhist patriarch Ananda, who burnt himself on an island in the Ganges. Cicero lived at a time, although five hundred years after Buddha, when Buddhism pervaded the length and the breadth of the land in India; and if he wrote from what was *then* known in the Western world respecting India, his description would probably be intended for the *Samana*, instead of the Bahmana.

[1] Tusc. Quæst. lib. v.

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Strabo, who died B.C. 25, is the next author quoted, and his chief authority is Megasthenes, who tells most marvellous tales, and is proportionably in discredit. He says, the philosophers of India [he does not call them priests] were divided into two classes, the Brachmanes and the Germanes. Minute details are given of the Brahmans; but the details apply almost equally to the Buddhist priests, and *no mention* is made of the chief features of Puranic or modern Brahmanism, *i. e.* Polytheism, animal sacrifices, and caste exclusiveness. Indeed, the following passage would appear only to apply to that part of the Buddhist priesthood which educated its disciples or aspirants in a sacred grove [*αλσος*] or temple in a wood. One of the most celebrated of the Buddhist monasteries [Wiharo] was called "*of the vast solitude;*" and the life of Buddha shows how much it was his practice to teach in groves and woods as well as in monasteries. The Brahmans have, indeed, in modern times, their temples in groves and woods; but I am not aware that they have resident collegiate establishments for the instruction of disciples. *Διατρίβειν δὲ τους φιλοσόφους ἐν ἄλσει πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ὑπὸ περιβόλῳ συμμετρῳ λιτῶς ζῶντας ἐν στιβάσι καὶ δοραῖς, ἀπεχομένους ἐμψύχων καὶ ἀφροδισίων, ἀκροώμενους λόγων σπουδαίων, μεταδιδόντας καὶ τοῖς ἐθέλουσι.*

The above passage contains two other matters which separated the gymnosophists from the Brahmans. Those who became gymnosophists abandoned their wives and families, and all connexion with women ceased, and they abstained from everything having life,—the very habits of Buddhist priests; while Brahmans, as a class, are not known to have put away their wives from them, nor to have dissolved their domestic ties, and they were commanded to make animal sacrifices.

With respect to the *Germanes*, by which we can only understand the Buddhist sacerdotal order, Strabo [*i. e.* Megasthenes] says, those of them were the most honoured who were called Hylobii, [probably Arhan or Arahat, from the Pali *ari*, sinful passions, and *hattatta*, being destroyed?] thus showing a knowledge of the classes of the Buddhist priesthood. These Hylobii lived in the woods, subsisting on wild fruits and vegetables, with vestments from the bark of trees, and abstaining from wine and women. Kings consulted them through messengers, and by them *God* was worshipped and propitiated. This is applicable verbatim to the ascetic Buddhists.—the more particularly so, as *one God* only is spoken of. *Τοὺς δὲ Γερμᾶνας τους μὲν ἐντιμοτάτους Ὑλοβίους φησὶν ὀνομάζεσθαι, ζῶντας ἐν ταῖς ὕλαις ἀπὸ φύλλων καὶ καρπῶν ἀγρίων, ἐσθῆτος*

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δὲ φλοίων δενδρίνων, ἀφροδισίων χωρὶς καὶ οἴνου· τοῖς δὲ βασιλεύσι συνεῖναι δ' ἀγγέλων πυνθανομένοις περὶ τῶν αἰτίων, καὶ δι' ἐκείνων θεραπεύουσι καὶ λιτανεύουσι τὸ Θεῖον . . [1].

Strabo also quotes Nearchus, which passage I have already given.

Pliny is the third author in order of time quoted. He died A.D. 79, nearly seven hundred years after the advent of Sakya, and at a time when the existence of the Grecian monarchies in Affghanistan, and probably in the Panjab, may be supposed to have made the Western world somewhat familiar with India. Nevertheless, he makes no mention of Brahmans, but says, "Philosophos eorum quos gymnosophistas vocant, ab ex-ortu ad occasum perstare contuentes solem immobilibus oculis; ferventibus arenis toto die alternis pedibus insistere[2]." These self-tormentors are, no doubt, Arrian's gymnosophists, derived from all classes of society, and consequently not Brahmans.

Plutarch is the next in order of time, and in the extract given he does not make any mention of Brahmans, but speaks simply of the gymnosophists; and the extract is made up of the occult questions put by the Greeks to the gymnosophists, and their ingenious answers. Calanus and Dandamis are mentioned[3], and God is spoken of in the singular number.

The fifth author quoted is Arrian, of whom I have already said enough.

Apuleius, who lived in the second century A.D., is the sixth author quoted in order of time. He states nothing about Brahmans, but says the wise men of India were called gymnosophists, who neither cultivated lands, possessed flocks, nor had to do with secular affairs. Wisdom ran through them, from the venerable master to the youngest disciples, all Buddhist characteristics; and he satisfactorily proves that they could not have been Brahmans, but belonging to a monastic fraternity, by saying, "Igitur ubi mensa posita, priusquam edulia apponantur, omnes adolescentes ex diversis locis et officiis ad dapem conveniunt," combined with "Qui nihil habet adferre cur prandeat, impransus ad opus foras extruditur[4]," evidently alluding to the *daily* collection of food by the monastic Buddhist priests, a duty which is imperative upon them. Apuleius

[1] The Brahman did not retire to the woods until he was a grandfather; and then took his wife with him, if she chose to go. Menu, chap. vi. verses 2 and 3. The Hylobii, therefore, could not have been Brahmans. Moreover the Brahman could never appear naked, and not even bathe without some covering. Menu, chap. iv. verses 45 and 75.

[2] Nat. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 2.

[3] Plut. Vita Alexandri.

[4] Apuleius in Floridis.

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is eloquent in praise of the gymnosophists, but has not a sentence which is not applicable to a class of the Buddhist priesthood; and there is reason to suppose that his gymnosophists were the Buddhist or Jain priests.

The seventh author quoted is Philostratus, who died at the end of the second century: he quotes Damis, who makes the Brahmans worship and sacrifice to the sun, and obtain their fire from it, like the modern Parsees; he adds, they [the Brahmans] wore long hair, with a white mitre upon their heads, [the Parsee priests wear a white turban at present,] and their vestments were in the Exomidum[1] form; they made the ground their bed, ate herbs, went barefoot, and each carried a staff and a ring, with which occult properties were associated. Philostratus evidently describes the magi of Persia, and I introduce his notice to show how very loose the ideas of the ancient Western writers were in regard to the Brahmans[2]. His description would apply more closely to the Buddhists than to the Brahmans, particularly as the magi did not take animal life, and believed in the transmigration of souls;—indeed, there are many marked features in common, in the religion of the magi, the Sabians [Semnoi, Samana?], and the Buddhists. The Buddhism of Sakya, in fact, without any great incongruity, might be looked upon as a reformation of the magism which *preceded* Zoroaster, [Sakya was prior to Zoroaster,] or of the still more ancient Sabaism.

The eighth author quoted in order of time is Clemens Alexandrinus, who, as he lived between A.D. 150 and 230 A.D., may be supposed to write from the accumulated knowledge of India resulting from its continued relations with the West. He quotes, however, not Ptolemy, Aristobulus, or Megasthenes; but Alexander Cornelius Polyhistor, who lived about 80 years B.C. He divides the wise men of the East into two classes,—the Brahmans and the Semnoi, which he says, means worthy of veneration [Samana]; and that there may be no mistake about whom he means by the latter, he says, they worship a pyramid, under which they suppose the *bones of some god* to be deposited,—the unquestionable chaitya or temple of the Buddhists. He says the Semnoi [Samana] pass their lives naked[3]; nor are those true gymnosophists nor true Semnoi who use women. He says, also, there was a class of females called Semnai,

[1] Ἐξωμις, a waistcoat without sleeves.

[2] Philostratus, Vita Apollonii, lib. iii. cap. 4 et 5.

[3] Buddhist or Jain figures, cut in the rock, and *entirely naked*, from thirty-five to seventy feet high, exist to this day in Kanara, and are represented in the 73rd and 74th plates of Moor's Hindu Pantheon.

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precisely corresponding to the class of Buddhist nuns. The Semnoi observed the heavens, and predicted the future. There is not any mention of the Semnoi or the Brahmans living in the woods. The Brahmans, he says, neither drank wine nor ate animal food: some took food daily; others every third day only: they contemned death, and did nothing to live, believing in regeneration. Now all this applies rather to the Buddhist priests than the Brahmans; for the latter, in those early days, were great slaughterers of animals, at their sacrifices, and consumers of the sacrificial meat; although their caste [if they had any] would have disabled them from eating it from the hands of others, or at the table of Alexander[1]. There is one passage, however, of Clemens, which cannot apply to the Buddhists, for he says *some* of the Brahmans worshipped Hercules and Pan. I am not aware that any other Western authors than Clemens and Arrian mention this worship of Hercules at all; and Arrian does not say that the Brahmans worshipped him, but that the Indian people, called the Suraseni, did so, who had two large cities on the Jobares [Jumna?] called Methara and Klisobora. The former is plainly Mathura, but Klisobora is gone down the stream of time together with the knowledge of who its inhabitants the Suraseni were.

Ἡρακλέα δὲ, ὅντινα ἐς Ἰνδοὺς ἀφικέσθαι λόγος κατέχει παρ' αὐτοῖσιν Ἰνδοῖσι γεγενέα λέγεσθαι. Τοῦτον τὸν Ἡρακλέα μάλιστα προς Σουρασηνῶν γεραίρεσθαι, Ἰνδικοῦ ἔθνεος, ἵνα δύο πολιες μεγάλαι, Μέθορά τε καὶ Κλεισόβορα καὶ ποταμὸς Ἰωβάρης πλωτὸς διαῤῥεῖ τὴν χώρην αὐτῶν. Τὴν σκευὴν δὲ οὗτος ὁ Ἡρακλέης ἥντινα ἐφόρεε, Μεγασθένης λεγει ὅτι ὁμοίην τῷ Θηβαίῳ Ἡρακλεῖ, ὡς αὐτοὶ Ἰνδοὶ ἀπηγέονται . . .[2].

It has been attempted to identify this Theban Hercules with Siva or Mahadeva of the Hindus, whose worship so extensively prevails at the present day; but setting aside Megasthenes' questionable authority about the Theban Hercules, even if his worship existed, it must have been on a limited scale, for Arrian says there were few records or memorials of him, no doubt alluding to his temples. *Ἡρακλέους δὲ οὐ πολλὰ ὑπομνήματα*[3]. If, therefore, there were few records or memorials of the Theban Hercules, converted by some into Siva, and that two cities only, of all India, are

[1] Menu says, a Brahman perishes by attendance on a king, chap. iii, verse 64; and he cannot accept a gift from *any king* not born a Kshatriya, chap. iv. verses 84 and 86.

[2] Arrian, Historiæ Indicæ, cap. viii. [3] Historiæ Indicæ, cap. ix.

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mentioned as associated with the worship of the supposed Siva, it may be admitted, that the formidable superstition which is now grown to such a giant height, was in Alexander's [or Arrian's] time, only in an incipient state. But there are serious objections to this identity of the Theban Hercules with Siva. The worship of Hercules was never associated with that of the Phallus, the type of Siva; the exploits of the two gods have not any accordance, nor have their figures, nor costumes. Hercules is usually represented naked, [and no Brahmanical idol is ever represented naked,] resting on a club; or half naked with the skin of the Nemean lion round his loins; but originally he was represented with a spear and buckler. There are few figures of Siva, as his temples usually contain only the cylindrical stone called the linga [Phallus,] and I have never seen a figure of him with sword and buckler, or club; the trident is his weapon; his most ancient known form has three faces and four arms; he has a high cylindrical kind of cap upon his head, in the web of which the crescent moon and a skull are entangled; a third eye ornaments his forehead, and his dress is the Indian Dhotee. In one of his characters he has a necklace of skulls and the nag snake [Coluber nag] in his hand or about his person; the chief votaries at the temples of Siva are women, while into the temples of Hercules, [at least that at Gades,] women and pigs were not allowed to enter. Hercules, and Siva, and Brahmanism, therefore, have no apparent relation; the contrary is the case with respect to Buddhism. Hercules, impatient of disease, like Calanus, and Ananda the Buddhist patriarch, burnt himself on the funeral pile, and his friends, Buddhist like, raised altars to him on the spot where his cremation had taken place, and subsequently temples were dedicated to him and his worship became general. Buddhist like, he had a sacred tree, the white poplar; and Buddhist like, he was deified, because he was a pattern of virtue and piety. Here the parallelism ends, for the whole tenor of the life of Hercules was that of energetic action, while that of Buddha was contemplative repose; the one upheld virtue by the force of arms, the other by the power of reason.

If, however, the Greeks found a god worshipped by a few of the people of India, which God they thought had certain resemblances to the Theban Hercules, it is plain they did not find that worship associated with the worship of the Phallus; and if it were possible to convert this Hercules into Siva, then Siva's principal characteristic, the phallic worship, had not yet commenced; and the silence of

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the Chinese travellers in India, and of Chinese authors down to the seventh century, A.D., on the subject, strengthens the inference[1].

Alexander Polyhister mentions, [and he is the only author who does so, I believe,] that some of the [miscalled] Brahmans worshipped Pan; but in the multitudinous idols of the Hindu pantheon, I do not think I ever read or heard of, and certainly never saw, a figure half man and half goat. He probably alludes to some rustic worship which has long ceased. The quotation from Clemens being short and important,—it is annexed.

Βραχμᾶνάι γ' οὖν οὔτε ἔμψυχον ἐσθίουσιν, οὔτε οἶνον πίνουσιν· ἀλλὰ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, ὡς ἡμεῖς, τὴν τροφὴν προσίενται, ἔνιοι δ' αὐτῶν διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, ὥς φησιν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Πολυΐστωρ ἐν τοῖς Ἰνδικοῖς. καταφρονοῦσι δὲ θανάτου, καὶ παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγοῦνται τὸ ζῆν· πείθονται γὰρ εἶναι παλιγγενεσίαν. οἱ δὲ σέβουσιν Ἡρακλέα καὶ Πᾶνα. οἱ καλούμενοι δὲ Σεμνοὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν γυμνοὶ διαιτῶνται τὸν πάντα βίον. οὗτοι τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀσκοῦσι, καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων προμήνευουσι, καὶ σέβουσί τινα πυραμίδα, ὑφ' ἣν ὀστέα τινος θεοῦ νομίζουσιν ἀποκεῖσθαι. οὔτε δὲ οἱ Γυμνοσοφισταὶ, οὔθ' οἱ λεγόμενοι Σεμνοὶ γυναιξὶ χρῶνται· παρὰ φύσιν γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ παράνομον δοκοῦσι· δι' ἣν αἰτίαν σφὰς αὐτοὺς ἁγνοὺς τηροῦσι· παρθενεύουσι δὲ καὶ αἱ Σέμναι· δοκοῦσι δὲ παρατηρεῖν τὰ οὐράνια, καὶ διὰ τῆς τούτων σημειώσεως τῶν μελλόντων προμαντεύεσθαί τινα[2].

The testimony of Clemens and Alexander Polyhister is of considerable importance, as it broadly states the fact of the *Semnoi, Samana*, or that *part* of the Buddhist priesthood so called, going naked all their lives, and thus leaving no doubt whom Arrian meant by his gymnosophists. The Semnoi worshipped relics, took a vow of chastity, and had societies of nuns; all Buddhist characteristics to this day.

The ninth author quoted is Porphyrius, who died A.D. 303. He wrote more than 900 years after the birth of Sakya, and at a time when the Brahmans, by the accounts of the Chinese, must have begun to operate upon the Buddhist religion, to effect its downfall, —an event which must from their rising influence have made the western nations more familiarly acquainted with their position,

[1] From the beginning to the end of the code of Menu, the name of Siva does *not once* occur; nor is there there the slightest allusion to his worship. The name of Vishnu occurs but twice, and then incidentally.

[2] Clemens Alexandrinus Stromat., lib. 3.

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character, and philosophical opinions, than before; and Porphyrius, in consequence, is the only author who gives a lucid view of the position of the rival parties in India; quoting also Bardesenes, a Babylonian who had well known the *mission* from the Indian king Damadamis to *Cæsar*. He says, in many parts of India there are wise men whom the Greeks were accustomed to call gymnosophists. These *are* divided [he does not say *were*] into two parties, —Brachmanes constituting the one, and Samanæi the other. The Brachmanes have divine wisdom by succession or birth,—the Samanæi by adoption: the Brachmanes are all of one kind, and from *one father* and *one mother*, [in fact, a tribe or family, as the Chinese authors describe them,] *πάντες γαρ Βραχμᾶνες ἑνός εἰσι γένους· ἐξ ἑνὸς γαρ πατρὸς καὶ μῖας μητρὸς παντες διάγουσι·* the Samanæi, on the contrary, come from the whole races of Indians,— *Σαμαναῖοι δέ οὐκ εἰσὶ τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἔθνους, ὡς ἔφαμεν, συνειλεγμένοι,*—precisely as Buddha describes them.

The Brahmans lived independently, some on a mountain and some near the Ganges. It is plain, therefore, that as two localities are specifically designated, they were not dispersed over the rest of India in the fourth century[1]; and this corresponds with the testimony of the Chinese travellers, and justifies similar deductions from Arrian. Those of them who dwelt on the mountain, fed on wild fruits and the thickened milk of cattle[2]; those who were in the neighbourhood of the Ganges used a fruit which was abundantly produced upon the river, very probably meaning the nut of the lotus [Nelumbium speciosum]; rice also was used by them, when the lotus had failed. They esteemed it unclean and almost impious to take food from anything that had life: they piously and scrupulously worshipped *God*[3]; day and night offering prayers and hymns

[1] Menu, in fact, locates the Brahmans in the small tract between the rivers Saraswati and Dhrishadwati in the eastern limits of the Panjàb, and in the territory of Mutra and Kanouj, and says, "From a Brahman who was born in that country let all men on earth learn their several usages." Chap. ii. verses 17 to 22. The rest of Hindustan, south to the Vindhia mountains (Kandeish), was "inhabited by respectable men!"

[2] Thickened milk is in general use to this day, particularly with the Brahmans.

[3] Whatever may have been the Esoteric doctrines of the Brahmans, not only *now*, but in the fourth century, and at the period of the compilation of the code of Menu (whenever that may have been), the Brahmans *practically* were not only polytheists, but venerators of IDOLS, or IMAGES. Menu, chap. ii. verses 28, 176; chap. iii. verses 86, 164, 203, 205, 209, 211, 217; chap. iv. verses 21, 30, 124, 130, 152; and in many other places.

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to the Gods: each lived in his own hut or location; they were often silent, and often fasted. There is no mention of their going naked, as Arrian and other authors state. Now, although this professes to describe the Brahmans, every sentence of it applies to the Arhans or Arahats of the Buddhist priesthood; and with the exception of the Brahmans living isolated, it applies to the *whole* Buddhist priesthood.

But admitting that the description of Porphyrius applies exclusively to the Brahmans, it proves that in the fourth century they were a tribe or family with Buddhist usages and confined to *a few localities*. There is not a word about their using temples, or having caste, or religious or moral exclusiveness. If it be objected that Porphyrius is not describing the Brahmans of his time, but uses the testimony of Bardesanes, who was acquainted with those Indians sent by the Indian king Damadamis to Cæsar, although it would carry this description of the Brahmans back three and a-half centuries, it would rather enhance the inferior relation in which they stood to the Buddhists,—for that was the very period when Buddhism was pervading the length and the breadth of the land, about two and a-half centuries after the edicts of Asoko, and about five and a-half centuries after the ministry of Buddha. Granting, however, that Porphyrius does describe Brahmans, and that the period of his description is the century before Christ, it proves that the *present* polytheism and habits of the Brahmans had THEN no existence; and the code of Menu, the Puranas, and other Sanskrit works inculcating polytheism, idolatry, animal sacrifices, and caste exclusiveness, if they existed at the time must have been disregarded.

Porphyrius goes on to describe the Samanæi. As he before said, they were from the people at large: having undergone the tonsure, they abandoned their wives and children, and all property, deeming everything superfluous but a stole or gown for the person: they lived in colleges [or monasteries?] built outside the walls of cities and towns for them by the kings, who also constructed *temples*[1], and supported their wives and children. There they spent the day in divine or holy colloquies, living on rice, bread, fruits, and herbs, which they received from the king. Being assembled in their house [monastery?], at the sound of a bell they poured forth their prayers; which finished, each had a platter brought to him [for no two could eat out of the same dish], and he partook of rice, varied, if required, with pot-herbs and fruits. This description of the manners and habits of the Buddhist priests by Porphyrius [*applicable at the present day*], is almost in the identical language of Fa hian,

[1] Τεμενος, a consecrated ground; and οικος, a house, temple, or palace.

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and gives more than ordinary value to the Chinese traveller's testimony; for Porphyrius apparently writes from his knowledge of *the then* existing state of things [in the third century],—a supposition strengthened by the fact of himself and Fa hian omitting to mention the Brahmans or Buddhists having the characteristic feature of the sophists of Arrian's authorities, namely, "*going naked*,"—a custom which, in the course of six or seven hundred years from Alexander's time [or nine hundred years from Sakya's time] might have fallen into disuse.

Porphyrius goes on to say that the Samanæi and the Brahmans were held in such veneration, that kings supplicated their prayers and consulted them in most things. They despised life, and courted death; so much so, that they were unwilling to take proper nourishment, as if to hasten the separation of the soul from the body; and frequently in the enjoyment of good, and no evil pressing, they gave up life. Indeed, some threw their bodies into the fire[1],—[Calanus and Ananda like,]—to separate the soul in its purest state: those who lived they deplored; those who died they deemed happy, because *they had received* IMMORTALITY! Here is no mention of the stigma of atheism which some writers have endeavoured to fix upon the Buddhists; so far from it, the belief in God and the immortality of the soul, by both Buddhists and Brahmans, is distinctly enunciated[2].

The whole passage from Porphyrius is so specific, perspicuous, and comprehensive, drawing so lively and natural a picture of what the ancient Buddhist clergy were, and what they are to this day,—a picture, also, of what the Brahmans *may have* been, but which we know they *are* not,—that it might be supposed the passage as far as the Buddhists are concerned was of our own day, rather than of fifteen centuries' date. It may be acceptable to many that the original should be given, to enable a critic [which I am not, my difficulties being solved by the Latin translation,] to make his own version; it is therefore appended[3].

[1] This was a Buddhist and not a Brahman practice. It is not spoken of in the Code of Menu.

[2] Porphyrius de Abstinentia, lib. iv.

[3] Ἰνδῶν πολιτείας εἰς πολλὰ νενεμημένης ἐστί τι γένος παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ τῶν θεοσόφων, οὓς Γυμνοσοφιστὰς καλεῖν εἰώθασιν Ἕλληνες· τούτων δὲ δύο αἱρέσεις, ὧν τῆς μὲν Βραχμᾶνες προίστανται, τῆς δὲ Σαμαναῖοι. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν Βραχμᾶνες ἐκ γένους διαδέχονται ὥσπερ ἱερατείαν, τὴν τοιαύτην θεοσοφίαν· Σαμαναῖοι δὲ λογάδες εἰσὶν κἂκ τῶν βουληθέντων θεοσοφεῖν συμπληρούμενοι. ἔχει δὲ τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς τηῦτον τὸν τρόπον, ὡς Βαρδησάνης, ἀνὴρ Βαβυλώνιος ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων

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Although Porphyrius derived his information from a different source than that from which Clemens derived his, and though the latter is short in his description, the accordance between these authors is so marked, that there can be little doubt, from the discri-

ἡμων γεγονὼς, καὶ ἐντυχὼν τοῖς περὶ Δαμάδαμιν πεπεμμένοις πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα, ἀνέγραψεν· πάντες γὰρ Βραχμᾶνες ἑνός εἰσι γένους· ἐξ ἑνὸς γὰρ πατρὸς καὶ μιᾶς μητρὸς πάντες διάγουσι. Σαμαναῖοι δὲ οὐκ εἰσί τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἔθνους, ὡς ἔφαμεν, συνειλεγμένοι· οὔτε δὲ βασιλεύεται Βραχμὰν, οὔτε συντελεῖ τι τοῖς ἄλλοις· τούτων δὲ οἱ φιλόσοφοι, οἱ μὲν ὄρει, οἰκοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ περὶ Γάγγην ποταμόν· σίτοῦνται δὲ οἱ μὲν ὄρειοι τήν τε ὀπώραν, καὶ γάλα βόεινον ποτάναις παγὲν, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Γάγγην ἐκ τῆς ὀπώρας, ἣ πολλὴ περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν γεννᾶται, φέρει δὲ ἡ γῆ σχεδὸν καρπὸν ἀεὶ νέον, καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὴν ὄρυζαν πολλὴν τε καὶ αὐτόματον, ᾧ χρῶνται ὅταν τὸ τῆς ὀπώρας ἐπιλείπῃ. τὸ δὲ ἄλλου τινὸς ἅψασθαι, ἢ ὅλως θίγειν ἐμψύχου τροφῆς, ἴσον καὶ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ τε καὶ ἀσεβείᾳ νενόμισται. καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῖς τὸ δόγμα. θρησκεύουσί τε τὸ Θεῖον, καὶ εὐσεβοῦσι περὶ αὐτὸ καθορῶνται· τόν τοινὺν χρόνον τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς τὸ πλεῖστον εἰς ὕμνους τῶν Θεῶν ἀπένειμαν καὶ ψυχὰς, ἑκάστου ἰδίαν καλύβην ἔχοντος, καὶ ὡς ἐνί μάλιστα ἰδιάζοντος· κοινῇ γὰρ Βραχμᾶνες μένειν οὐκ ἀνέχονται· ἀλλ' ὅταν τοῦτο συμβῇ, ἀναχωρήσαντες ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας οὐ φθέγγονται· πολλάκις δὲ νηστεύουσι·

Σαμαναῖοι δέ εἰσι μὲν, ὡς ἔφαμεν, λογάδες. ὅταν δὲ μέλλει εἰς τὸ τάγμα τις ἐγγράφεσθαι ἄρχεσθαι, πρόσεισι τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῆς πόλεως, ἢ τῆς κώμης, καὶ τῶν κτημάτων ἐξίσταται, καὶ πάσης τῆς ἄλλης οὐσίας· ξυράμενος δὲ τοῦ σώματος τὰ περιττὰ λαμβάνει στολὴν, ἅπεισί τε πρὸς Σαμαναίους, οὔτε πρὸς γυναῖκα οὔτε πρὸς τέκνα, εἰ τύχοι κεκτημένος, ἐπιστροφὴν ἤ τινα λόγον ἔτι ποιούμενος, ἢ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅλως νομίζων. καὶ τῶν μὲν τέκνων ὁ βασιλεὺς κήδεται, ὅπως ἔχωσι τὰ ἀναγκαῖα, τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς οἱ οἰκεῖοι. ὁ δὲ βίος τοῖς Σαμαναίοις ἐστι τοιοῦτος. Ἔξω τῆς πόλεως διατρίβουσι διημερεύοντες ἐν τοῖς περὶ τοῦ θείου λόγοις. ἔχουσι δὲ οἴκους καὶ τεμένη ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως οἰκοδομηθέντα, ἐν οἷς οἰκονόμοι εἰσὶν, ἀπόταικτόν τι λαμβάνοντες παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τροφὴν τῶν συνιόντων. ἡ δὲ παρασκευὴ γίνεται ὀρύζης, καὶ ἄρτων, καὶ ὀπώρας, καὶ λαχάνων. καὶ εἰσελθόντων εἰς τὸν οἶκον ὑποσημαίνοντι κώδωνι οἱ μὴ Σαμαναῖοι ἐξίασιν, οἱ δὲ προσεύχονται. εὐξαμένων δὲ πάλιν διακωδωνίζειν, καὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται ἑκάστῳ τρυβλίον δόντες (δύο γὰρ ἐκ ταυτοῦ οὐκ ἐσθιουσι) τρέφοντες αὐτους τῇ ὀρύζῃ· τῷ δὲ δεομένῳ ποικιλίας προσίθεται τὸ λάχανον ἤ τῆς ὀπώρας τι. τραφέντες δὲ συντόμως ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτὰς διατριβὰς ἐξίασιν. ἀγύναιοι δέ εἰσι πάντες, καὶ ἀκτήμονες. καὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν Βραχμάνων σέβας ἔχουσιν οἱ ἄλλοι, ὥστε καὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἀφικνεῖσθαι παρ' αὐτους καὶ ἱκετεύειν εὔξασθαί τι καὶ δεηθῆναι ὑπὲρ τῶν καταλαμβανόντων τὴν χώραν, ἢ συμβουλευσαι τὸ πρακτέον. αὐτοὶ δὲ οὕτως πρὸς θάνατον διάκεινται, ὡς τὸν μὲν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον, ὥσπερ ἀναγκαίαν τινα τῇ φύσει λειτουργίαν, ἀκουσίως ὑπομένειν, σπεύδειν δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπολύσαι τῶν σωμάτων· καὶ πολλάκις ὅταν εὖ ἔχειν σκέψωνται, μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπειγοντος κακοῦ μηδὲ ἐξελαύνοντος, ἐξίασι τοῦ βίου, προειπόντες, μέντοι τοῖς ἄλλοις, καὶ ἐστὶν οὐδεὶς ὁ κωλύσων· ἀλλὰ πάντες αὐτους εὐδαιμονίζοντες πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους τῶν τεθνηκότων ἐπισκήπτουσί τινα. οὕτους βεβαίαν καὶ ἀληθεστατὴν αὐτοί τε καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς τὴν μετ' ἀλλήλων εἶναι δίαιταν πεπιστεύκασι. οἱ δ' ἐπειδὰν ὑπακούσωσι τῶν ἐντεταλμένων αὐτοῖς, πυρὶ τὸ σῶμα παραδόντες, ὅπως δὲ καθαρωτάτην ἀποκρίνωσι τοῦ

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mination manifested in their accounts, that they wrote from a more thorough knowledge of India than Arrian possessed,—a knowledge possibly acquired subsequently to Arrian's death; yet, as he died only sixty-nine years before Clemens, it might have been expected that he would have been nearly as well acquainted with the state of Indian society in his time, as Clemens was in his, particularly as Arrian's office of governor of Cappadocia in Asia Minor gave him facilities for knowing travellers both of foreign countries and his own.

The next Greek writer in order of time is Palladius Galata, who was a bishop of Helenopolis in Bithynia, and afterwards of Aspasia in Galatia. He died A.D. 431. He styles his book *ΤΟΥ ΠΑΛΛΑΔΙΟΥ περὶ τῶν τῆς Ἰνδιας ἐθνῶν καὶ τῶν Βραγμάνων.* He set out for India in company with his friend Moses, bishop of the Adulitæ; but finding the heat too great for him, he returned. These travels, combined with a similar journey of Bishop Musæus, mentioned by St. Ambrose, are of importance, as they indicate that journeys into India at this early period, by learned Christians, were not uncommon: indeed, Cosmas, in the sixth century, A.D. 522, found Christian churches in most of the cities of note in India; and the writers of the early centuries after Christ may, therefore, describe the existing state of society in India, from personal knowledge, or the testimony of their friends, independently of the ancient authorities, in case they quote them. This observation applies to Arrian, Apuleius, Clemens, Porphyrius, Palladius, and St. Ambrose. Palladius is very diffuse and minute; introducing a lengthened philosophical dialogue between Alexander and Dandamis, a supposed Brahman teacher. He does not mention his authorities for these dialogues; but the names of Onesicrates and Calanus are frequently introduced as speakers.

Admitting that Palladius quotes from ancient authorities, he quotes, also, the authority of a contemporary of his own, who had travelled into India, and been a prisoner there for years; and if the testimony of the latter, with respect to the opinions and habits of the supposed Brahmans, had differed from that of Ptolemy or Aristobulus, the discrepancy would have been noticed by Palladius.

The contemporary authority of Palladius is Scholasticus, a Thebean, who, having no taste for the bar, set out in company with an elder of the Christian church [*πρεσβῦτης*], by way of the Red

σώματος τὴν ψυχὴν, ὑμνούμενοι τελευτῶσι. ῥᾷον γὰρ ἐκείνους εἰς τὸν θάνατον οἱ φίλτατοι ἀποπέμπουσιν, ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ἄνθρώπων ἕκαστοι τοὺς πολίτας εἰς μηκίσας ἀποδημίας. καὶ σφᾶς μὲν αὐτοὺς δακρύουσιν ἐν τῷ ζῆν διαμείναντας, ἐκείνους δὲ μακαρίζουσι τὴν ἀθάνατον λῆξιν ἀπολαμβάνοντας.

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Sea, to survey India. He landed possibly at Aden [*Ἀδολῆν*], or at Adulis[1], the sea-port of Axum, subsequently at Muziris[2] on the Malabar coast, and then reached Ceylon [*Ταπροβάνη*], which was then the seat of the chief of the kings of India, whom the others obeyed as satraps; so Scholasticus was told by others, as he was not permitted to pass into the island, but was kept a prisoner for six years, labouring in the pepper districts of Malabar. The king who detained him, however, quarrelling with the paramount sovereign residing in Ceylon,—*μέγαν βασιλέα, τὸν ἐν τῇ Ταβροβάνῃ νήσῳ καθεζόμενον*,—he was released.

The two kings of Ceylon whose reigns embrace the whole period in which the visit of Scholasticus was probably made, were Buddha Dásá and Upotassá the Second, both of them monarchs very celebrated for their piety, according to the *Mahawanso;* but it is doubtful whether they had any political dominion on the continent of India. But as Fa hian says that all the kings of India about this period were Buddhists, Scholasticus may mean that the influence of the king of Ceylon was rather of a spiritual, than of a political or secular character; or simply, that he was the most rich and powerful of the numerous petty kings of India of the time and the others in consequence looked up to him; and this would seem to be the most likely, not only from Fa hian's notices respecting the wealth and magnificence he saw in Ceylon, but from Cosmas Indicopleustes stating, that in his time, between A.D. 522 to 547, Ceylon was the emporium of the trade between China and the Persian and Arabian Gulfs,—the silks of China, and the precious spices of the Eastern Islands, being dispersed from Ceylon through India and Western Asia. This is in thorough accordance with Fa hian's testimony about 110 years before, whose feelings were so much awakened by observing the offering of a China silk fan in the temple of Buddha; and it will be recollected that he embarked in a large vessel with Brahman merchants bound direct for China.

There can be no doubt of the route of Scholasticus; for, independently of his going down the Red Sea, he mentions the thousand islands of the Maldives, which he calls *Μανιόλης*, lying between the Red Sea and Ceylon; and his description of the climate and productions of Ceylon, satisfy us of the general correctness of the information he had received. The inhabitants lived upon milk, rice, and fruits: they had neither wool nor linen vestments; but used the skins

[1] The modern Massuah on the coast of Abyssinia.
[2] Supposed to be the present Mirjee, about eighty miles S. S. E. of Goa.

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of sheep prettily worked, wrapped round their loins. This is precisely the mode of dress, naked from the waist upwards, in which the Buddhists are represented in their sculptures, as may be seen in the Museum at the India House. The better classes, however, no doubt used cotton and silk garments, and the observation of Scholasticus must apply to the lower orders. He mentions the sheep having broad tails [Dumbahs]. But it is not necessary to go further in proof that Scholasticus visited the countries and people he describes. And yet, travelling in India probably not a dozen years before Fa hian was there, he gives to the Brahmans the chief characteristics of the Buddhist priests; and he commences, too, with the most marked feature which distinguishes Brahmans from Sramans, namely, "The [*supposed*] Brahmans do not renounce CIVIL society after the manner of monks, from their own proper will, but by a divine impress." Now monachism never has been, nor is, a feature of Brahmanism; but always was, and is still, a feature of Buddhism. The expression, also, CIVIL society, must not be overlooked, as it clearly alludes to the fact of the clergy being constituted from all classes of the community; and if the passage can be construed to apply to Brahmans, then were they laymen until the divine impress came upon them. He speaks of the Brahmans going naked; of their not using any animals, or engaging in any kind of labour whatever, whether of necessity or luxury, rustic or urban; of their neither using fire nor wine, or making bread. [It has been already said, that the Buddhist priesthood do not cook for themselves; but subsist on food ready cooked, for which they beg daily.] They have a delightful, serene, and agreeable sky, [meaning that they did not live in villages, as was the practice of the Brahmans in their *Agraharums*.] They worship GOD; and whatever their knowledge may be, they never use it to question the judgment of Providence. They are always engaged in prayer; and though they turn towards that part of the heavens where light springs up, it is without reference to the rising sun. They live upon such herbs, nuts, fruits and water, as come in their way, and upon whatever the earth produces spontaneously. These people are located on the Ganges, which has its exit in the sea. A few years after the time of Scholasticus's visit, Fa hian went down the Ganges to the Sea; and found its banks teeming with Buddhist priests and Buddhist monasteries, and there is scarcely mention of Brahmans or their temples. The description can only be accounted for by supposing that Scholasticus, like others before him, had mistaken Brahman for Sraman, or that the Brahmans of those days had Buddhist

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practices[1]. Admitting that Scholasticus does describe Brahmans, it is at least certain from his personal knowledge, that in the fourth century they had *not spread over all India;* and this is precisely what the Chinese travellers assert.

He goes on to say, that the wives of the [*supposed*] Brahmans did not live with them, but apparently more to the north; and that the husbands visited their wives in the months of July and August, and remained with them forty days; but after the birth of two male children, they did not go near their wives again. Brahmans never separated from their wives, excepting in the Sanyasi state; and Scholasticus probably refers to the total separation of the Buddhist priests from their wives, the instant they enter the priesthood; and he mistakes, with respect to their coming together again, which the Sanyasis were equally debarred from doing. Palladius finishes by saying, "Such is the polity of the Brahmans,"—*Αὕτη τῶν Βραγμάνων εἰσιν ἡ πολιτεία.* There is not a syllable about the distinction between Brahmans and Buddhists; not a syllable respecting caste or polytheism; nor a syllable respecting "Sati," the "Agnihotra," or imperative animal sacrifices; in fact, his description does not apply to *Puranic* Brahmans at all.

Palladius then gives marvellous mention of the animal in the rivers capable of swallowing an elephant; of the seventy-cubit dragons, and of the gigantic scorpions and ants; derived apparently from the veracious Megasthenes. He concludes by saying [to the friend for whom the account is written,] add this journal of mine to the copy of Arrian which I before sent to you, and read both with care and diligence.

[1] *Ἔλεγεν οὖν οὗτος, ὅτι οἱ Βραγμάνες ἔθνος εἰσὶν οὐκ ἀποτασσόμενον ἀπὸ προαιρέσεως, ὡς οἱ μοναχοὶ, ἀλλὰ λαχόντα τὸν κλῆρον τοῦτον ἄνωθεν, καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ κριμάτων· τὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ παροικίαν, φυσικῶς ἐν γυμνότητι διαζῶντες· παρ' οἷς οὐδὲν τετράποδον ὑπάρχει, οὐ γεώργιον, οὐ σίδηρος, οὐκ οἰκοδομὴ, οὐ πῦρ, οὐκ ἄρτος, οὐκ οἶνος, οὐχ ἱμάτιον, οὐκ ἄλλο τι τῶν εἰς ἐργασίαν συντελούντων, ἢ ἀπόλαυσιν συντεινόντων. Ἔχουσι δὲ ἀέρα λιγυρόν τε, καὶ εὔκρατον, καὶ πάνυ κάλλιστον, σεβόμενοι τὸν Θεὸν, καὶ γνῶσιν μὲν ἔχοντες, οὐκ οὕτως δὲ λεπτὴν, μήτε δὲ διευκρίνειν οὕτω τοὺς τῆς προνοίας λόγους δυνάμενοι, ὅμως εὔχονται ἀδιαλείπτως· εὐχόμενοι δὲ, ἀντὶ τῆς ἀνατολῆς, τῷ οὐρανῷ ἀτενίζουσι, τῇ τρόπῃ τῆς ἀνατολῆς οὐ προσέχοντες. Ἐσθίουσι δὲ τὰ παρατυγχάνοντα ἀκρόδρυα, καὶ λαχάνων τὰ ἄγρια, ὅσα ἡ γῆ ἐκφύει αὐτομάτως· καὶ ὕδωρ πίνουσι, νομάδες ὄντες ἐν ὕλαις, ἐπὶ φύλλοις ἀναπαυόμενοι· παρ' αὐτοῖς δὲ πολὺ τὸ Περσεεινὸν ξύλον, καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον ἀκανθαΐνὸν, καὶ τινα ἕτερα καρποφόρα, ἀφ' ὧν ἀποζῶσι. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες εἰς τὸ μέρος τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ ἐκεῖθεν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Γάγγου παροικοῦσιν· οὗτος γὰρ ὁ ποταμὸς εἰς τὸν ὠκεανὸν εἰσβάλλει· αἱ δὲ γυναίκες αὐτῶν εἰσὶν τοῦ Γάγγου, ἐπὶ τὸ μέρος τὸ τῆς Ινδίας.*—Palladius de Bragmanibus, pp. 7, 8, 9.

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Then follow the imaginary dialogues between certain Brahmans and Alexander; for I presume they are concocted [whether by Palladius or not I do not know,] from the knowledge then extant of the habits and opinions of the Brahmans. The supposed Brahmans abuse Calanus, who followed Alexander, and favour the mighty conqueror with a lecture on his ambition, and then give the same account of themselves which is given by most of the Western authors; namely, that they admired the sky and the woods, the rustling of leaves, and the sweet song of birds; that they ate herbs and fruit, and drank water, &c., &c., and that they sung hymns to God, and *coveted the future.*

Θεῷ ὕμνους ἄδομεν, καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἐπιθυμοῦμεν, οὐδενὸς μὴ ὠφελοῦντος ἀκοῦομεν· τοιαῦτα βραγμάνες ζῷμεν.

And in a subsequent part of the intercourse between Alexander and Dandamis, when Onesicrates is sent to him by Alexander to tell him the son of Jove demands his presence,—with the offer of gifts if he comes, and the loss of his head if he refuses,—Dandamis replies, "God the great king occasions no injury to man; but gives him light, peace, life, a human body and a SOUL [*ψυχη*], and God was his *Lord and sole God,*" meaning that he desired no other master. Moreover, he tells Alexander HE was no god, for he was subject to death. The supposed Brahmans thus pronounced themselves, certainly not Puranic Brahmans, slaves to polytheism, and celebrators of animal sacrifices!

My limits do not admit of further quotations from the lengthened dialogues, which are certainly curious and interesting; for if not genuine, they at least picture the opinions of Palladius, and probably his contemporaries, with respect to the religion and manners of the supposed Brahmans.

The facts quoted from the preceding authors would appear to have been collected by Palladius; and the next authority in the volume is St. Ambrosius, who addresses his account to Palladius himself, although he died thirty-four years before him. The one resided in Cappadocia, the other in Italy,—the one wrote in Greek, the other in Latin,—but they were evidently well acquainted with each other. I have already mentioned that St. Ambrose received his information from his friend Bishop Musæus, who had travelled into China and India, *but did not see a Brahman;* the latter, however, heard something about Brahmans from Scholasticus the Thebean, [Hæc sunt quæ a Thebæo Scholastico de Brachmanis audivisse se affirmat Musæus,] who had been a prisoner in India, and this he details to St. Ambrose.

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St. Ambrose died within two years of Fa hian's arrival in India, when we have his positive testimony that Buddhism, although long declining, was still immeasurably the prevailing religion in India; nevertheless, St. Ambrose, although his friend Bishop Musæus *had not met with a Brahman* in India, says, "Brachmani a nonnullis gymnosophistæ, a quibusdam philosophi, seu sapientes Indorum appellantur," testifying to the almost certain indelible impress of first impressions [whether true or false].

Musæus, after seeing the altars of Alexander, with the inscription, "Ego Alexander huc perveni," from his accounts must have got into the deserts between the Indus and Ganges. The heat and want of water frightened the worthy bishop from the prosecution of his travels, and he made the best of his way to the westward again. But St. Ambrosius also looked into Megasthenes; for he mentions the seventy-cubit dragons, the ants a span, and the scorpions a foot and a half long; and very naïvely adds, "Propter quæ monstra periculosus est ipsorum transitus locorum!" St. Ambrose makes no mention of polytheism, animal sacrifices, or caste, amongst the supposed Brahmans; but he makes them say of themselves,—"Nudo sub aëre arborum foliis nostra corpora contegimus, eorumque fructibus vescimur, aquam bibimus, *hymnos* DEO *canimus*; et futuri sæculi vitam desideramus:" and elsewhere one of the Brahmans says, "Amicus mihi est omnium *Deus*," and "Nihil est quod *Deum* latere possit:" in fact, there is not anywhere the slightest allusion to a plurality of gods; and St. Ambrose must have believed that the prejudices of caste did not exist amongst them; for Alexander is made to offer to Dandamis [Magister Brachmanorum,] after a colloquy, "Diversasque vestes cum oleo ac *panibus* obtulerunt.[1]" In short, the Brahmans of St. Ambrosius were capital good Buddhists.

The last quotation in the volume is from an anonymous Latin author, who gives certain dialogues between Alexander the Great, king of the Macedonians, and Dindimi, king of the Brahmans. There is nothing in these dialogues that militates against the previous quotations; and if Dindimi were a Brahman, he was neither a polytheist, offerer of animal sacrifices, or a slave to the pride of caste; for he says, "Locus non præbetur invidiæ, ubi nullus superior est[2]." But I have previously made sufficient use of the anony-

[1] Menu says, "The Brahman eats *but his own food*, wears but his own apparel, and bestows but his own in alms: through the benevolence of the Brahman, indeed, other *mortals enjoy life!*" Page 14.

[2] The student must consider a Brahman, though but ten years old, and a

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mous author. The comparatively modern writers, Postellus, Vossius, and Labbæus, are merely introduced by the editor of Palladius, as authorities, with respect to his life and character. Palladius does not quote Quintus Curtius nor Diodorus.

A digest of the testimony of the preceding ancient authors would appear to involve the following conclusions:—That the supposed Brahmans, for the most part, went naked,—underwent the tonsure,—worshipped one God,—were free from the bondage of caste, and could eat from any man's hand,—never engaged in secular affairs,—abstained from animal sacrifices and animal food, and never destroyed animal life,—were remarkable for their self-denial and penances, living upon fruits, grain, vegetables, and water,—abandoned their wives and children, and abstained from women,—dwelt in sylvan places or in caves,—and it was the custom of their country for those afflicted with disease to burn themselves on the funeral pile,—and, finally, not one of the many names of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, ever occurs, or even a trace of them! Every syllable of these deductions applies to the different orders of the Buddhist or Jain priesthood, and *does not apply* to modern Brahmans, with such exceptions only as are consequent on the CHANGE WHICH HAS TAKEN PLACE IN THEIR HABITS; for although now generally abstaining from animal food, or taking animal life, they were anciently *commanded* in the Rig Veda, that at each of the three daily sacrifices an animal should be slain and eaten; and the putting these commands into abeyance, did not take place until after the decline of Buddhism[1]. It will be said probably that the gymnosophists were the Hindu Sanyasis, some of whom go naked, and are absolved from the restraints of caste; but the Sanyasis wear their

Kshatrya, though aged a hundred years, as father and son: between those two, the young Brahman is to be respected as the father! "Among all those, if they be met at one time, the priest (Brahman), just returned home, and the prince, are most to be honoured; and of those two the priest just returned should be treated with more respect than the prince."—Menu, chap. ii. verses 130 and 139. "A learned Brahman, having found a treasure formerly hidden, may take it without any deduction, SINCE HE IS THE LORD OF ALL!!"—Menu, chap. viii. verse 37. So much for "Ubi nullus superior est."

[1] The Rev. Mr. Stevenson, who translated portions of the Sama and Rig Vedas, says, the commands of the Vedas were abrogated by Narida, who interdicted animal sacrifices; but at the entreaty of the Brahmans, they were retained in the Agni hotra, or oblation to fire. But the sacrifice of the Cow, sacred as is the animal NOW, is proved to demonstration in the Matsya Purana, which work Professor Wilson considers to date after the twelfth century; and the Rig Veda gives the form of hymn to be chanted at the SACRIFICE OF A COW!

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long hair bound round the head; while the elder sophists were *shaven* like Buddhist priests[1]: the Sanyasis cover their bodies with ashes, which the sophists are not represented to have done; and neither the habit of wearing the hair, nor using ashes, is a modern innovation, for Hiuan thsang found these customs prevailing amongst the worshippers of Iswara at Benares in the seventh century. The Sanyasis were commanded to be companionless: the sophists were sociable. The Sanyasi can eat and drink what he pleases; which the sophist could not do. The sophists and Buddhist priests were under the most rigid moral restraint, and characterized by the most singular self-denial; whilst it is to be feared, the self emancipation of the Sanyasi from the restraints of caste, and the ordinances of his faith, is but an excuse for the illicit indulgence of his appetites. But admitting that the Sanyasis and the sophists were identical, the best that could be said of them would be, that they were a class of persons who had abandoned the habits and customs prescribed by the Vedas and Puranas, [if they existed at that time,] and had adopted those of the Buddhist priesthood; and then, if the Sanyasis were, indeed, the sophists, where are we to look for the tribe of Brahmans?

I cannot conclude this question, whether or not the Brahmans were a tribe of strangers in India? without quoting a few passages from that learned authority, Professor Wilson. He says, "The *earliest* seat of the Hindus within the confines of Hindustan was *undoubtedly* the eastern confines of the Panjab; the holy land of Menu and the Puranas lies between the Drishadwati and Saraswati rivers; the Caygar and Sursooty of our barbarous maps." And he further adds, "The tract of land thus assigned for the first establishment of Hinduism in India *is of very circumscribed extent*, and could *not* have been the site of any *numerous tribes or nations*. The traditions that evidence early settlement of the Hindus in this quarter, ascribe to the settlers more of a philosophical and religious, than of a secular character, and combine with the *very narrow bounds* of the holy land, to render it possible that the earliest emigrants were the members, not of a political, so much as of a religious community, that they were a colony of priests, not in the restricted

[1] In the legend of Sagara, in the Vishnu Purana, he imposed upon two of the vanquished nations, which he made outcasts,—the Yavanas, (Greeks,) and the Sakas, (Indo-Scythians,)—the penalty of shaving the head; the former the *whole head*, and the latter the *upper half*.—Wilson, p. 375. The practice, therefore, was a mark of degradation, and not Hindu; and the sophists, on this ground, ought not to be Hindus.

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sense in which we use the term, but in that in which it still applies in India,—to an Agrahára, a village or hamlet of Brahmans, who, although married, and having families, and engaging in tillage, in domestic duties, and in the conduct of SECULAR interests affecting the community, are still supposed to devote their principal attention to sacred study and religious offices. A society of this description, with its artificers and servants, and perhaps with a body of martial followers, might have found a home in the Brahmávartha of Menu, the land which thence was entitled 'the holy,' or more literally, 'the Brahman region,' and may have communicated to the rude, uncivilized, unlettered aborigines, the rudiments of social organization, literature, and religion; partly, in all probability, *brought along with them*, and partly devised and *fashioned by degrees*, for the growing necessities of new conditions of society. Those with whom this civilization commenced, would have had ample inducements to prosecute their successful work; and in the course of time the improvement which germinated on the banks of the Saraswati was extended beyond the borders of the Jumna and the Ganges."—Professor Wilson's Vishnu Purana, page 67.

Now, it would appear from the testimony of the Chinese general already quoted, that as late as the seventh century, the Brahman kingdoms were confined to the Panjab, and it was only between the Indus and the Jumna that Fa hian, in the first years of the fifth century, found a people of heretics [that is to say, not Buddhists]; and it was about Mooltan that Alexander met with a town of the Brahmans; and Scholasticus, who had been a prisoner in the south of India in the fourth century, and from whom Bishop Musæus obtained the information which St. Ambrosius quotes, plainly leads us to understand, that the Brahmans were not in the Peninsula in his day, for he distinctly says they were located beyond the Ganges; and St. Ambrose, in closing the account he had from Musæus, says, 'Hæc sunt quæ a Thebæo Scholastico de Brachmanis audivisse se 'affirmat Musæus; quæ vero ex historiis de Alexandri vita legi, et quæ ex plerisque auctoribus ad hoc facientia de illis desumpsi, nunc subnectam."—St. Ambrosius de moribus Brachmanorum. Professsor Wilson's locality, therefore, is very probably the *Indian* Nidus of the Brahmans; but evidently from the testimony of Fa hian, Soung yun, Hiuan thsang, the Chinese general, Scholasticus, and the bearing of numerous facts, their political power as a tribe, and their religious influence as a priesthood, as late as between the fourth and seventh centuries, had not got much to the eastward of the Sutledge; and certainly had not "*extended beyond the borders of*

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the Jumna and Ganges." Now the very assertions of the Chinese, that the Brahmans were a *tribe, the first amongst the tribes of barbarians* [*strangers*], is thus confirmed by the most learned and competent authority in Europe; but Professor Wilson, probably, will not admit that the Brahmans were in the state in which he describes them in the above quotation, so late as the seventh century; nevertheless, the admission of their being a *small* tribe, occupying a *small* tract of country, engaged in the conduct of secular interests, living in villages, cultivating learning, [and divination, *vide* Soung yun,] and being married and having families, is in strict accordance with the accounts of the Chinese, with those of Buddha himself, and the Buddhistical scriptures, and with the inferences resulting from the general bearing of the facts collected in the preceding pages, and is opposed to their being the gymnosophists of the western writers; and the *absence* of *ancient* inscriptions, coins, or works of art, and even literature, [for the great body of the classical works of the Brahmans is said to date after the fifth century,] give an air of credibility to the assertions of the Chinese[1].

The Rev. Mr. Taylor, in his Analysis of the Mackenzie MSS., says, "originally the Brahmans were most certainly FOREIGNERS to the Peninsula; and to know that is one important step in tracing their remoter origin[2];" and then giving an account of the thirteen tribes of Nandivani Brahmans, he says, "*Agastya* took them South from the Ganges; at the *Vindhya*, he humbled the pride of the mountains, and there were *no longer Rakshasis*, [the Brahmanical account explaining it,] Asuras and their disciples, [which usually means Buddhists,] and the Brahmans then *gradually* filled the southern provinces." In the Mackenzie MSS., the *Sri carunara puranum*, or legend of the Brahman accountants of villages in the Pandyan kingdom is curious. The bearing of the whole goes to show that the *Samanas* [Semnoi], [Buddhists or Jains] originally possessed the south country; that the sending of the famous *Sampanter* from Chillambram, who *destroyed* the *Samanas*, led to the FIRST introduction of the Hindu system in the Pandyan kingdom;

[1] But even in the supposed localities of the Brahmans, the antiquities found, according to M. Masson, do not relate to them. He says, "It may be observed that the later antiquities in Affghanistan and *the Punjab, or in the countries along the course of the Indus*, are apparently mixed *Mithraic* and Buddhist." J. A. S. B. vol. v. p. 713. Some of the antiquities alluded to are as late as the sixth century, and yet Brahmanism had not yet attained sufficient power to mingle its traces with them.

[2] Madras Journal, No. XXII. p. 28.

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that the Madura college was established to diffuse Sanskrit literature and the Hindu religion, and a large *immigration* of the Brahmans took place. Madras Journal, No. 25, p. 295. Dr. Taylor's comment on this "*puranum*," is, that the paper *proves* the Brahmans were *foreigners!* and they evidently supplanted the Buddhists. We have it from the personal testimony of Fa hian and Hiuan thsang, that up to their days no collision had taken place, or blood been shed, between the Buddhists and Brahmans; indeed, kindness to them had been commanded in the edicts of Asoko, and in many Buddhist inscriptions. The first introduction, therefore, of the Hindu religion, and Brahmans [foreigners], into the Pandayan kingdom, was *after* the destruction of the Samanas, and consequently *after* the visit of Hiuan thsang in the seventh century!

The whole leaning of Dr. Taylor's mind after his extensive review of the Mackenzie MSS., is plainly, that the Brahmans were a tribe of strangers in the Peninsula, and that their introduction into the south was comparatively recent. It appears to me that the dates alone, of the major part of the Sanskrit inscriptions in the south of India [fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries] would suffice to authorise the inference alluded to.

That the acquisition of religious and political power by the Brahmans was gradual and comparatively recent, is shown in a decided manner in several Sanskrit inscriptions written by Brahmans, in the phraseology used, and in the relation in which they are made to stand to princes. In the earliest inscriptions, [fourth, fifth, or sixth century,] in which lands are given to Brahmans by the prince, there is not any eulogy of them whatever[1]: indeed, in one from Gujarat, A.D. 323, they are not even designated by the term Brahman, but called "those who are versed in the *four* Vedas." In the Allahabad inscriptions, [about A.D. 800,] the Brahman writer says of himself, "Such is the composition of him who serves the countenance of the great monarch, [who, be it remarked, was a *Sudra*,] who by reason of the *favour of continually going about in his presence is even infatuated in mind!*" Two hundred years made a wonderful alteration; for, in an inscription at Chatarpur, A. D. 1016, the Brahman writer modestly says of a Brahman "*whose feet earthly kings adored*[2]." And in the inscriptions in the temple of

[1] J. A. S. B. vol. iv. p. 477, and vol. vii. p. 910. The mention of the *fourth* Veda, which is not noticed in Manu, makes it doubtful whether the Vikramaditya *samvat* has not been substituted for the Balibhi *samvat*, which would make the inscription date from A.D. 642, instead of A.D. 323.

[2] Ibid. No lxxxvii. p. 160.

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Siva at Harsha in Sekawatti, A.D. 973, the Brahmans are denominated "*lords of the earth*[1]!" The inscriptions are, in truth, indices to facts: the first was recorded while the political and religious power of the Buddhists was still general, and the Brahmans were harmless and ready recipients of their charity; the second was recorded when Buddhism was fast declining, and *low caste* Hindu princes were establishing a monarchy, and the Brahmans were the humble panegyrists of the low caste princes; the third and fourth inscriptions were recorded when the Puranic system was rampant and Brahmans were consequently "*lords of the earth!*"

This is in thorough accordance with the opinions of the Rev. Dr. Stevenson of Bombay, the learned translator of parts of the Sama and Rig Vedas [which opinions reached me in manuscript while my paper was going through the press], who says, "that Brahmanism as first established, or afterwards revived, in the Maratha country, is *universally*, by the natives, traced to Sankhara Acharya in the NINTH CENTURY, whom they deem an avatar of Siva, raised up to put down Buddhism." It is very satisfactory to me, also, to find that the idea I had expressed of the Buddhist origin of the worship at Jagganath is in conformity with Dr. Stevenson's views, who, moreover, expresses a belief that the Brahman worship of Wittobha at Pundarpur, is of Jain origin, and that the Brahmans were shamed out of animal sacrifices by the humane examples of the Buddhists. But there are multiplied instances besides Pandarpur and Jagganatha of the adoption of *holy Buddhist* localities by Brahmans. The Buddhist [afterwards Jain] mountain of Girnar in Gujarat, although with only *one* small Hindu temple to *mother earth*, amongst many Jain temples, and THAT ONE an *appropriated* Jain temple, is now a place of Hindu pilgrimage; the great Saiva temple in the old city of Pattan in Gujarat was originally Buddhist; and the Hindus are now in possession of the Carli [Karleh] Buddha cave temple, and Buddhagaya in Behar.

But the preceding views of the comparatively recent introduction of Brahmanism into India are not confined to the Chinese travellers and isolated authors, for Major Moor, in his Hindu Pantheon, page 328, says, "In Ava, where Buddhism is orthodoxy, the idea is upheld, that it was equally prevalent in the same form THROUGHOUT INDIA, *till about the second century before Christ*, when the Brahmans are stated to *have introduced themselves* and their rites, and by their superior knowledge and address, to have excluded the Rahans [Arhan, or Buddhist priests] from almost every part of India, and

[1] Ibid. vol. iv. p. 367.

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substituting their own dogmas, but retaining many of the scientific and historical facts of the ejected party, whose monuments of antiquity are also said to have been destroyed by the artful Brahmans, with the view of concealing *their own foreign origin* and the novelty of their doctrines."

The preceding paragraphs have unavoidably involved the question of caste to some extent. In discussing the seventh point, therefore, I shall be as brief as circumstances will permit. It has been shown, that Buddha, nearly 600 years before Christ, stated that there were Brahmans, Kshatryas, Vaisyas, and Sudras, without there being any religious distinctions between them. Fa hian, in A.D. 412, describes the four castes or tribes attending Buddhist sermons thrice in each half month[1], and their celebrating Buddhist funerals and festivals; implying that the four castes or tribes constituted the Buddhist population. It has been shown that, to this day, caste, as a *civil* institution, and not as a religious ordinance, exists amongst the Buddhists of Ceylon; it equally exists amongst the Jains of the west of India; and we have Buddha's authority that it equally existed twenty-four centuries ago. Numerous instances occur in the Chinese travellers, and the Buddhistical sacred writings, where Brahman Buddhists, Kshatrya Buddhists, Vaisya Buddhists, and Sudra Buddhists, are spoken of. The tribes of ancient Gaul or Britain, or the clans of Scotland, might all have been of one religious belief, with *specific designations*, and with such feelings of prejudice, pride, or hostility against each other as would prevent their intermarrying, or engaging in common social relations, yet nobody supposes that caste, as a religious distinction, existed amongst them. In the Mackenzie MSS. (Madras Journal, No. 22, p. 24) a dispute is recorded, in which the disputants are designated a *Jaina Brahman*, and a *Saiva Brahman*; and it was evidently written by a Hindu, because the award is given in favour of the Saiva, although the argument is on the side of the Jaina. Here the term Brahman had evidently no religious bearing, otherwise the heretic would not have been designated a *Jaina Brahman!*

It has been shown, that the Indian sophists, or gymnosophists, of the western writers, if they were Brahmans, must have been destitute of caste, as they could receive a portion of the *dressed food in any house*; and Arrian's description of the constitution of Indian

[1] On the 8th, 11th, and 15th of the half moon; and, strangely, the 8th, 11th, and 14th of each half moon are sacred, and set apart by the *modern Hindus* for important observances.—Professor Wilson's 1st Oxford Lecture, p. 26. This coincidence can scarcely be accidental.

[2] This is in most important contrast to Menu's Brahmans. "Should a Brahman

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society is quite compatible with the *civil distinction* of caste still existing amongst the Buddhists of Ceylon, and which equally existed amongst the ancient Assyrians and Egyptians.

Mr. B. Hodgson of Nepal furnishes auxiliary aid to this interpretation, in a very curious paper in the transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society (vol. iii.), in which a Buddhist of the name of Ashu Ghosha refutes a series of propositions in a disputation with a Saiva or worshipper of Mahadeva. The Buddhist, for the sake of argument [only] admits the *truth* of the Brahmanical writings, and then proves from the writings themselves, the erroneousness of the doctrine of caste. He says, "If Brahmanhood must depend upon parentage, according to the passage in the '*Smritti*,' how is it that [the Brahman] Achala Muni was born of an elephant,—Casa Pingala of an owl,—and Agastya Muni from the agast flower,—Cousika Muni from the cusa grass,—and Capila from a monkey;—Gautami Rishi from a creeper that entwined a saul tree, and Drona Acharya from an earthen pot;—Taittiri Rishi from a partridge, and Parswa Rama from dust;—Sringa Rishi from a deer, and Vyasa Muni from a *fisherwoman*;—and Koshika Muni from a *female Sudra*;—Viswa Mitra[1] from a CHANDALNI [a base outcast], and Vasisththa Muni from a *strumpet?* Not one of them had a Brahman mother, and yet all were notoriously called Brahmans; whence I infer, that the title is a distinction of popular origin and cannot be traced to parentage from written authorities[2]." Gosha goes on to say, "I draw fresh proofs from the "*Manava Dharma*," which affirms that the Brahman who eats flesh *loses instantly* his rank, and also that by selling wax or salt, or milk, he becomes a Sudra in three days[3].

With respect to the last passage, it is necessary to remark, that Dr. Stevenson proves from the Rig Veda, that Brahmans made animal sacrifices, EVEN TO THE COW, and partook of the meat; the interdict, therefore, to eat flesh, in the Manava Dharma, must have been adopted from the Buddhists, and was an innovation on original

carnally know a woman of the Chandála or Mlechchha tribes, OR TASTE THEIR FOOD, or *accept a gift from them*, he loses his own class, if he acts unknowingly, or if knowingly, sinks to a level with them." Chap. 11, v. 176.

[1] Menu says, "But by virtues with humble behaviour, Prithu and Menu acquired sovereignty; Guvera wrath inexhaustible; and Viswá Mithra, son of Gidhi, the RANK OF A PRIEST, *though born in the* military class." Chap. 7, v. 42. And speaking of the mixed races, Menu says, "By the force of extreme devotion and of exalted fathers, ALL OF THEM MAY RISE IN TIME TO HIGH BIRTH, as by the reverse they may sink to a lower state in every age, among mortals in this inferior world." chap. 10, v. 42. Birth, therefore, *did not necessarily* constitute caste.

[2] Vol. iii., p. 162. [3] Page 163.

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Hinduism, and that work may therefore be considered comparatively modern. Gosha quotes Menu in numerous instances, and his ergo is, "It is clear, then, that he whose *life is pure*, and his temper cheerful, is the true Brahman, and that lineage [*kula*] has nothing to do with the matter."

Gosha's statement that *he* is the true Brahman whose *life is pure*, and that caste has nothing to do with it, is supported by the Chinese, who say that the term ahman Brmeans "*walking in purity*;" and Pliny says, that the appellation "Brahman" was applied to many nations, and intimates, that it *did not denote a distinct class or order of society*. [Nat. Hist. l. 6, c. 17.] This is in accordance with the "*Manava Dharma*," the Buddhist "*Gosha*," and the Brahman "*Baishan Payana*." Any body, in fact, was a Brahman, who was really pure. Gosha, in continuation, adds, "All that I have said about Brahmans you must know is equally applicable to Kshatriyas, and that the doctrine of the four castes is altogether false[1]." Again he says, "The distinctions between Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras, are founded merely upon the observance of divers rites, and the practice of *different professions*, as is clearly proved by the conversation of *Baishan Payana Rishi* with *Yudhisthira Raja*[2]." Then follows the conversation, the chief points of which are, that "he is a Brahman, who never eats flesh and never hurts a sentient thing, and practises *all* the *moral virtues*." It ends by the Rishi stating, "whoever professes these virtues is a Brahman; and if a Brahman professes them not, he is a Sudra. Brahmanhood depends not on race [kula] or birth [jat], nor on the performance of certain ceremonies. If a *Bhandal* is virtuous, and possesses the signs above noted, he is a Brahman. Oh Yudhisthira, formerly in this world of ours there was *but one caste*; the division into four castes originated with diversity of rites and of *avocations*; all men were born of woman in like manner[3]!"

[1] Page 166.

[2] Yudhisthira, of the Chandra Vansa, or *Lunar* race, and of the Pandu dynasty, was *first* king of Delhi, and, according to the fables of the Puranas, reigned about 3100 before Christ!! Colonel Tod makes the whole of the dynasties of the *Lunar* race *Buddhists*, from their very origin. He says, "Of the two races of India, one was the Surya Vansa, or children of the sun, and the other was the Som Vansa, Chandra Vansa, or Indu Vansa, children of the moon; the latter were from Buddha, and ALWAYS Buddhists and worshippers of the 'ONE ONLY.' And they gave a name to India, as Indu Vansa: the former, or Surya Vansa, became idolators, and inhabited Syria, Assyria, &c., &c." He considers them coeval in antiquity, and struggling for paramount political and religious power. Asiatic Journal, vol. xxxiii., p. 235.

[3] Page 168.

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If it be borne in mind that Gosha quotes a *Brahman* sage, or saint, who makes the qualifications of a Brahman absolutely those of a Buddhist priest, using almost the language of Buddha himself; the quotation is in no ordinary degree remarkable, the more so as the Brahman sage, or saint, repudiates the Brahman sacrifices of animals and eating of the flesh, as commanded in the Vedas! It looks, indeed, as if these opinions of the Brahman Baisham Payana Rishi, opposed as they are to the Vedas, and according as they do with Buddhism, were adopted from the Buddhists.

Professor Wilson gives countenance to the inference, that caste could have had very little influence in ancient times, for he admits that the collector and arranger of the *sacred Vedas* was of *very impure* caste. He says, "It is also admitted, that the Vedas existed in a scattered form until the parts of which they now consist were collected and arranged in the actual form, by a person of very equivocal origin,—the son of Rishi by the daughter of a fisherman, and, therefore, properly speaking, of *very impure caste*,—and who, from his arranging the Vedas, is known by the name of Vyása, the arranger[1]."

Is it to be believed that if the modern feelings of caste had existed anciently, such a fact as the above would not have been suppressed by the Brahmans of the period? Why, the impure castes are not permitted even to hear the Vedas repeated, much less to arrange and expound them.

But Professor Wilson affords yet stronger ground for the Buddhist Gosha's argument, and that, too, from the Vishnu Purana. In his able introduction to that work, page 69, after speaking of the foundation and colonization of Ayodhya [Oude], by Vaivaswata, the son of the Sun, he has the following passages:—"The distinction of castes was not fully developed *prior* to the colonization" [which means, I suppose, *while* the only location of the Hindus or Brahmans was in the Punjab]. And, again, "of the sons of Vaivaswata, some as kings were *Kshatryas*, but one *founded a tribe of Brahmans*, another became a *Vaisya*, and a fourth a *Sudra*." This practically proves what Buddha himself and Gosha assert, and what we gather from Arrian and the other Greek authors, that caste did not exist as a religious distinction! And, again, Professor Wilson says, "there are various notices [in the Purana] of *Brahmanical* Gotra's, or families, proceeding from *Kshatrya races*." Of course, then, Brahmanism could have had little to do with lineage: and the Professor adds, "there are indications of severe struggles

[1] First Oxford Lecture, p. 7.

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between Kshatryas and Brahmans for *spiritual* dominion even,—which had the *right* to TEACH *the Vedas*."

Diodorus Siculus, who is not quoted by Palladius, in one place represents the philosophers of India, who were the Brahmans of Megasthenes, as equivalent to the priests of other nations; but in another passage he considers them as a *separate nation, sect, or body of men, settled in one particular part of India.*

Ptolemy considers the *Brahmans* as *distinct from the Gymnosophists*; the former he locates near the sea, and the Gymnosophists he places in the north-eastern part of India, near the western bank of the Ganges. This opinion of Ptolemy is of importance, as it shows that, in his early time, the accuracy of Megasthenes was questioned in his designating the Gymnosophists as Brahmans; and the opinion adds weight to the facts I have adduced on the same question.

In a note to Fa hian, page 186, by M. Klaproth, he quotes *a very ancient* book, the Ma teng kia king, cited in the San tsang fâ sou, book xvi., page 13, which says:—"It is falsely supposed that we [the family of Buddha] are sprung from Brahma, and they call us the children of Brahma. The Brahmans *pretend* that they are born from the mouth of Brahma, the Kshatryas from his navel, the Vaisyas from his arms, and the Soûtras from his feet, and they regard themselves as taking precedence of other men, WHICH TRULY THEY DO NOT. The word Po lo men, Brahman, means, he *who walks in purity*. Part of them are secular, and part religious, studying the doctrine[1]; they call themselves the offsets of Brahma, but their name comes from their preserving the *doctrine* and being pure. The Kshatryas are the lords or owners of the land, and are of the royal race; the Vaisyas are merchants, and the Soûtras, labourers."

M. Klaproth adds, "On voit par l'histoire des patriarches, que la distinction des castes n'empêchait pas de choisir indifféremment le principal chef de la religion, dans l'une ou dans l'autre. Shakya Muni était Kshatrya. Mâha Kasyapa, son successeur, appartenait à la caste des Brahmanes. Le troisième patriarche était Vaisya, et son successeur était Soûtra. Ainsi, conformément au principe du Buddhisme on avait exclusivement en vue la pureté morale de celui qu'on choisissait pour la transmission de la doctrine, sans avoir égard aux distinctions de la puissance et à la supériorité des castes."

[1] The term *doctrine* is usually applied to the "*Dhamma*" of the Buddhists.

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The author of the article "Brahmans," in Rees' Cyclopædia, after quoting numerous authorities, concludes with saying "Upon the whole it seems to be evident from various records concerning the ancient Brahmans, that they were not so much a distinct nation, or particular class of philosophers, as a *tribe* or *body* of men, or rather a numerous family, descended from one common ancestor, who existed at some remote period, and who *were different from the progenitors of the people amongst whom they lived.*" Which goes the length of saying they were a *tribe of strangers* amongst the people of India! confirming, in short, the Chinese travellers in their statements.

If we go to the Nepal legends, we find the same impressions with respect to the absence of caste. The legends speak of the visits to Nepal of Sakya's *predecessors*, Vipasyi Buddha, Sikhi Buddha, Viswabhu Buddha, and Manju Sri, all like Sakya himself, accompanied by bhikshus, disciples, rajahs, and cultivators, comprising a multitude of the peasantry of the land; also of a Raja called Dharmakar. The inhabitants of Nepal *were all of one caste or had no caste*, but their descendants in the course of time became divided into many castes, according to the trades and professions which they followed [this is what Arrian says]. Thus, in the early ages, Nepal had four classes of SECULAR people, as *Brahman, Kshatrya, Vaisya*, and *Sudra*, and four ascetical classes, namely, *Bhikshu, Sramama, Chailaka*, and *Arhanta*, and ALL WERE, "BUDDHA MARGI" [or following the ways of Buddhism]. A great many Brahmans and others, who accompanied the Raja Prachanda to Nepal, received the tonsure and became bhikshus at the same time with the Raja, and took up their abode in the monasteries of Nepal. Some others of those that came with Prachanda to Nepal, preferring the *pursuits of the world*, continued to exercise them in Nepal, where they also remained and became Buddhists[1]. We have here demonstrated from Buddhist authority the accuracy of Scholasticus quoted by St. Ambrosius:—"Quod genus Brachmanorum non ex propria tantum voluntate SÆCULARIBUS REBUS renuntiat, &c., &c.," plainly telling us that they were *lay men*, and engaged in worldly affairs until they became Gymnosophists or Sophists, or Buddhist *bhikshus*.

But as late as the eighth century, caste, if it existed, could not have been any great obstacle, when it stood in the way of a Brahman's ambition; for when Mahomed bin Kassim, from Bagdad, invaded Sindh[2] in 92 Hegara, A.D. 711, and captured Alor the

[1] J. A. S. B. vol. iii., page 219, 220, and 316.

[2] The territory of the Raja of Sindh extended [at this period] to the East as

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capital, he found a *Brahman* named Dahir, son of Cha che *Brahman*, who had usurped the government on the death of his master Sahi or *Sahir Sin*, by means of *marrying his master's widow*; although necessarily of a different caste[1], the Raja being of the Sasee or Sahu family, which, if the same as the Sah's of Surashtra, from their coins and legends, must have been Buddhist. Moreover, Dahir, *Brahman* as he was, [like the Brahmans mentioned by Arrian near Mooltan,] opposed Kassim, sword in hand, at the head of his troops; and in the battle he had two beautiful female slaves with him in his howdah, one of whom administered *wine*, and the other paun[2]. The supposed gymnosophist Brahmans would have marvelled not a little at the varied indulgencies and physical prowess of their co-religionist!!

I may add, that if we look to the supposed aborigines of India, the Goands, the Bhils, the Kohlés, &c., &c., we find that caste is unknown amongst them.

It proves nothing to say that caste, as a religious distinction, existed, because Arrian assures us, that generations of men were confined to particular trades; for in that case caste, as a religious distinction, existed amongst the ancient Assyrians and ancient Egyptians, as a similar interdict to trades intermarrying obtained amongst those nations; and nobody asserts that caste in the Hindu sense formed part of their institutions. M. Goguet, in his Origin of Laws, says, "that in the Assyrian empire the people were distributed into a certain number of tribes, and that professions were hereditary; that is to say, children were not permitted to quit their father's occupation, and embrace another. [Diodorus, lib. ii. p. 142.] We know not the time nor the author of this institution, which from the highest antiquity prevailed almost over all Asia, and even in several other countries." Vol. i. p. 43.

But Hindu caste involves the most monstrous inequalities in the condition of men, and in their respective civil and religious rights. Menu says, "The first part of a Brahman's compound name should indicate holiness;—of a Kshatrya's, power,—of a Vaisya's, wealth,—and of a Sudra's, *contempt*." Chap. ii. v. 31. "One principal duty the supreme ruler assigned to a Sudra; namely, to *serve* the three first classes without depreciating their worth." [Chap.

far as Kashmir and Kanouj, West to Mekran and the sea, South to the territories of the ports of Surat and Deo, and North to Kandahar, Seeustan, and the mountains of Suliman and Kynakan. From the Muhammadan historians.

[1] J. A. S. B. vol. vii. p. 307.

[2] Piper betel leaf and the nut of the Areca faufel.

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i. v. 91.] "But a man of the servile class, whether bought or unbought, he [a Brahman] may compel to perform servile duty; because such a man was CREATED by the self-existent FOR THE PURPOSE of serving Brahmans." "A Sudra, though emancipated by his master, is not released from a state of servitude; FOR OF A STATE WHICH IS NATURAL TO HIM, *by whom can he be divested?*"—Menu, chap. viii., v. 413, 414. And throughout the code of Menu, contempt and servitude were allotted to the unfortunate Sudras; they were, in fact, no better than Helots. But Arrian's authorities did not find this state of things in India, which must be of subsequent origin, for he expressly says, "the most memorable matter was, that all Indians were perfectly free, or exempt, or independent; no man was a slave, or servant, or attendant; in which they resembled the Lacedæmonians; but the Indians had the advantage of them in having *no Helots.*"

Εἶναι δὲ καὶ τόδε μέγα ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῇ, πάντας Ἰνδοὺς εἶναι ἐλευθέρους, οὐδέ τινα δοῦλον εἶναι Ἰνδόν· τοῦτο Λακεδαιμονίοισιν ἐς ταὐτὸ συμβαίνει καὶ Ἰνδοῖσιν. Λακεδαιμονίοις μέν γε οἱ εἵλωτες δοῦλοί εἰσι, καὶ τὰ δούλων ἐργαζόνται· Ἰνδοῖσι δὲ, οὐδὲ ἄλλος δοῦλός ἐστι, μήτοιγε Ἰνδῶν τις.—Hist. Ind. cap. xi. Under the circumstances here noticed, the code of Menu consequently could not have been in operation.

But my limits do not permit me to pursue the subject; and considering the weight of the authorities quoted, there would appear to be strong ground for supposing that caste, as a religious distinction, did not exist anciently in India.

Although the eighth point has very extended bearings and would admit of diffuse illustrations, I shall confine my notices to a few simple facts. In the first place it may be asked, why are there not the same tangible and irrefragable proofs extant of the Sanskrit as of the Pali language; the more particularly so as Brahmanism and Sanskrit have *hitherto* been believed to emanate from the fabled ages? To reply to this query, I shall call to my assistance several redoubtable authorities; but previously to quoting these authorities, a few preliminary observations are necessary. A multitude of inscriptions, in a character having a certain resemblance to the Sanskrit Deva Nagari of India, had been known for very many years to Orientalists, but their translation had equally baffled the most learned Brahmans and the most learned Europeans. No difficulty, however, was too great for the acute mind of Mr. Prinsep, and by the most indefatigable research, and by multiplied comparisons of inscriptions of dif-

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ferent ages, commencing with the most modern and going upwards into antiquity, taking each modern Sanskrit letter and following it through its modifications in inscriptions of different ages, he found that the modern Deva Nagari characters were absolutely resolved into the primitive character of the old inscriptions, which had till then eluded all investigations; and in the process, it was observed, that the primitive letters increased in number in the various inscriptions in the ratio of their respective antiquity. The power of the letters being thus determined, there was not any great difficulty in reading the inscriptions themselves; but to the infinite surprise of Mr. Prinsep, they proved not to be in the *anticipated* Sanskrit language, but in the ancient Pali, a cognate tongue, which was anciently, and is now, in a slightly modified form, in use by the Buddhists for their sacred literature. Elsewhere, Mr. Prinsep in speaking of the letters on the Buddhist coins of Behat, says, "Here the letters resemble those of the lats [pillars] or of the caves on the West of India; THE MOST ANCIENT WRITTEN FORM OF THE SANSKRIT LANGUAGE!"—J. A. S. B., vol. iv., page 637. But Mr. Prinsep is not alone in his authority for the process of the discovery, or in the importance he attaches to it; for Dr. Mill, late principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta, who, from his having written in Sanskrit verse, has been designated by Brahmans the "*European Calidas*," in speaking of the Sanskrit inscriptions in the temple of Siva, at Harsha, in Shekavati, which is of the tenth century [A. D. 973], says, "that the character, though *illegible at present* to the Pandits even of Northern India, presents no difficulty after the deciphering of the more ancient inscriptions, whose characters resemble those of the *second* on the Allahabad pillar. This stone exhibits the *Deva Nagari in its state of transition*, from the form visible in *that* and other yet older monuments *to the writing which now* universally bears that name, and which may be traced without sensible variation in inscriptions as old as the twelth century;" but above all, Dr. Mill says, the Harsha inscription[1] "*forms a definite standard from which the age of other monuments of similar or more remotely resembling characters, may be inferred with tolerable certainty*[2]."

[1] This inscription has evident relation to the recent triumphs of the Saiva's over the fallen Buddhists. The temple is dedicated to Siva under the name of Harsha, हर्ष [Joy], because he had destroyed the Asura or Demon Tripura, who had expelled Indra and his gods from heaven, and Siva received the praises of the restored celestials on the mountain where the temple was built. The inscription calls Buddha Gaya the Holy Asura.

[2] J. A. S. B. vol. iv. page 967.

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The knowledge of the *transition periods* of the Deva Nagari is thus of vast importance, as the *proximate* age of inscriptions WHERE DATES *are wanting* is consequently deducible *from the form of the character alone*. Mr. Wathen, late Secretary to Government at Bombay, in his translations of inscriptions upon copper plates found in Gujarat and Kattywar, says, "the character in which these grants are written *is evidently derived from the more ancient one* [*the Pali*], which is found in the caves of Keneri, Carli, and Verula [Ellora], on this side of India, and it resembles that of the cave inscription, deciphered by Mr. Wilkins in the first volume of Asiatic Researches." ONE ORIGINAL character, being *that of the caves*, appears to have first existed throughout the western parts of India, Dekhan, Konkun, Gujarat, &c. It seems to have undergone gradual changes, until about two centuries subsequently to the eras of Vikramaditya and Salivahana, an alphabet nearly similar or identical with that at present noticed, would appear to have been introduced. [Mr. Wathen then arranges numerous inscriptions according to their antiquity, *showing the passage from one to the other*.] From these, it appears, that up to Saka 730, [A. D. 808,] *no very material difference* in the character had taken place[2].

I may venture to say, in testimony of this subject having formerly occupied my attention, that twenty-two years ago I commenced to tread the path in tracing the old inscriptions, which Mr. Prinsep has trod successfully to the end: and in a paper of mine of old inscriptions, dated Poona, August 1, 1828, which was sent to the Literary Society of Bombay, and subsequently published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, I stated that I had identified *forty-five Buddha* letters, [that is to say, letters in the inscriptions in the Buddha caves,] in ancient *Sanskrit* inscriptions, and that the older the Sanskrit inscription, the more Buddha letters were found in it; and I concluded by the query, "Can it be that these letters are a very ancient form of the Sanskrit alphabet, and that the inscriptions themselves are in the Sanskrit language?" The latter part of the query has been negatived, but the first part has been replied to affirmatively and conclusively.

These preliminary observations, establishing the fact of all the modern Sanskrit letters being resolvable into the ancient Pali letters, and there being no very ancient inscription *whatever* in Deva Nagari, or

[2] Which inscription at first was supposed to be coeval with the Christian era, but was subsequently found to be of the tenth century.

[3] J. A. S. B., vol. iv. page 481.

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even in the Sanskrit language, we shall be enabled to appreciate justly the full force of the following observation of Mr. Prinsep. He says, "The old alphabet, [alluding to specimens from the Buddhist caves of Western India, sent to him by Colonel Sykes,] appear to be the very prototype of all the Deva Nagari and Dakshini alphabets; and *nothing* in the *pure Sanskrit tongue has yet been discovered*, PRESERVED IN THIS CHARACTER; INDEED, IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE THAT IT SHOULD, because, still more than the Pali, the alphabet is *deficient in many letters* ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY TO SANSKRIT SYNTAX[1]!

Can it be necessary to proceed one step further in the argument; for it is incredible to suppose that the modern Sanskrit could have EXISTED *without* symbols or a character to express its present richness, force, and beauty. How, then, are we to account for the fact of the modern Deva Nagari resolving itself into the ancient Pali letters, and those letters expressing *only*, not the Sanskrit language, but the ancient Pali? I cannot see any other way of solving the question, than in the supposition, that at the period the primitive Deva Nagari was expressing the old Pali language and embodying BUDDHIST ASSOCIATIONS ONLY, the Sanskrit itself, if it existed independently from the old Pali, was in the same rude state with the Pali, and could not, therefore, have been *Sanskrit*, which means "polished, finished, done." The assiduous cultivation of the language, however, by the *small* tribe of Brahmans occupying the *small* territory in the Punjab, led to the necessity for enlarging and improving the powers of the Pali symbols to express the increasing refinements; and this accounts for the changes not only in the letters, but the language, which are observable in inscriptions of successive ages. That this is no wild theory is manifested by a passage in Professor Wilson's first Oxford lecture[2]; speaking of the Vedas, he says, "the prayers are addressed to divinities, most of whom are no longer worshipped, and some even are unknown." "There is one, for instance, named Ribhu, of whose history, office, or even name, a person might ask in vain from one end of India to the other. The prayers have consequently gone out of fashion along with their objects, and when they are employed, they are used as little else than unmeaning sounds, *the language in which they are written* DIFFERING MUCH *both in words and construction from the Sanskrit of later writings*. In many parts of India the Vedas are not studied at all; and when they are studied, it is merely for the sake of repeating the words; the sense is regarded as a matter of no im-

[1] J. A. S. B. vol. vi., page 1043. [2] Page 6.

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portance, and is not *understood* even by the Brahman who recites or chaunts the expressions." It is to be supposed if the language were pure Sanskrit, that the Brahman who had *studied* the Vedas would understand it by using his brains; but the language, it would appear, differs so much from modern *Sanskrit*, that it requires too much ratiocination and etymological research for the Brahman to master it. The observation of Professor Wilson is in accordance with the legitimate deduction from Mr. Prinsep's dogma, and with a multitude of facts which can be produced. But Mr. Prinsep has other powerful auxiliaries, and amongst them, Mr. Hodgson of Nepal, who, in addressing Mr. Prinsep, in curious opposition to his own opinion about the *antiquity of Sanskrit*, says, "the tendency of your researches to prove that the elaborate forms of the Deva Nagari were constructed from simple elements, more or less appropriated to the popular *Bhashas*, is very curious, and seems to *strengthen* the opinion of those who hold Hindi to be indigenous, OLDER *than Sanskrit in India*, and not [as Colebrooke supposed] deduced from Sanskrit. *If Buddhism used these primitive letters before the Deva Nagari*[1] *existed*, the date of the creed would seem *to be thrown back to a remote era, or the Sanskrit letters and* LANGUAGE must be *comparatively recent*[2];" and Mr. Hodgson, a little below, adds, "I incline to the opinion that Hindi may be *older* in India than Sanskrit, and independent, originally, of Sanskrit. The Sanskrit letters have been proved to be recent, and it remains to be determined whether the Sanskrit now known is equally so." For the sake of argument, supposing it to be established that Sanskrit, in its rough or unpolished state, did exist contemporaneously with the ancient Pali inscriptions, and from its rough state capable of being expressed by Pali letters; why then is it, that in the length and breadth of the land in India, claimed to have been under Brahmanical spiritual dominion and civil institutions, from the fabled ages, NOT A SINGLE SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION HAS BEEN FOUND APPROACHING TO WITHIN SIX OR SEVEN HUNDRED YEARS OF THE DATE OF THE PALI BUDDHIST INSCRIPTIONS, the earliest Sanskrit inscription dating in the fourth century, and that inscription not being in pure Sanskrit; indeed, as late as the eighth century, the Sanskrit in inscriptions is still found to be wanting in purity. This absence of ancient Sanskrit inscriptions cannot be attributed to indifference to fame on the part of Brahmans, or to a desire to live in futurity; for, the moment we have tangible proofs of Brahmanical influence in India,

[1] Which has been proved in every Buddhist inscription to be the fact.
[2] J. A. S. B., vol. vi., page 685.

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we are flooded with Sanskrit inscriptions rolling upon us, not in hundreds but thousands; dating between the tenth and seventeenth centuries! Why is this? Can it be that not only the Sanskrit letters, but the Sanskrit language itself, sprung from the Pali; and that the Brahmans for their own object separated it from the parent stock, and gradually fashioned it into its present perfection? Let us see what grounds there are for such a speculation.

Mr. Csoma de Körös, the Thibetan scholar, writing to Mr. James Prinsep, says, "In reference to your and Mr. Turnour's opinion, that the ORIGINAL records of the Buddhists in ancient India were written in the Magadhi [Pali?] dialect, I beg leave to add in support of it, that in the index to the *Kahgyur*, it is stated, that the Sutras in general [with exceptions mentioned], after the death of Sakya, were first written in the *Sindhu* language [a dialect of Pali?], and the *Sher* chhin and rGyud in Sanskrit. It is probable that in the seventh century and afterwards, the ancient Buddhist religion was remodelled and *generally* written in Sanskrit[1]." This admission of the general use of Sanskrit in the *seventh* century, in supersession of the language previously used by the Buddhists for thirteen centuries, at least, is something, and would accord with the rising influence of Brahmanism; but, as far as the Buddhists are concerned, it militates against the fact of the Buddhist nations who derived their religion from India [the Ceylonese, the Birmans, the Siamese, and the Cochin Chinese], at that period, and to this day, having their sacred writings in Pali; and considering the numerous sacred writings which were taken from India to China, in various early ages, we may yet look to meeting with them in that country, and verifying the fact, whether they were in Pali or Sanskrit. On the whole, the inference would be that the Buddhists had not commenced the use of Sanskrit for their sacred writings so early as the seventh century.

A fact related in the Mahwanso of Ceylon adds to the doubt respecting the general use of Sanskrit in the beginning of the fifth century, A.D. A Brahman from Magadha [Behar], learned in the *three* Vedas, [it would appear, therefore, there were three and not four Vedas in those days; and Menu, throughout, mentions only three,] and all the knowledge of the times, went to Ceylon, about A.D. 410, for the express purpose of disputations with the *heterodox* Buddhist priests, as he considered them. He went to scoff and he remained to pray; for, defeated in argument, and satisfied of the superiority of the Buddhist doctrines to his own, he submitted to the tonsure and became a Buddhist priest; he was called Buddha-

[1] J. A. S. B., vol. vi., page 686.

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ghósa. With the usual zeal of a neophyte, he manifested his tion to his new creed by translating the Attha Katha, or commentaries on the Pitakattya, or Buddhist scriptures, originally written in the Singalese language by Mahindo, the son of the Emperor Asoko, and which were then only extant in Singalese, the rest of the scriptures being in Pali. This Brahman, learned in the three Vedas, of course translated, between A.D. 410 and 432, the Attha Katha into SANSKRIT. No such thing; he translated the commentaries into the PALI LANGUAGE. The phraseology of the Mahawanso is, "Taking up his residence in the secluded Ganthakaro Wiharo [monastery], at Anuradhapura, he translated, according to the grammatical rules of the Magadhi [Pali], *which is the* ROOT OF ALL LANGUAGES, the whole of the Singalese Attha Katha [into Pali]. This proved an achievement of the utmost consequence to all languages spoken by the human race." Mahawanso, pp. 252, 253.

One marked feature must not be overlooked, that in the fourth century, the Pali was considered *the root of all languages!* Now, is it reasonable to suppose, in case the Sanskrit language had attained the grammatical accuracy, the richness and perfection which we know it had attained in the eleventh century, or had even been in general use for the purposes of sacred literature in the beginning of the fifth century, that the Brahman would not rather have used a language necessarily most familiar to him, from his deep reading in the Vedas, than the Pali, with which the Brahman, as a Brahman, ought, properly, not to have been familiar, and not only familiar, but, as the Mahawanso says, so critically acquainted, that in three translations which he made independently of each other, "There was [not] in the measure of a verse, or in the letter of a word, the slightest variation." Does not the above fact add strength to the inference derived from the absence of *ancient* Sanskrit inscriptions and the unpolished state of the earliest of them (those of the fourth century), that the Sanskrit was only in progress to perfection, and was little used beyond the "*small* tribe inhabiting the *small* tract in the Punjab," which was designated by the Chinese about this very period, as the "*chief of the tribes of barbarians*" [strangers] ?

Fahian went to India for the express purpose of verifying the Buddhist scriptures, and examining into its doctrines and practices; he was engaged for fourteen years in these objects, copying and collecting manuscripts, and orally informing himself in all parts of the country, from the Himalayas to Ceylon; and as he at no time mentions a second language being used for sacred literature, or that he had the slightest difficulty in communicating with the priesthood

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throughout the country, we may fairly infer that one language obtained, which was common to the priesthood of all India; and as we know that the inscriptions of three centuries before Christ, in the north and the south, and the east and the west, and in the heart of India, were in old Pali, and that the *scriptures* of most Buddhist nations, all of whom derived their religion from India, are also recorded in the Pali language to this day; it is fair to infer that *the one language* which Fahian found in general use, for sacred purposes, was the Pali, and not the Sanskrit, particularly as in the minute details of all the heresies in India, including the Brahmanical or Hindú, no mention whatever is made of the Sanskrit being associated with them; and this would not be from oversight, for when the Chinese travellers met with barbarous tongues, they pointed them out. Mr. Prinsep's opinion goes to the length of the Pali character being the original, not only of the Deva Nagari, but of other alphabets. His words are, "The old Lat character if carefully analyzed, each member of the alphabet will be found to contain the element of the corresponding members, not only of the Deva Nagari, but of the Canouj, Pali, Tibetan, the Hala Canara, and of all the derivatives of the Sanskrit stock[1]."

It may be asked, "What was the Sanskrit of very early periods? Was it capable, like the Deva Nagari character, of being resolved into a Pali root? or are the Pali and Sanskrit languages the offspring of an ancient common parent?" We have the testimony of very high authority, Dr. Mill, that the language of the Vedas differs so much from pure Sanskrit, that "to the understanding of it, a 'Bhashya,' or gloss, is all but indispensable[2]." What relation then does the Sanskrit of the eleventh century, and that of the Vedas, bear to the Pali of Asoko's Edicts? Do the two languages approximate in the ratio of the antiquity of the Sanskrit?

Sir William Jones, in his preface to the Institutes of Menu, broaches a speculation, the reasonableness of which we can test by reference to palpable epochs of improvement in our own and other modern European languages. He says that the Sanskrit of the three first Vedas, that of the Menava Dharma Sastra [Menu], and the Puranas, differs in pretty exact proportion to the Latin of Numa, that of Appius, and that of Cicero, or of Lucretius, where he has not affected an obsolete style. He therefore assumes that the several changes in Sanskrit took place in times very nearly proportional to the above changes in the Latin; that the Vedas must therefore have been written three hundred years before the Institutes of Menu, and those Institutes three hundred years before the

[1] J. A. S. B., vol. vi., page 74. [2] Ibid., vol. iii., page 258.

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Puranas. By this calculation, Sir William Jones dates the Vedas from the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries before Christ. But as Professor Wilson has proved, from internal evidence, that the Puranas were written or compiled between the eighth and fourteenth centuries of the Christian era, it follows, according to Sir William Jones's hypothesis, that the Institutes of Menu date from the fifth century A.D., and the Vedas from the second century. Both the above are indeed great authorities; but in spite of this startling deduction, from applying Sir William Jones's calculations to Professor Wilson's dates, the absence of Sanskrit inscriptions before the fourth century, and the language of the inscriptions of *that period*, give some weight to doubts respecting the antiquity of all the sacred writings of the Brahmans. It will be found indeed that inscriptions of a much later period than the above supposed date of the Institutes of Menu, are not recorded in pure Sanskrit. Even the celebrated inscriptions on the Allahabad and Bhitari pillars of the Gupta family of Sudras are not in pure Sanskrit. Dr. Mill considers their date to be about the era of Charlemagne in Europe. His words are, "It is scarcely possible to fix the subjects of our present inquiry, the Guptas, higher than the age of Charlemagne in Europe, if we suppose them identical with the Guptas of the Puranas[1]." But the Vishnu Purana, which Professor Wilson refers to the tenth century [A.D. 954], in a pretended prophecy, talks of the Guptas reigning in Magadha, which would bring the age of polished Sanskrit down to the tenth century[2].

If we could have looked with confidence to any one city in India more than another to afford us proofs of the early use of Sanskrit, and memorials of Brahmanism, it is to Ougein [Ujjayana], and yet neither the buried city nor its successor, affords us a single Sanskrit inscription of ancient date; and its coins have Buddhist emblems and Pali legends; and amongst the gifts to the *Buddhist* temple at Sanchi, recorded in the old Lât character and the Pali language, we read as follows, "The gift of the body of the Rishis, performing their *austerities* in Ougein[3]."—"The gift of the morality

[1] J. A. S. B., vol. vi., page 12. [2] Ibid., vol. v., page 644.

[3] We find from this inscription that Buddhist priests did perform austerities like the Gymnosophists mentioned by Arrian and other Western authors. Austerities, therefore, were not exclusively Brahmanical characteristics; no more than shaving the head and going naked [Gymnosophist-like] were orthodox characteristics. The Vayu Purana, quoted by Professor Wilson, says, "The three Vedas are the covering of all beings, and they who throw it off through delusion are called Nagnas [naked]." Further on it says, "The Brahman, who unprofitably bears a staff, *shaves his head*, *goes naked*, makes a vow, or mutters prayers; all

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students of Ougein to the Rishis."—"The victory gift of the people performing austerities of Ougein." And a multitude of other gifts to this Buddhist temple are recorded from inhabitants of Ougein, affording presumptive evidence of the population being Buddhist. Why is it that *none* of these inscriptions are in Sanskrit[1]?

If we pass from the inhabitants of the celebrated Ougein in the heart of India, to the prince and his people who have left their records in Cuttack, on the eastern coast, we ask the same question: Why are not some of these records in Sanskrit; the more particularly so as the prince, in his outset in life, adopted the Brahmanical faith? The chief inscription[2] which I quote is met with on the rocks at Khandgiri in Cuttack; it is lengthened but mutilated. It is in the old Pali character, and is in that language which is neither exactly the modern Pali nor the modern Sanskrit; but it is much more removed from the Sanskrit than the Pali, and may be the parent of both. It is not necessary to quote more, than to say that the prince of Kalinga, called Airá, at twenty-four years of age, wrested the government from an usurper. On his accession, he chose the Brahmanical faith; but subsequently studying law in an establishment of Buddhist priests, WHO WERE SETTLED THERE UNDER THE ANCIENT KINGS, he finally ended by becoming a Buddhist, and dedicating a Chaitya, or temple for relics. Twice the date 1300 occurs without mention of an era; and the alphabet and language of the inscription pertaining to the Buddhist periods before Christ, or to the first or second century, made this date very perplexing. But Fahian steps in to solve our difficulties. When he was in Ceylon, in 412 A.D., the Buddhists counted that year the 1497th of their era. Now Kalinga, of which Airá was king, had from Sakya Buddha's death, B.C. 543, been celebrated for its great Buddhist temple of the tooth relic[3], (which relic fell to the share of Kalinga, at Buddha's death, and was transferred to Ceylon, A.D. 311, in the ninth year of the reign of Siri Megha Wameo, by a *Brahman* princess, and is now in British custody in Ceylon,) and his

such persons are called Naguas, and the like." And Vishnu, when he appeared in the form of Buddha, to delude the world, appeared *as a naked mendicant*, with *his head shaven*. Vishnu Purana, page 538. The shaven head and nakedness, therefore, were heretical characteristics.

[1] J. A. S. B., vol. vii., page 864. [2] Ibid., vol. vi., page 1067.

[3] This Chaitya has been replaced in Kalinga, by the new well-known temple of Jagganatha; but the Rev. Dr. Stephenson judiciously remarks, that the memory of the ancient rites is still preserved in those celebrated at Jagganatha, and I may add a strengthening coincidence to his opinion, that, according to Fahian, the tooth-festival and the modern Rathyátrá occur in the same month.

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inscriptions tell us that he was a Buddhist; and that the Buddhist priests had been settled in Kalinga from the time of the ancient kings; it is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that he uses a Buddhist era, and it may be permitted to us to believe that it was the same as the Buddhist era of Ceylon. This would inosculate excellently well with contemporary facts and circumstances. It would make the date of the inscription A.D. 215, a period not too modern for the alphabet and language used; a period when Brahmanism and other heterodox doctrines were making such progress as to call for the hundred discourses of the Buddhist Deva Bodhisattwa, to arrest the evil; a period also antecedent, by nearly two centuries, to the earliest Sanskrit inscription. And here recurs the question, Why was it that *Aira*, who had at first adopted Brahmanism, did not record his edict in that language, now deemed peculiar to Brahmanism, as was the practice in after times? But we cannot banish from our minds the palpable facts, that all the ancient inscriptions throughout India are in Pali; that they are mostly for the *instruction* of the people; are addressed to the people, and must have been understood by the people; and the general use of Pali indicates the general knowledge of the language: deductions which cannot be applied to Sanskrit. The oldest *Sanskrit* inscription, with a date, is on a copper plate found at Kaira in Gujarat, Samvat 365[1] [A.D. 309]; and this very inscription, although Sanskrit, together with two or three others from the same locality, strengthens the testimony of the Chinese travellers in the fourth century, that the spiritual and political power of the Brahmans was yet in an incipient state; for though the Vedas and Swayambhu are mentioned in the first inscription, the Puranic gods are unnoticed; nor is there the slightest allusion to Brahma, Vishnu, Siva, or even Indra; nor is there the usual introductory Hindu invocation; which would scarcely have been the case, had Brahmans and their theology and language been in the ascendant there; and this absence of mention is the more remarkable, as the inscription gives the history, qualities, and piety of the rajas who were the donor's progenitors, and of no one does it say that he was a worshipper of Brahma, Vishnu, Siva, &c., &c., as is customary in later Sanskrit inscriptions.

The inscription gives a field to a Brahman. In a similar manner, an inscription from the same locality, and of a few years' subsequent date [A.D. 323], does no honour to the Puranic gods; but

[1] This Samvat may be of the Balibhi era; which would bring down the date of this and the following inscription to the seventh century instead of the fourth. The characters are nearly those of Allahabad, No. 2.

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says, that out of respect for those who are versed in the *four* Vedas, a village was given by Raja Prasanga, grandson of Samanta Datta of Gajjara, for the worship of the five—Jagnas, Bali, Charu, Baiswadeva, and Agnihotra. These personages are lost sight of in more modern Sanskrit inscriptions, and Siva, Vishnu, Ganesa, and others take their places. The Sanskrit is peculiar from being written in prose, and each phrase having a double meaning.

We have indeed Professor Wilson himself, in spite of his necessary predilections in favour of the antiquity of the Sanskrit, candidly expressing his doubts of the antiquity of the classical form of this language. In the introduction to the Drama of Vikrama and Urvasi, one of the plays of Kalidas, he says, "The richness of the Pracrit (Pali?) in the play, both in structure and in its metrical code is very remarkable. A very great proportion especially of the fourth act is in this language, and in that act a considerable variety of metre is introduced. It is clear, therefore, that *this* form of Sanskrit must have been highly polished long before the play was written, and *this might lead us to doubt* whether the composition [the play] can bear so remote a date as the reign of Vikramditya, B.C. 56. *It is yet rather uncertain whether the classical language of the Hindu literature had at that time* [B.C. 56] *received so high a polish as appears in this present drama;* and still less therefore could the descendants have been exquisitely refined, if the parent was comparatively rude. We can scarcely conceive that the cultivation of Pracrit (Pali?) preceded that of Sanskrit when we advert to the principles on which the former *seems* evolved from the latter; *but it must be confessed that the relation between Sanskrit and Pracrit has been hitherto very imperfectly investigated, and is yet far from being understood.*" A simple solution of Professor Wilson's doubts would be to consider the Sanskrit emanating from the Pali, the perfect from the imperfect, the polished from the rude, and the expressive from the simple; at least such is the natural progress of languages with growing civilization. The Sanskrit inscriptions of centuries after Christ have now fully borne out the Professor's doubts respecting the antiquity of its classical era, and his doubts are also participated by an authority great as his own, the Rev. Dr. Mill, who, speaking of the prophetic chapters of the Vishnu Purana which enumerates dynasties of future kings, Greek and Scythian, &c., says, "This enumeration, strongly indicative of the disturbed and semi-barbarous condition of affairs, which caused the suspension of all the ancient records, and in which synchronous dynasties might easily be misstated as successive ones; and the sum of years *readily palmed* on the Hindu reader, *to enhance the antiquity of the classical* and

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heroic ages of the country[1]," &c.; and he concludes by adding, "Allowing, however, the least possible duration to the confused periods that followed the subversion of the Andra dynasty in the middle of the fifth century after Christ, it is scarcely possible to fix the subjects of our present inquiry [the Gupta Kings of the Allahabad and Bhitari columns] higher than the age of Charlemagne in Europe, if we suppose them identical with the Guptas of the Purana [Vishnu]." This is bringing down the classical Sanskrit to a late date, for the language of the inscription is not pure; and if the Kings of the inscription are those of the Purana, its own pure Sanskrit must, of course, be after the eighth century. It will be noticed that Dr. Mill has no reservation in supposing the Brahmans capable of literary fraud for interested objects; and this opinion by one so deeply read in Brahmanical literature as himself, is of momentous weight when thrown into the scale of others, less competent than himself, who express similar opinions, and whom I shall have occasion to quote.

The supposition of the superior antiquity of the Pali to the Sanskrit language, does not rest alone upon the inferences derived from the absence of ancient Sanskrit inscriptions, the Deva Nagari character being traced into the Pali, or the gradual approximation of the Sanskrit to the Pali, in the ratio of the antiquity of the former; but it is broadly asserted by the Buddhists in their sacred literature, and in the beginning of the fifth century of our era the Mahawanso expressly calls the PALI THE ROOT OF ALL LANGUAGES. "He [Buddhaghosa] translated, according to the grammatical rules of the Mágadhas, which is the root of all languages, the whole of the Singalese Atthakatha into Pali. This proved an achievement of the utmost consequence to all languages spoken by the human race[1]."

That the Pali was *generally* known in India is testified by the Edicts of Asoko in the fourth century B.C., for we cannot suppose that he would have attempted to *instruct* all India in a local dialect. The opinion which was then entertained by the Buddhists is still entertained by them, and Mr. Turnour shows that there is sufficient ground for asserting that a well-known grammar of the Pali existed in the sixth century before Christ. His words are, "The oldest Pali grammar noticed in the literature of Ceylon is that of Kachchayano. It is not now extant. The several works which pass under the name of Kachchayano's grammars are compilations from, or revisions of, the original made at different periods, both within this island [Ceylon] and in other parts of Asia. The oldest version of the compilation from Kachchayano's grammar is acknowledged to be the

[1] J. A. S. B., vol. vi. page 11, 12. [1] Turnour's Mahawanso, page 253.

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Rupasiddhi. I quote three passages: two from the grammar and the other from its commentary. The first of these extracts, without enabling me to fix (as the name of the reigning Sovereign of Ceylon is not given) the period at which this version was compiled, proves the work to be of very considerable antiquity from its having been composed in the Dakshina, while Buddhism prevailed there as the *religion of the state*. The second and third extracts, in my opinion, satisfactorily establish the interesting and important point that Kachchayano[1], whose identity Mr. Colebrooke says, in his essay, '*is involved in the impenetrable darkness of mythology*,' was one of the eighty celebrated *contemporary* disciples of Gotamo Buddho [Sakya] whose names are repeatedly mentioned in various portions of the Pitakattaya. He flourished therefore in the *middle of the sixth century* before the birth of Christ, and upwards of four hundred years *before* Bhatrihari, the brother of Vikramaditya, by whom, according to Mr. Colebrooke's essay, 'the amended rules of grammar were formed into memorial verses,' as well as *before Kalidas*, on whose play Professor Wilson comments." Mr. Turnour then quotes the passages in the original Pali, which leave no doubt of Kachchayano being a contemporary of Buddha[2].

Elsewhere Mr. Turnour observes, "Buddhists are impressed with the conviction that their sacred and classical language, the Magadhi or Pali, is of *greater antiquity than the* Sanskrit, and that it had attained also a higher state of refinement than its rival tongue had acquired. They observe that the very word *Pali* signifies *original, text, regularity*[3], and there is scarcely a Buddhist Pali scholar in Ceylon, who, in the discussion of this question, will not quote with an air of triumph their favourite verse, "*There is a language which is the root* [*of all languages*], *men and Brahmans*[4] *at the commencement of the creation, who never before heard, nor uttered an human accent, and even the supreme Buddhas spoke it; it is Magadhi.*"

Mr. Turnour concludes with saying, "The foregoing observations, coupled with historical data, to which I shall now apply myself, will serve, I trust, to prove that the Pali or Magadhi language had already attained the refinement it now possesses at the time of Gotamo *Buddho's* advent."

[1] Cátyápana. [2] Introduction to the Mahawanso, p. xxvi.

[3] While *Sanskrit* means "polished," "finished," "done;" the very signification of the two words, therefore, indicates the relative antiquity of the languages.

[4] The term Brahman used here, is possibly not in the restricted Hindu sense, but in the enlarged Buddhist sense, as applicable to men "*who walk in purity*," without relation to caste or tribe.

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It evidently, however, could not have been so copious as Sanskrit became, from the alphabetical characters then in use not being able to express Sanskrit syntax, according to Mr. J. Prinsep. The tangible proofs of the Pali inscriptions alone give sufficient weight to the Buddhist claims; and until the Brahmans can produce similar undeniable and contemporary evidence of the existence of Sanskrit, their claims must surely be wanting in the balance. The singular discovery by Mr. J. Prinsep, of the means of reading the Pali inscriptions, and the translations from the Pali Buddhistical annals by Mr. Turnour, have had a marked effect upon men's minds touching Brahmanical pretensions. Mr. Prinsep's successor as Editor of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in his preface to the seventh volume, page ix., says, "Since it (the Journal) was established as the channel for giving to the world original discoveries in the East, there has been opened an entirely new field of research in the Buddhistical annals of periods ANTECEDENT TO THE SPREAD OF BRAHMANICAL DOCTRINES WITH THE SANSKRIT LANGUAGE;" and at page x., he adds, "The history of India had been traced back to the period before the invasion of Alexander, and had been *verified* at each step by coins and by inscriptions; but the language of Bactria and of Persia at the period of that conquest was still insufficiently ascertained. The Bactrian alphabet was already more than half discovered through the comparison of letters upon coins with bilingual superscriptions. Several inscriptions, as obtained from the Topes excavated, or as forwarded by travellers from within the ancient limits of Bactria, were nearly deciphered, so that very little remained to perfect this discovery also [by Mr. Prinsep], and to establish, that the *ancient* Pali language, or something very closely resembling it, prevailed over all those countries."

Hence we learn that Pali not only pervaded India, but Bactria and Persia; and that this is no wild theory or hazardous speculation is attested by the very high authority of the Pali scholar, Professor Lassen, of Bonn, contained in a private letter of his, dated 12th February, 1838, and published in the J. A. S. B., vol. vii., p. 634, in which he says, "the legends upon the Bactrian coins are in Pali or Pracrit;" at least such was his opinion. With these proofs of the general prevalence of Pali from Cape Comorin to Bactria, and possibly to Persia, where are we to look for the supposed millions among the Brahmans, the Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas, whose religious duties imposed upon them the necessity of knowing and using the Sanskrit to read their religious works? Surely they would have left us some specimens of Sanskrit upon coins or rocks, if the people using it had

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been numerous, or if the language itself had been generally diffused even amongst the few. Some of these works, however, betray themselves, and permit us to learn that the disciples of Brahma, compared with the population of all India, must have been very limited in number, and the Sanskrit language necessarily of limited use. In the Institutes of Menu are the following verses[1]: "The following races of Kshatriyas, by their omission of holy rites, and by seeing no Brahmans, have gradually sunk among men to the lowest of the four classes: Paundracas, Odras, and Draviras, Kambojas, Yavanas, and Sacas; Paradas, Pahlavas, Chinas, Kiratas, Deradas, and Khasas."

But not to stop here, the Vishnu and other Puranas, according to Professor Wilson, add to the enumeration of the tribes which had lost caste, and had become Mlechchhas. At page 374 of the Vishnu Purana, the Haihayas, and Tilajanghas, the Sakas, the Yavanas, Kambojas, Paradas, and Pahnavas, are enumerated. The Bhagavata Purana adds "*Barbaras.*" The Vayu Purana extends the list by the Mahishikas, Chaulas, Dravas, and Khasas. The Brahma Purana includes the Kolas, the Sarpas, and the Keratas. The Hari Vansa extends the enumeration with the Tusharas, the Chinas, Madras, the Kishkindas, the Kauntalas, the Bangas, the Salwas, and the Konkanas. It is quite in keeping with the pretensions of Brahmanism to make Brighu and the Puranas say that these nations were once followers of Brahma, and fell. It is sufficient that they admit the fact, that when they were written, the nations were not followers of Brahma.

Professor Wilson explains who these several nations or people of Mlechchhas or outcasts were. The Paundras were the people of Western Bengal, the Odras those of Orissa, the Draviras those of the Coromandel Coast, the Kambojas were a people on the north-west of India, the Paradas and Pahlavas bordering tribes, probably in the same direction, the Keratas were mountaineers, the Duradas of the Hindu Koh, the Mahishikas and Chaulas were the people of the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, and the Dravas and the Khasas of the Himalayas. The Kolas were the forest races of Eastern Gondwana, and the Sarpas and the Keratas the people of Malabar. The Madras were people in the Punjab, the Kishkindas in Mysore, the Kauntalas, the people along the Nerbudda, the Bangas were the Bengalis, the Salwas the people in Western India, and the Konkanas inhabitants of the Konkan. The Sakas were the *Indo-Scythians*, who established themselves about 125 years before Christ along the western districts

[1] Chap. x., v. 43, 44.

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of India, the Tasharas were the Turks of Tokharistan, the Yavanas were the *Ionians* or *Greeks*, and the Chinas were the *Chinese*.

Professor Wilson concludes his note by saying, "It must have been a *period of some antiquity when all the nations* from Bengal to the Coromandel coast were considered as Mlechchhas and outcasts[1]." So far, however, from this being the case, the mention alone of the Greeks affords sufficient proof that the time is subsequent to Alexander's invasion; and this inference is strengthened by the mention of China, which did not obtain this name until 260 B.C.; but in the Chinese annals we do not know of any intercourse with India until 126 B.C., when the Emperor Woo te sent a general officer to the Indo-Scythians, and the Indo-Scythians only entered Northern India in 125 B.C. These dates, therefore, bring the outcaste state of the greater part of the population of India, as described in Menu and the Puranas, to *that very period* when we know from Buddhist annals, Buddhist monuments, coins, and inscriptions, and indeed from the preceding Brahmanical enumeration, that little more than Professor Wilson's "*circumscribed tract*" was left for the "*not numerous* tribes" of Brahmans, and for the Sanskrit language which has constantly been associated with Brahmans, and if it existed at all distinct from the Pali, it would, therefore, have been little known beyond the "*circumscribed tract*" noticed.

As the whole of the countries stated in Menu and the Puranas to have been inhabited by an outcast population, were Buddhists from the fourth century before Christ until the fifth century after Christ, the opprobrious terms Mlechchhas and outcasts, liberally used by the Brahmans, may fairly be considered as applying to the Buddhists. To the above facts must be joined the comparatively recent date of pure Sanskrit literature, the oldest Puranas being asserted by Professor Wilson not to be anterior to the eighth or ninth centuries, and the most recent about three or four centuries old[2]; and "the philosophical writings clearly owe their origin to that spirit of sectarian rivalry of which the Puranas are the champions, and were perhaps the source[3]." Add to these the modern style of the Hindu Drama, and the total absence of historical works[4], and there is sufficient to give weight to the inference, from the want of ancient Sanskrit inscrip-

[1] The enumeration comprises very much more than Bengal and the Coromandel coast, namely, Western India, Konkan, along the Nerbudda, Punjab, Afghanistan, Malabar, Mysore, &c.

[2] First Oxford Lecture, p. 25. [3] Wilson's Second Oxford Lecture, p. 47.

[4] The Vedas do not come into the category, as they are understood to be in an ancient dialect.

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tions, that the language did not attain its polish and copiousness until after the Pali had been long in use.

The ninth point is the simple assertion of a fact. None of the Chinese travellers either in the fifth, sixth, or seventh centuries make any allusion to the worship of the Linga, although Hiuan thsang, in the seventh century, says, there were naked heretics at Benares who covered themselves with ashes, and worshipped Iswara, who may be looked upon as Siva; but had his worship assumed its present character, it would scarcely have escaped the notice of the Chinese. The fact of the Sanctum or place of honour in the celebrated Siva temple of Elephanta being occupied by the three-faced bust of Siva, and the generative emblem being in a lateral chapel, would seem to indicate that the emblem worship was at least secondary, if not subsequent to the worship of the image of the god.

In the enumeration in Chinese writings of the multiplied heresies in India, the Linga worship is equally unnoticed. The ancient Western authors are silent on the subject, and there is not the slightest notice of it (or indeed of Siva) from the beginning to the end of Menu. The Linga cave temples of Ellora are admitted to be of the eighth or ninth century, and it has previously been shown that, with the exception of the temple of Bobaneswar dating from the seventh century, the rest of the celebrated temples dedicated to the Linga are after the eighth century; the antiquity of the worship may therefore be doubted, and the doubt will be enhanced by the following quotations from Professor Wilson, "The only form in which Siva is now worshipped, the Linga or Phallus, it is generally agreed, has no place whatever amongst the types and emblems of the mythos of the Vedas[1]." And "when the Buddhists, whom all parties considered heterodox, were expelled, their enemies began to quarrel amongst themselves, and in the *eighth* or *ninth* century a reformer named Sankara Acharya is celebrated for having refuted and suppressed a variety of unorthodox professors, and *established the preferential worship of Siva*[2]."

I must, however, do Professor Wilson the justice to state that, although he elsewhere admits the uncertainty at what period the worship of the Linga was introduced, he thinks it probable it was prior to the Christian era; but the preceding facts and circumstances bearing upon the whole question of Buddhist and Brahmanical precedence do not seem to favour the presumptions of so early a date to this innovation upon Brahmanism.

[1] First Oxford Lecture, p. 14. [2] Ibid., p. 26.

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In case the preceding collection of facts has proved insufficient to establish the tenth and last point, Professor Wilson's authority will at least suffice to put the *preliminary* part of it beyond question. He says, "The history of the Hindu religion, although not traceable with chronological precision, exhibits *unequivocal* proof that it is by no means of that unalterable character which has been commonly ascribed to it. There are many indications which cannot be mistaken that it has undergone at different periods important alterations in both form and spirit[1];" and again, "They [the changes] are of themselves fatal to the pretensions of the Hindu faith as it now mostly prevails to an inspired origin and unfathomable antiquity[2]." The religion of the Vedas was domestic, and not idolatry[3], but chiefly of offerings to the unpersonified elements. There is no mention of the hero worship of Rama, Krishna, Govinda, or Jagannath, and their names do not occur; there is no sanction [nor in Menu] for widows burning themselves [Sati], infant marriages[4], or for the carrying the dying to the banks of some sacred river. Blood, however, stains the Vedas, for Dr. Stevenson has proved that they commanded daily animal sacrifices. Then followed the hero worship of the pretended incarnations of Vishnu in the forms of Rama and Krishna, which worship has "given rise to sects of votaries who think that the repetitions of the names of Rama and Krishna is a sufficient substitute for all moral and religious merit[5]."

Rama's chief feat was the conquest of Ceylon and the destruction of the Rakshasa, or demon king Ravana, and he met with and slaughtered Rakshasas on his way down to the South. There was a powerful king, therefore, and a numerous people both in Ceylon and the peninsula, not Hindus, when Rama lived. He was succeeded by Krishna in whom Vishnu became expressly incarnate "for the destruction of Kamsa, an oppressive monarch, and in fact an

[1] First Oxford Lecture, p. 4.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Wilson says, "In a word, the religion of the Vedas was not idolatry." Preface to Vishnu, p. 2. There could scarcely be *images* without *idolatry*, and they are mentioned in Menu. "The king must appoint seven or eight ministers, who must be sworn *by touching a sacred image and the like.*" Chap. 7, v. 54, and chap. 2, v. 176, chap. 3, v. 152 and 180. The mention of sacred images thus gives a modern character to Menu as opposed to the Vedas.

[4] This is not the case in Menu, for the text says, "To an excellent and handsome youth of the same class, let every man give his daughter in marriage according to law; *even though she have not attained her age of eight years.*" Chap. 9, v. 88. Now, as the practice obtains at the present day this departure from the Vedas in Menu, would seem to afford further reason for questioning the antiquity of the Institutes.

[5] First Oxford Lecture, p. 23.

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incarnate Daitya or Titan, the *natural enemy of the gods*[1]." The capital of this monarch was the now holy Hindu city of Mathura [Mutra], and we have thus a second instance of an heretical monarch and people to whom a Hindu hero is opposed. As late also as Fahian's time, in the fourth century, Mutra was not a Hindu city. The period of hero worship is followed by the religion of the Puranas, extending idolatry and establishing Pantheism.

Professor Wilson characterizes the object of these works as betraying "most glaringly the purposes for which they were composed, the dissemination of new articles of faith, and the currency of new gods[2]." And elsewhere he says, that the "practical religion of the Hindus is by no means a concentrated and compact system, but a heterogeneous compound made up of various and not unfrequently incompatible ingredients, and that to a *few ancient* fragments it has made large and unauthorized additions, most of which are of an exceedingly mischievous and disgraceful nature[3]." And in another place he says, "It is clear, therefore, that the great body of the present religious practices of the Hindus are subsequent in time and foreign to those that were enjoined by the authorities which they profess to regard as the foundations of their system[4]."

We need not go further, therefore, to justify the inference that Brahmanism, such as it is taught by the Puranas, and such as it has been known to Europeans for the last two or three centuries, had no operative existence or practical influence in ancient times. Whether or not its extended[5] practical influence commenced only on the decline of Buddhism remains to be considered. The admission of the antiquity of the Brahman tribe in India, and the antiquity of the Vedas appears to me perfectly compatible with the assertion that Brahmans and Brahmanism had no extended influence until the decline of Buddhism.

It is admitted by the most learned authorities[6], and even by the Brahmans themselves, that they are not aborigines in India; that they were in fact *foreigners* in the land. Professor Wilson's words are, "It is commonly admitted that the Brahmanical religion and civilization were brought into India from without[7]." The preceding

[1] First Oxford Lecture, p. 23. As Krishna had an encounter with a Greek king, (Vishnu, p. 566,) his era must necessarily be *after* the third century before Christ, when Buddhism filled the land.

[2] Ibid., page 26. [3] Ibid., page 35. [4] Ibid., page 14.

[5] I find there is an omission of the word "*extended*" to precede the words "operative existence," in the phraseology of the tenth point.

[6] Sir William Jones, Klaproth, Schlegel, Wilson, and Major-General V. Kennedy.

[7] Preface to Vishnu Purana, page LXV.

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notes it may be thought offer fair evidence of the foreign origin of the Brahmans; but it may be permitted to us to doubt whether they necessarily introduced civilization into India. The oldest works upon which the whole superstructure of Brahmanism and Hinduism rests, are the three Vedas, "each an unarranged aggregate of promiscuous prayers, hymns, injunctions, and dogmas, put together in general, but not always in similar succession, but not in any way connected one with the other[1]."

This description does not appear typical of much advance in civilization, and to this must be added the fact stated by Principal Mill, that the Vedas are written in so antiquated a dialect (Sanskrit in its embryo state?) that the Sanskrit scholar can only read them by means of a Bhasha. The *collector* (for *arranger* he could not well be called) of these disjointed materials, Professor Wilson considers to have flourished about thirteen centuries before Christ.

Admitting, for the sake of argument, the accuracy of the date, is it to be believed that India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin exhibited society in an incipient state, when men were little better than the beasts of the forest, which they pursued for their food, at a period[2], and for centuries before it, when magnificence, wealth, learning, and the arts, characterized Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt, on the west, and China on the east? and if the Vedas be carried back to the era of the Book of Exodus, we have still the objections that India should be in a state of barbarism, while Egypt, and Assyria, and Persia, and China, teemed with a wealthy and intelligent population[3]. In the absence of data to supply motives or causes for the immigration of a tribe of *Brahmans* [if they had that appellation originally] into India, it may be permitted to us to suppose that it resulted from necessity rather than choice. The most probable would be some great political convulsion. As they are deemed to have come from the westward, the whole country between the Oxus and Egypt offers to us a wide field of selection: from the Medes and Persians they might have carried the Veda *veneration for fire*, and

[1] Wilson's First Oxford Lecture, page 6.

[2] Chushan-rishathaim, king of Mesopotamia, had the Israelites in subjection for eight years about this time, and must therefore have been a powerful king. Judges iii. 8.

[3] In Abraham's time (1913 B.C.), we find that the authority of the king of Persia, [Elam,] Chedorlaomer, extended to Sodom and Gomorrah; and that with other kings he marched to those cities. If the countries to the west from Persia are found to be populous, cultivated, and wealthy, why, at the same time, should the countries to the east be deemed in a state of barbarism, particularly when the Chinese annals assert the very contrary?

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the worship of the elements, and the beard and staff and ring[1] of the Magi,—indeed, the division of the people into *four* orders, religious, military, commercial, and servile, according to Sir William Jones, who also believes the Brahmans to have gone to India from Iran or Persia; from the Assyrians, the *civil* distinctions of caste, the professions and trades not having been allowed to intermarry, and the manipulations having been handed down from father to son; from the Moabites, the worship of the host of heaven, with sacrifices in groves and high places[2], and particularly the *reverence for ancestors*, and the raising up seed to a man through his widow, by his *brothers* or *next of kin*, as evinced in the story of Ruth[3]; and from Egypt they might have taken the *civil* distinction of professions, and the caste-like distinction of the Egyptians, which disabled them from eating with those who were not their co-religionists. When Joseph made a feast for his brethren and the Egyptians, the latter could not eat with the Jews: "And they set on for him by himself, and for them by themselves, and for the Epyptians which did eat with him by themselves: because the Egyptians might not *eat bread* with the Hebrews, *for that is an abomination* unto the Egyptians[4]."

As all these nations offer some features in common with the Brahmans, and the practices noticed are of a date anterior to that allotted to the Vedas, there is no objection therefore to their having been collected and adopted by the Brahmans, carried into India, incorporated into the Vedas, and gradually worked out to suit their own objects, in successive ages, as fitting opportunities occurred[5]. They could not have got these practices in India, supposing the Buddhists to have preceded them, for NONE of the practices are common to the Buddhists. The political cause for the *immigration*

[1] Vide Menu, chap. vi., ver. 6, 41, 52; chap. ii., ver. 66.

[2] 2 Chronicles xxxiii. 3—7, 19.

[3] The singular coincidence between these religious feelings and practices of the Moabites, and the *injunctions* on the same subject in the Institutes of Menu, (Chap. v., ver. 148,) *are too marked to be accidental.* My limits do not permit me to enlarge on this interesting subject at present. The story of Ruth is dated from 1312 before Christ.

[4] Genesis xxiii. 32. B.C. 1707.

[5] Professor Wilson has an important note at page 181 of the Vishnu Purana. He says: "The Drishadwatí is a river of considerable importance in the history of the Hindus, although no traces of its ancient name exists. According to Menu, it is one boundary of the district called Brahmavartta, in which the *institution of castes*, and their several duties, had *for ever existed: implying that, in other places, they were of* MORE RECENT ORIGIN. This holy land, made by the gods, was of very limited extent." This is precisely the view of caste I have taken in the preceding notes; with the exception of its unfathomable antiquity.

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remains to be considered. The destruction of the Babylonian empire by Cyrus, B.C. 536, is of too late a date, for Buddha mentions Brahmans fifty years before that period. The anarchy consequent on the destruction of the first Assyrian empire, and the fall of Nineveh, at the end of the ninth century before Christ, is a more probable period. Those of the inhabitants of the city and neighbouring country, not slaughtered, or who did not escape, were carried to Babylon; to those who did escape, from the geographical position of Nineveh, in relation to Babylon, a ready flight to the eastward would be afforded, and a party may have reached India, either by Bamean, or by Herat; or the slaughter of the Medes, and the conquest of great part of Media in the eighth century B.C., offers another suitable occasion for flight to the eastward; indeed, the irruption of the Israelites in the fifteenth century, B.C, into Canaan, and Syria, and the *character* of the wars they carried on, may have forced tribes to migrate to the eastward. The first location is stated in Menu to be the eastern confines of the Punjab, and as the tract was circumscribed, the tenants must necessarily have been limited in number; they came, therefore, as foreigners and strangers, and settled amongst the inhabitants of India, who may be supposed to have known nothing of them or of their faith. They had plainly not Brahmanized more than a fraction of India, when the Institutes of Menu were written; and in the fourth and fifth centuries, the Chinese travellers still speak of them as the chief of the tribes of barbarians [strangers]. Bishop Moses, in the fourth century, travelled to India to see a Brahman, and did not see one; [he did not happen to go where they were settled;] and Scholasticus, in the same century, says they were located *beyond* the Ganges; and as he writes from the Malabar coast, it would just fix them where they fix themselves,—in the tract between the Sursooty and Cagyar.

Can we, then, with such evidence, combined with the absence of ancient Brahmanical inscriptions, coins, and monuments of art, believe for one moment the monstrous claims of the fictitious chronology of the Puranas, which would not only establish for Brahmanism unfathomable antiquity, but the general diffusion of its doctrines in India?

I have neither limits nor ability to enter into a lengthened consideration of the weight to be given to the sacred and profane literature of the Brahmans, as establishing for them a very early supremacy in India; but some few ideas occur to me, and those I will state. Much must depend upon the respective dates at which the works were written, which embody the Brahmanical claims.

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Professor Wilson says the Vedas are the oldest works, and he considers them to have been written or collected about 1300 years before Christ. Some texts say the deities were only three,—fire, the air, and the sun; but Professor Wilson seems to think that their fundamental doctrine was monotheism, and that "it is almost certain that the practice of worshipping idols in temples was not the religion of the Vedas[1]." It is even a question whether Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva be mentioned or indicated in the Vedas; and *incarnations* are not suggested[2]. Modern Brahmanism, therefore, is not the religion of the Vedas. The admission of an antiquity of 1300 years to the Vedas and Upanishads, does not advance the claims of the Brahmans to a general diffusion of their doctrines, in the slightest degree; for the immigrants might have lived in Brahmavartta since the Deluge, and yet not have emerged, in the fourth and fifth centuries, from the circumscribed limits of their first location. Moreover, the concession of antiquity to the Vedas in the possession of a small tribe, does not militate against Buddhism being practised by the millions of India. As the Institutes of Menu do not mention the worship of Vishnu, Siva, Rama, or Krishna, Menu probably follows the Vedas and Upanishads in order of time; and yet this curious work has internal indications, which may be considered to afford satisfactory evidence of its comparatively modern date. These indications I submit to those more capable of judging of their value than myself. The first matter would seem to be the character of the Sanskrit used in the composition, which, I learn from Professor Wilson, differs little from that of the Puranas; and Menu may, therefore, approximate to the date assigned to those works, the more so as they are mentioned in it. It would seem to have been after the spread of Buddhism, for it notices *heretical nuns*[3]; and as female anchorites and nuns constituted part of the Buddhist system, this notice may fairly be considered to apply to them. Moreover from Menu's text we infer there were cities abounding with heretics. The next indication is in the mention of the Chinese, "as Kshatriyas, who had lost caste by the omission of holy rites, and not seeing *Brahmans*[4];" but as China did not acquire the name of China until the consolidation

[1] First Oxford Lecture, page 13.

[2] Colebrook, quoted in Preface to Wilson's Vishnu Purana, page 2.

[3] "Yet he who has a private connexion with such women, or with servant girls kept by one master, or with *female anchorites of an heretical religion*, shall be compelled to pay a small fine." Chap. 8, ver. 363. And Brahmans are commanded not to dwell in cities *abounding* with *professed heretics*. Chap. 4, ver. 61.

[4] Chap. 10, ver. 44.

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of the empire in the second century B.C., Menu must date after that period[1]. In the same verse the Indo-Scythians [*Sacas*] are mentioned; and as they did not appear in India until the second century B.C., the same argument with respect to the date of Menu applies as in the former instance. The body of the Hindu drama is I believe *subsequent to the Christian era*, and as the following verse of Menu indicates the practice of *crowds* frequenting theatres, it may be inferred that Menu was written after the drama had been well established and become popular. "But she [a wife] who, having been *forbidden*, addicts herself to intoxicating liquor *even at jubilees*[2], or mixes in CROWDS AT THEATRES, must be fined six racticas of gold[3]."

Not only are heretics referred to, but the sacred literature of heretics is expressly mentioned, and this can scarcely apply to any other than the Buddhist religion. "Neglecting to keep up the consecrated fires; stealing any valuable thing besides gold; nonpayment of the three debts; application to the BOOKS of a *false religion*; and excessive attention to music or dancing[4]."

Another matter which connects Menu with that advanced period of corruption, which Professor Wilson looks upon as the *third* period of change in Brahmanism, is the repeated mention of images. An oath must be taken by "*touching a sacred image*[5];" and elsewhere, images are directed *to be visited*, and their shadows not to be passed over, and they are to be venerated[6]. The present universal practice also (although a departure from the Vedas) of a man marrying an *infant*, even under eight years of age, being sanctioned in Menu[7], gives an air of modernism to the composition. To the above may be added the severe restrictive religious ordinances with respect to caste, food, and exclusiveness[8], basing them on divine authority; which I think I have shown could not have obtained amongst the gymnosophists or sophists, if they were Brahmans; and if they were not Brahmans, what becomes of the pretensions of Menu and the Puranas to influence, beyond the small

[1] Tsin is the name of the dynasty which reigned over China [Sanskrit Chin] B.C. 249 to 202, during which the Chinese power caused it to be known, FOR THE FIRST TIME *in Central and Western Asia*; its conquests being extended to the Caspian Sea and *Bengal*, in the reign of Tsin she hwang te, the celebrated burner of books. The name of the dynasty has formed that of China. Klaproth.

[2] This looks as if a little jollity on the part of a lady at a jubilee were venial.

[3] Menu, chap. 9, ver. 84. [4] Ibid., chap. 11, ver. 66.

[5] Ibid., chap. 7, ver. 54. [6] Ibid., chap. 2, ver. 176; chap. 4, ver. 39, 130, 153.

[7] Ibid., chap. 9, ver. 88.

[8] The Brahman *eats but his own food; wears but his own apparel; and bestows but his own in alms: through the benevolence of the Brahman, indeed, other mortals enjoy life.*" Menu, chap. 1, ver. 101.

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tract on the Saraswati river? The next indication of modernism in Menu arises from the position which Brahmans arrogate to themselves. The paramount object of the Institutes of Menu is the spiritual dominion and temporal advantages of Brahmans. Everything is subservient to this great object; they are "*lords of all*[1];" but it has been shown that in inscriptions of the fourth century [seventh?] they speak of themselves in humbler terms; and it is not until the tenth century, that they have "*feet for earthly kings to adore.*" I have already alluded, at p. 410, to the fact, that the *Institutes* could not have had any practical operation at the time Arrian's authorities wrote, from their stating that the most remarkable feature amongst the Indians was their not having any servile class, *no Sudras in fact*; all men being free and equal! A further indication of the Institutes being subsequent to the establishment of Buddhism is found in the *contradictory* injunctions to abstain from eating meat, or *taking animal life at all*[2], [these being Buddhist tenets] with the injunctions *to slay* and sacrifice to the gods and ancestors[3], although still not to the extent commanded in the Vedas; and another Buddhist practice recorded in Menu, is the command to the Brahman student to *beg his daily food from house to house, remaining silent*[4]. There is a verse of Menu[5] which enumerates those who are to be *shunned* at a Sraddhâ; amongst whom is a "*navigator of the ocean.*" Now, as Fahian, in A.D. 412, sailed with *Brahman merchants* to China from Ceylon, it could scarcely have been *in the face* of an interdict which places the navigator in the same category with a "*houseburner,*" a "*giver of poison,*" and a "*suborner of perjury,*" that Brahmans would have gone to sea. May not the interdict be fairly considered the consequence of the practice? and this would date the Institutes of Menu *after* the fourth century!

The last indication of modernism that occurs to me is the mention of the *Puranas;* and in the same verse, the heroic poems (although not by name) are referred to, which would give a date to Menu

[1] From his high birth alone a Brahman is an *object of veneration*, EVEN TO DEITIES; his declarations to mankind are *decisive evidence;* and the Veda itself confers on him that character. Menu, chap. 11, ver. 85. "A learned Brahman having found a treasure formerly hidden, may take it without any dedication, *since he is the lord of all.*" Menu, chap. 8, ver. 37.

[2] Menu, chap. 2, ver. 177; chap. 6, ver. 46, 68, 75; chap. 11, ver. 71; chap. 5, ver. 22, 28, 30, 42, 43, and elsewhere.

[3] Menu, chap. 3, ver. 123, 227, 267—271; including fish, flesh, and fowl. In ver. 28 of chap. 5, it is expressly said that Brahma created all the animal and vegetable system, for the *sustenance* of the vital spirit.

[4] Chap. 2, ver. 183, 185. [5] Chap. 3, ver. 150.

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subsequent to the Ramayana and the Mahabharata[1]. If the 44th and 45th verses of the 10th chapter of Menu, which make many nations *outcasts*, are meant to describe the religious state of India at the time Menu was written, then it would apply pretty well to the seventh century A.D., when Hiuan thsang was in India, and all the countries named in the verses were Buddhist; although Buddhism was declining in some of them, and Brahmanism was rapidly rising to power. The Puranas claim a date for Rama of 867,102 years, and Bentley fixes the composition of the Ramayana about A.D. 291!!

As mention is made in the Ramayana and Mahabharata of the Chinese, and Indo-Scythians, and Greeks, the same arguments with respect to the date of these works, from such mention, applies as well to them as to Menu. Professor Wilson has no doubt the Bactrian Greeks were intended by the term Yavanas, from their being usually named, in concurrence with the north-western tribes, Kambojas, Duradas, Paradas, Bahlikas, Sakas, &c., in the *Ramayana, Mahabharata, Puranas*, Menu, and in various poems and plays[2]; but Mr. James Prinsep gives a stronger reason, from one of the inscriptions at Girnar calling Antiochus the Yona [in Sanskrit Yavana] Raja. Indeed, the Mohammedan doctors at Lucknow, at this day, call the system of Medicine they practise, that of the *Yunani*,—Greeks!

None of these works, therefore, can date beyond the second century before Christ, and they may be many centuries later. I have read a translation of some part of the Ramayana; but of the Mahabharata I have no knowledge. In going over the former, I found that Rama sacrificed to Rudra and Vishnu; the work, therefore, may be supposed to have been written after these gods had superseded the personified elements mentioned in the Vedas and Menu.

In the next place, the repeaters of the Puranas [Puranicks] are mentioned[3]; and the work would thus be brought within the age assigned to the Puranas. The hereditary possessions of Rama's ancestors [the Ikshwakus, who are also the ancestors of the Sakyas or Buddhists] are represented to be in the Punjab on the river Ikshoomuttee, seven days' journey from Oude, and the country was

[1] "At the obsequies to ancestors he must let the Brahmans hear passages from the *Veda*, from the codes of law, from moral tales, from *heroic poems*, from the *Puranas*, and from theological texts." Menu, chap. 3, ver. 232. And in chap. 12, ver. 109, a well instructed Brahman is he who has "studied the Vedas, Vedangas, Mimansa, Nyaya, Dharmasastra, and *Puranas*."

[2] Vishnu Purana, page 194.

[3] Ramayana, book ii., sect. 50, p. 80.

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said to be inhabited by *barbarians*[1]. The placing Rama's ancestral possessions in a country, the inhabitants of which were not of the Hindu faith, and within seven days' march of Oude, indicates that they were either a family of strangers in the land, or schismatics from the popular faith. As the Ramayana bears internal evidence of being written after the coming of the Greeks, this mention of the ancestral lands of Rama being amongst *barbarians* in the Punjab, [necessarily heretics,] would seem to have reference to the inferior numerical relation in which his family, and probably his tribe, [*Kshatrya*,] stood to the people at large; and as Buddhists pervaded India until the fifth century A.D., if the term barbarians apply to them, the previous inference with respect to the age of the Ramayana would be strengthened.

In the fourth part of the Ramayana, called Kish Khindhya Kanda, Hanuman, Rama's monkey-general, is described as passing the Vindhya mountains, and entering the cave of Swayamprabha. On looking into Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary, Swayamprabha is called a *Jain* of the future era; and this connexion of the name found in the Ramayana with heterodoxy, seems to have some colouring, when we consider the fact that all the caves in the Vindhya and Chanda mountains were Buddhist, and the earliest of the Hindu caves are referred to the eighth or ninth centuries A.D. If, therefore, the passage in the Ramayana have reference to a Buddhist or Jain heretic, the expedition to the south must have taken place after the advent of Buddha[2].

Of the Mahabharata I can say little: the argument with respect to date which applies to the Ramayana, from the mention of the Chinese, Greeks, and Indo-Scythians, applies to it. There are also two or three other points of some weight. Krishna is represented when Mutra [Mathura] was besieged by Kalayavana, to have gone forth unarmed, and beheld the *Greek* king, who pursued him: Krishna took refuge in a large cavern [*caves again!*] where Muchukunda was asleep, who awakening, by a glance of his eye reduced the Greek king to ashes[3]. This story has probably relation to some inroad of one of Alexander's successors, and gives a positive limit to the antiquity of the Mahabharata.

But it would appear that there is evidence of a more recent

[1] Ramayana, book ii., sect. 53, p. 107.

[2] Before quitting the Ramayana, I would notice that the Brahman author or authors have evidently some maritime associations; for the moon's action upon the tides is mentioned. Book ii., sect. 77, p. 459.

[3] Wilson's Vishnu Purana, p. 567.

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character in the mention of the Bhoja Rajas of Malwa[1], or rather of Dhar in Malwa. In James Prinsep's useful tables, the *first* of the name is placed A.D. 483, in 540 A.D. by Sterling, and 567 by Col. Tod; and from Jain manuscripts, Col. Tod fixes the other two Rajas Bhoja respectively at 665 A.D. and 1035 A.D. The younger Arrian visited the capital Mingara of the kings of Cutch [Saurashtra] in the second century A.D., and found two Parthian families [Mithraic?] contesting and enjoying the sovereignty with alternate success, and no Hindu government existed. (J. A. S. B. vol., vi., p. 385.) In the second century the Sah's or Sahu's, which names are not Sanskrit, and upon whose coins are Buddhist emblems with a Deva Nagari character of the fourth or fifth centuries, may be supposed to have followed the Parthians; nevertheless, it is stated to be the family which is anathematized in the Mahabharata, in common with the Ati Sindhus [beyond the Indus], which would make the Mahabharata *after the second century*.

But there is yet another matter associating the Mahabharata with a comparatively modern period; and that is, the religious contests first with the Buddhists, and then between the Vaishnavas and the Saivas, involving the burning of Benares, the chief seat of the Saivas, by Krishna, which contests, in the first instance, had for their object, it is supposed, the extermination of the Buddhists; and subsequently the Hindus fell out amongst themselves, Professor Wilson thinks about the third or fourth century A.D.[2] This brings the date down sufficiently low; but Fahian expressly states, that up to the beginning of the fifth century A.D., Buddhism had gone on *uninterruptedly* from its origin; and Hiuan thsang makes no mention whatever of persecution: so far from it, he says, the Buddhists were living so harmoniously with the Hindus, that they were little better than heretics, and were evidently becoming absorbed into them. Bentley's date of 600 A.D. for the Mahabharata has thus some approximate support from sources entirely independent of those upon which he founded his deductions.

It seems to me that the existence and even early dates of the preceding Brahmanical works are not at all incompatible with the paramount prevalence of Buddhism in India, and with a very limited, religious, moral, and political influence of Brahmanism, little extending beyond the first tract in which its propounders were located. Not so with the Puranas; they must have been written at a period when Brahmanism was not only in the ascendant, but when

[1] Wilson's Vishnu Purana, p. 418 and 424. [2] Oxford Lecture, p. 27.

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all evidence of a previous state of things was swept away or suppressed, and the means were consequently wanting to subject their extravagant pretensions to the test of truth: they must have been written, in fact, when the Deva Nagari had so much changed its form, that the damning proofs against them, recorded in caves and on rocks and stones, had to the public become *sealed* memorials of the past. I cannot but heartily concur, therefore, in Professor Wilson's opinion, "*that the oldest of the Puranas is not anterior to the eighth or ninth century, and the most recent not above three or four centuries old*[1];" or at least that they are long subsequent to the Christian era, and Col. Wilford says, they are certainly a modern compilation from valuable materials which he is afraid no longer exist.

Not a single fact that I have collected, or a single inference that I have deduced, in the preceding notes, militates against these opinions; and if the Puranas do embody older materials, they are but the legends of the inhabitants of the *Brahmavarta*, containing not quite so much historic truth, or instructive knowledge, as the Irish legends of O'Donohough at Killarney, those of Arthur's Knights of the Round Table, the fairy tales of old, the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, or the monkish legends! But from their prestige,—from the ignorance of Indian history antecedent to their date,—and from all Oriental knowledge having been long tinted, not with "couleur de rose," but with "couleur de Brahmanisme[2]," the intellectual vision of inquirers was efficient only through one medium; and it is only now that our views are in progress of rectification, from the profound research of such men as Wilson, Prinsep, Turnour, Klaproth, Remusat, Landreese, Burnouf, and Lassen.

As the Puranas are the text-books of modern Hindus, although much circumscribed for limits, I must quote briefly the opinions of some learned men with respect to their value, as guides to truth or mirrors reflecting ancient Brahmanism. And first, Professor Wilson. He says, "The determination of their [the Puranas] modern and unauthenticated composition deprives them of the sacred character

[1] First Oxford Lecture, p. 25. The Rev. Dr. Wilson of Bombay says the Bhagavata Purana, which is the *greatest practical authority at present*, cannot claim an antiquity much exceeding *six centuries*. J. A. S. B., vol. v., p. 310.

[2] The Hon. Mr. Turnour says, "When our scholars came into contact with the Brahmans, they were not only interested in confining the researches of orientalists to Sanskrit literature, but in *every possible way*, both by reference to their own ancient prejudiced authorities, and their individual representations, they laboured to depreciate in the estimation of Europeans the literature of the Buddhists, as well as the Pali or Magadhi language, in which that literature is recorded." Introd. to Mahawanso, p. 12.

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which they have usurped, destroys their credit, impairs their influence, and strikes away the main proof on which, at present, the great mass of Hindu idolatry and superstition relies[1];" and with respect to their object, "In their decidedly sectarial character; in the boldness with which they assert the pantheistic presence [of some one deity]; in their numerous and almost always frivolous and insipid and immoral legends, they betray most glaringly the purposes for which they were composed; *the dissemination of new articles fo faith, the currency of new gods*[2];" "but they furnish authoritative views of the essential institutions of the Hindus, both in their social and religious organization, and they have handed down *all that the Hindus have* of traditional history."

Upon the subject of the extravagant chronology of the Hindus, the Professor says, "That the enormous periods of which it is composed are of a *purely mythological character*[3];" "and the attempts that have been made to account for them on astronomical computations, *have led to no satisfactory results.*" These *extravagances* furnish an additional argument against the authority of those works in which they are seriously affirmed as truth. The value of this chronology is best shown by an extract from Prinsep's useful Tables.

Names.	Puranic Date. B.C.	Jones. B.C.	Wilford. B.C.	Bentley. B.C.	Wilson. B.C.	Tod. B.C.
Ikshwaku and Buddha	2,183,102	5000	2700	1528	...	2200
Rama	867,102	2029	1360	950	...	1100
Chandragupta, the Sandracottus of the Greeks....	1502	600	350	...	315	320
Chandrabija, the last of the Magadha kings.....	452 B.C.	300 A.D.	...	...	428 A.D.	546 A.D.

So that, in the age of Rama, there is a trifling discrepancy of more than 800,000 years, and even in that of a real historical personage known to the Greeks, Chandragupta, of 1187 years! The Hon. Mr. Turnour, in his Introduction to the Mahawanso, p. 17, says, "Bentley, Davis, and others, have discussed and attempted to unravel and account for the absurdities of the Hindu chronology. Great as is the

[1] First Oxford Lecture, page 25. [2] Ibid., p. 26.
[3] Second Oxford Lecture, p. 56.

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ingenuity they have displayed, and successful as their inquiries have been in other subjects, they all tend to prove the existence of incongruities, and to show that they are the result of *systematic perversions*, had recourse to since the time of Megasthenes by the Hindus, *to work out their religious impostures.*" Sir William Jones calls the chronology of the Hindus "*fictitious*;" Col. Wilford speaks of it as "monstrous," and the "geographical, chronological, and historical part of the Puranas as '*absurd*,'" and thinks "*it difficult to fix the time* when the Hindus, forsaking the *paths of historical truth*, launched *into the mazes* of extravagance and fable; but it must have been after the time of Megasthenes, for in his time the Hindus did not carry their antiquities much beyond 6000 years." (Introduction to Mahawanso, p. xvi.) And in Hindu history, Professor Wilson says the "identification of Chandragupta and Sandracottus *is the only point* on which we can rest with anything like confidence." (Notes on the Mudra Rakshasa.)

Indeed, on the subject of Hindu history, Professor Wilson says, *the only* Sanskrit composition yet discovered to which the title of history can with any propriety be applied is the Raja Taringini[1], which professes to be a history of Cashmere, but its composition by Kalhana was as late as A.D. 1148, and Professor Wilson admits an adjustment of the chronology of 796 years, but Mr. Turnour shows that it should be 1177 years[2]. So much for the accuracy of the *only history*, which after all is not of any part of India proper, and which moreover bears *internal* evidence of deriving part of its *earliest* record from Buddhist sources by using Buddhist terms. Mr. Turnour sums up his review of Hindu literature with saying, "That there does not *now exist* an *authentic*, connected, and chronologically correct Hindu history, and that the absence of that history proceeds, not from original deficiency of historical data, nor their destruction by the ravages of war, *but the systematic perversion* of those data, *adopted to work out the monstrous* scheme upon which the Hindu faith is based[3]." Amongst its absurdities, it places King Asoko as establishing Buddhism in Cashmere 771 years before the birth of Sakya Buddha; Asoko's own era being antedated from 329 B.C. to 1394 B.C.[4]!!

It can scarcely be necessary to say more of the chronology of the Puranas. Of their astronomy, Professor Wilson says, "It is as incompatible with the scientific astronomy of the Hindus, as it is

[1] Wilson's Introd. Observ.
[2] Introd. Mahawanso, page 19.
[3] Ibid., page 19.
[4] J. A. S. B., vol. v., p. 522.

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with the Copernican system. Much of the astronomy of the Hindus, properly so called, agrees with that of Europe; and advantage has judiciously been taken of the differences between the *inventions of their Puranas*, and the facts of their astronomers, to convict the former even by native testimony of *absurdity and error*[1]."

Mr. L. Wilkinson, a Bengal civilian, says, "The *Buddhist* system of astronomy and the Ptolemaic *closely agreed, as opposed to the absurd system of the Puranas*[2]." Elsewhere, Mr. Wilkinson gives an account of his having obtained a *Sanskrit* copy of a translation of *Euclid*, made in the celebrated Raja Jysing's time. It was done by the Brahman *Samrat Sagannatha*, and Mr. Wilkinson has the following words: "Our Brahman translator of this work, however, is guilty *of one of those base acts of plagiarism and literary injustice so common with all Hindu authors*. He coolly informs his reader that the work was originally *revealed by Brahma* to Visvakarma, that it lay for ages unknown, and he has revived it. This was between A.D. 1699 and 1743[3]." My notes may possibly strengthen a belief that this gross fraud is but the type of others in the Puranas, in Menu, and in the heroic poems.

To the above I may add the testimony of Mr. Wathen with respect to the value and object of the Puranas. He says, "In the course of antiquarian researches in India, we cannot but remark the very opposite course pursued by the Jainas and the Brahmans in regard to the preservation of historical legends. The Brahmans are accused by the Jainas of having destroyed, wherever they gained the supremacy, *all the historical books in existence which related facts anterior to the Mussulman conquest*; and we certainly do not find in the Dakhan and other countries which have been long under their exclusive influence *anything whatever prior* to that period; whereas on the contrary the Jainas have treasured up in their libraries every historical legend and fragment that could be preserved by them. May it not be inferred that the Brahmans, sensible of the great changes introduced by themselves to serve their own avaricious purposes in the Hindu worship, at the era of the Mussulman conquest, neglected the preservation of the historical works which then existed? for, as no king of their own faith remained, and their nobles and learned men must have lost their power and influence, no one was left who took any interest in their preservation; and it appears probable that at such period the Puranas were altered, and the novel practices now existing introduced, to enable those *wily priests* still to

[1] Second Oxford Lecture. [2] J. A. S. B., vol. vii., p. 227.
[3] J. A. S. B., vol. vi., p. 941.

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extort from the superstition of the people, what they had formerly enjoyed by the pious munificence of their own kings. The Jainas, indeed, assert that the Puranas are mere historical works, that Parasurama, Ram chandra, and Krishna, &c., were merely great kings who reigned in Oude and other places, and have not the slightest pretensions to divinity.

"It may tend to confirm this theory when we consider that all the great reformers of the Hindu religion, whose doctrines and whose expositions of that faith are now followed, flourished about the same period when India was thrown into confusion by the invasions of those ferocious and fanatical barbarians, the Arabs, the Turks, and Affghans, or from five to eight hundred years back; Sankara Acharya, Valabha Acharya, and Ramanuja Acharya are all supposed to have lived between those periods.

"The great Hindu sovereignties falling to pieces, it became impossible to perform sacrifices requiring such prodigious expenditure; the kings of foreign faith no longer ruling by the Shastras, no check existed to the intermixture of castes, hence the Warna Sankara; the Kshatriyas, overcome and fleeing from their foes, emigrated into various parts, laid down the warlike profession, and engaged in civil and commercial pursuits, hence the present Kshetri, Prabhi, the Bhotti, &c., once warriors, now scribes and merchants; the Brahmans then, to raise themselves and degrade the other castes, *invented the fables* of the destruction of the whole Kshatriya tribe by Parasurama, a thing in itself incredible, but which story enabled them to substitute the Puranas for the Vedas, in conducting the sacred offices as connected with those classes.

"Further, if we inquire into the origin of the present most popular incarnations, as worshipped in Western India, we shall, no doubt, trace them to the era when the Puranas were interpolated, and *converted from mere historical legends into books* of Scripture. A new impetus was thus given to superstition by the discovery of these supposed miraculous emanations of Siva, Vishnu, and Ganesa, in the shape of Khundeh Rao, Wittoba, and the Chinchwara Ganapati.

"That great changes were introduced about the period of the Mussulman invasion into the practices of the Hindu religion, and that many as they now exist are *far different to what they were previous to that era, are facts which will become better known and ascertained as the ancient history of the country becomes more cleared from the obscurity* in which it is at present involved[1]."

[1] Mr. Wathen, J. A. S. B., vol. iv., page 484.

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To the above character of the Puranas, Professor Wilson adds that "it is highly probable that of the present popular forms of the Hindu religion, none assumed their actual state earlier than the time of Sankara Acharya, the great Saiva reformer, who flourished in all likelihood in the eighth or ninth century A.D. Of the Vaishnava teachers, Ramanuja dates in the twelfth century, Madhva Acharya in the thirteenth century, and Vallabha in the sixteenth century, and the *Puranas seem* to have accompanied or followed *their innovations, being obviously intended to advocate the doctrines they taught*[1]."

This coincidence of opinion between learned Orientalists from opposite sides of India should be conclusive with respect to the character and objects of the Puranas. One curious circumstance affords undoubted proof of the interpolations which must have taken place, and which necessarily vitiates their originality. Although evidently of different ages, "*each* and *all* of the Puranas have each and all of them the names of the whole *eighteen recorded in the text*."

But their worthlessness as records even of legends is shown in almost every page of the notes to the Vishnu Purana, for commonly no two of them relate the same legend exactly in the same way, give the same personages as actors, the same genealogies or succession of princes, or the same facts and circumstances.

After the production of such weighty authorities in regard to the unworthiness of the Puranas as affording evidence in favour of the claims of Brahmanism to a remote antiquity and *general diffusion* in ancient India, I feel that I may close my notes, satisfied that the deductions at which I have arrived, if they do not carry conviction to the minds of others, will yet afford matter for discussion with those reflective and unbiassed orientalists who are willing to pursue truth for its own sake.

A summary of the deductions from the facts and analogies collected in the preceding notes, can be comprised in a few words. Modern Brahmanism would seem to be a gradual and slow growth, for selfish purposes of aggrandisement, and religious, moral, and political dominion, from a small tribe of strangers who first located themselves in a small tract on the eastern confines of the Punjab; which tribe pushed its members and its influence into other parts of India, as favourable opportunities occurred; altering the traditions of their native country, *or inventing legends*, to suit their progress and their pretensions, which pretensions at first were simple and forbearing, but gradually became grasping and haughty, as their

[1] Wilson's Vishnu Purana, Introd., p. 10.

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numbers and influence increased; until the period of the invention of the Puranas, when the confusion and anarchy consequent on the fall of Buddhism, previously the chief obstacle to their ambition, offered a fitting occasion to claim for Brahmanism the broad bases upon which it has since affected to stand,—an occasion, however, which in fixing the power of Brahmanism, simultaneously sowed the seeds of those debasing corruptions which are now its characteristics. This is but the melancholy, although instructive history of the priesthood of most ancient nations; and it is not without example in more modern times. The Brahmanical religion commenced in monotheism, and as its priests obtained wealth and power, it progressed to blind idolatry, and revolting superstitions and practices. The Jewish religion commenced in rigid monotheism; and notwithstanding the direct manifestations of displeasure on the part of the Deity, the punishment and dispersion of the Jewish people was consequent upon their incessant relapses into idolatry. Buddhism, in its institution, is abhorrent from idolatry, and yet, in all countries where it is now practised, it is characterized not only by its gross worship of figures of Buddha, but of endless forms of "spirits of air and goblins damned." The Chinese religion, before Buddhism, was monotheism, and it has now all the corruptions of modern Buddhism; and in comparatively recent times, we see how saint worship and the veneration of idols have grown out of the pure doctrines of Christianity.

In judging, therefore, of the relative antiquity of religions, it is not a well-founded argument to assert, that those are the most ancient which are the most gross and absurd in their superstitions, and those the most recent which are the most simple in their belief and practices.

The history of the preceding religions is opposed to any such inference, and the relative antiquity of Brahmanism and Buddhism cannot be determined by any such test. We have probably better data, in the absence of anything Brahmanical, of irrefragable authority, such as inscriptions, coins, and works of art, approaching within six or seven centuries of such decisive proofs of the absolute existence of Buddhism.

Boundless pretensions to an unfathomable antiquity, and the general diffusion of Brahmanism, meet us at every step in Hindu literature; but the very fact of these pretensions being recorded in the Sanskrit language in its perfect form, is sufficient to raise doubts of their having any just and solid foundations; the more so, as the chief of them are not met with recorded in older forms of the lan-

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guage. Supposing, therefore, Brahmanism not to have been the *prevailing* doctrine in ancient times in India, it will be asked what then were the doctrines that did prevail? The Mahawanso says, that Ceylon was characterized by demon-worship; the Chinese writings state that the doctrine of the Tao sse pervaded Thibet[1] until the introduction of Buddhism; and in Kashmir the snake worship obtained, until superseded by Buddhism. In Southern India, the Brahmans do not pretend to any very ancient location; Central and Upper India, therefore, remain to be considered; and there it is asserted, that Buddhism *prevailed from all antiquity*. Sakya Buddha dates from the seventh century before Christ; but the Chinese travellers saw the temples holding the relics *of his predecessors*, which would seem to carry its institution to very remote antiquity indeed. Fa hian saw, between A.D 100 to 412, stupendous works of Buddhist art falling to decay through age, while Brahmanism [and, of course, Brahmanical works of art] was *progressing*, and not *retrograding*,—the one looking forward, the other passing by. Fa hian also declares that the year A.D. 412 was the 1497th year of a Buddhist era, and the year 1300 appears in an ancient Buddhist inscription at Khandgiri.

I shall conclude the consideration of this question with the following quotations from the Hon. Mr. Turnour's Introduction to the Mahawanso (p. 12). He says, "The rival religion to Hinduism in Asia, promulgated by BUDDHAS ANTECEDENT TO GOTAMO, [Sakya Buddha,] from a period TOO REMOTE to admit of chronological definition, was Buddhism. The *last* successful struggle of Buddhism for ascendancy in India, subsequent to the advent of Gotamo, was in the fourth century B.C. It then became the religion of the state. The ruler of that vast empire was at that epoch numbered amongst its most zealous converts[2]; and fragments of evidence, literary as well as of the arts, still survive, to attest that that reli-

[1] Fa hian. Note, page 231.

[2] Those who are disposed to trace the modifications of Buddhism, may possibly see a *reformer* and *innovator*, rather than a *convert*, in Asoko, particularly, as in his zeal he sent missionaries to propagate his doctrines to places where Buddhism already prevailed; for instance, he sent his son to Ceylon in the fourth century B.C., while the Mahawanso expressly states that Sakya himself had been there more than two centuries before that date, and converted the inhabitants. Previously to Asoko's time, the interdict to the slaughter of animals for food had been confined to the Buddhist clergy; but Asoko, in his zeal for the salvation of men, carried the interdict to the laity as well as the clergy: for this purpose his edicts are recorded on rocks in various parts of India, and for this purpose were his missionaries sent, even to Antiochus and Ptolemy.

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gion had once been *predominant throughout* the most civilized and powerful kingdoms of Asia."

Of course, all these religions at the time spoken of had numerous heresies, and underwent various modifications with the progress of time, and the change in men's opinions; nor is it my purpose absolutely to deny the possibility of a very ancient contemporaneous existence in India to Buddhism and Brahmanism, the latter in its simplest forms, precisely as Buddhist heresies would exist contemporaneously with the parent religion; but, after a careful collation of facts, I unhesitatingly declare that I have not met with evidence to satisfy my mind that Brahmanism *was ever in the ascendant*, until after the fall of Buddhism!

With a few words on the genius of *ancient* Buddhism, and the possible cause of its fall in India, I shall close these notes. The Buddhists, like many other Eastern nations, believed in the transmigration of the soul. To terminate this probationary state, and to obtain final liberation or rest, *nirvana* or *nirbutti*, that is to say, the stoppage of the further transition of the soul, was the sole worthy object of man's existence! The only path to this object was through the grades of the clergy. The conditions were, the "*most perfect faith, the most perfect virtue, and the most perfect knowledge.*" It was insufficient for the laity that they believed in *Buddha*, Dharma, *Sanga*, i. e. Buddha, the law, and the clergy or church; of which there is elsewhere an analogue in "God, the law, and the prophets:" it was only by receiving the tonsure, and enlisting in the ranks of the church, that they even made the first step towards salvation. It was then, that, abandoning the world and its concerns, pledged to absolute poverty, to support life by eleemosynary means, to chastity, to abstinence, to penance, to prayer, and, above all, to continued contemplation of divine truths, they rose in the grades of the church, until some one amongst them having attained the most perfect knowledge, the most perfect virtue, and the most perfect faith, became Buddha, or infinite wisdom; that is to say, the soul ceased to wander,—its final rest was attained, and it was absorbed into the First Cause. It has been attempted to brand this doctrine with atheism; but if it be so, then are the Brahmans atheists, for it is part of their esoteric system[1]. Those of the Buddhist clergy who could not attain nirvana, in their renewed births were supposed to attain a form amongst the grades of beings either celestial or terrestrial, approaching to perfect happiness in the *proximate ratio* of their

[1] Wilson, Second Oxford Lecture, p. 64.

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attainment of *perfect knowledge*, and in these states they might rise or fall, until *final liberation* was attained. The souls of the laity went on transmigrating through animal or vegetable life, without even passing the threshold to salvation. It was a strong motive with every man, therefore, to join the clergy, and even the painful lives the latter led, did not prevent the proper relation between producers and non-producers in the social system being subverted. The accumulation of the clergy was pregnant with evil. Their standard of excellence was infinitely too high for humanity; their tests for its attainment too severe; schisms occurred, disorders broke out, relaxations in discipline followed, and these circumstances, in the progress of ages, combined with the severe pressure upon the laity for the support of the enormously disproportioned numbers of the clergy [vide Mahawanso], loosened their hold upon the veneration and affection of the people: they silently fell off from a system which was so onerous, and merged into the Vaisya or Sudra ranks of the Brahmanical faith, precisely as is described by Hiuan thsang to have been the case at Patna in the seventh century, when "the Buddhists were living amongst the heretics, and no better than them." In this corrupted stage of Buddhism, the fiery Saivas mustered in sufficient force to effect its overthrow; the clergy, and such of the laity as espoused their interests, were either slaughtered, or driven out of India to a man, and the rest of the laity had little difficulty in transferring their allegiance from one idol to another, (for from works of Buddhist art, and from what we now see of its practices in other countries, it must then have lapsed into little better than rank idolatry,) and Buddhism thus finally disappeared from India, leaving, however, indestructible vestiges of its former glory, and many of its practices amongst the Hindus, as noticed by Dr. Stevenson; the Saivas leaving also, as I elsewhere have had occasion to notice, monuments of their triumphs[1]!

In case I am asked for the specific object and *cui bono* of my labours, my reply is brief and simple. The startling accounts of India by the Chinese travellers in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries of our era, prompted me to subject details so novel and unexpected to the test of such contemporary or previous evidence, as might be obtainable. The Chinese travellers have come from the ordeal unscathed, and the accumulated facts in the preceding pages satisfy me that the narratives of what they saw, in their chief

[1] Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. No. iv. page 205.

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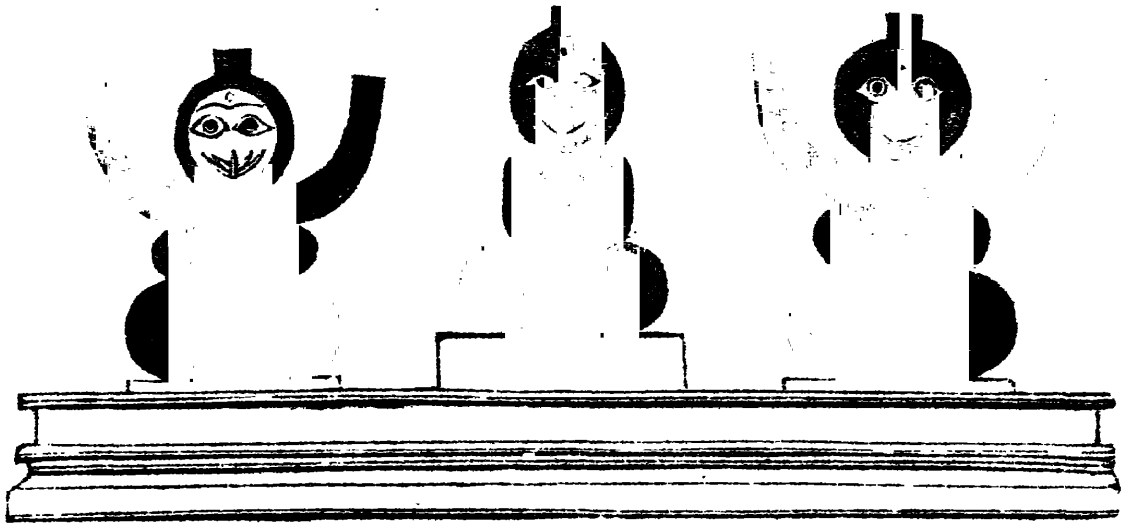
features, are as worthy of credit as those of the travellers of any other time or nation whatever, at least those of Fa hian. With respect to the *cui bono*, if it be proved that Brahmanism is neither unfathomable in its antiquity, nor unchangeable in its character, we may safely infer that, by proper means, applied in a cautious, kindly, and forbearing spirit, such *further changes* may be effected, as will raise the intellectual standard of the Hindus, improve their moral and social condition, and assist to promote their eternal welfare.



BALARÁMA, *Brother of Jagannátha.* SUBHADRA, *Sister of Jagannátha.* JAGANNÁTHA.

Figures of the uncouth objects worshipped at Jagannátha, are introduced from the reference made to them in the "Notes," and more particularly so from Dr. STEVENSON having given the modern worship of Jagannátha a Buddhist origin.

To face page 450.

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APPENDIX.

No. I.

Buddhist Emblems.

Buddhist emblems or symbols, have been so frequently referred to in the preceding notes, that I have thought it desirable to arrange upon one plate, those symbols which it has been my fortune to meet with, and to offer also such explanations as my limited knowledge of the subject permits. Almost the whole of the symbols are taken from the fac simile coins published in the Nos. of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; some few from the drawings of the sculptures in the temple or chaitya of Bhilsa; and two or three from my own collection of Buddhist inscriptions in Western India. A knowledge of these emblems is of very considerable importance, as it enables the inquirer at once to fix, with some exceptions, the religious persuasion to which inscriptions or sculptures belong, with which even a solitary emblem may be associated.

The first line represents the various forms in which the chaitya or Buddhist temple for relics of Buddha's or Patriarchs is represented on the coins which have come under my eye. Triple hemispheres, or the first multiple of a triple hemisphere, (probably intended for circles,) are so arranged as to give a pyramidal character to a structure, and the apex is surmounted by various emblems, some of which it will be observed are also met with isolated in the last two lines of the plate. This triple character of forms is not confined to the coins, for I had occasion to notice in my account of the caves of Ellora, that *three* circles were traced in the chaitya form (two for basement, and one for apex,) on the floors of two of the Buddhist caves. This tri-unite form is probably (as I believe has been observed by Dr. Burn,) the mystic representation of the Buddhist trinity,—Buddha, Dharma, and Sanga, (God, the law, and the clergy or church.)

It is to be remarked, however, that when the chaitya or temple of relics is sculptured out of the rock, and then called a Deghope by Mr. Erskine, it is represented, not by the triple hemispheres, but by a very short truncated cylinder, surmounted by a hemisphere, and crowned with a parasol or an umbrella, or a complicated emblem, such as is shown in my drawing of the Visvakarma cave at Ellora; and such appears to have been the form of the chaitya at Bhilsa, and also of those Mausolea found in Affghanistan and the Punjab; indeed, the funeral edifices described by Mr. Moorcroft at Lè in Ladakh, do not differ much from the old form of the chaitya.

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The second line represents various modifications of the form of a wheel, met with on coins in connexion with other Buddhist emblems, and on the sculptures at Ellora. It is also mentioned by Fa hian as being traced upon some religious structures. The Buddhists associated the idea of spiritual as well as temporal dominion with the wheel, and Buddha was called in Pali, Chakkawatti,[1] or supreme ruler[1]. But its principal association was connected with the salvation of man; prayers were written out and pasted upon a wheel, and it was then turned upon its axis, with a rapidity proportioned to the fervour and strength of the aspirant for futurity; and each revolution was deemed equivalent to an oral repetition of a prayer; the faster it was turned, therefore, the faster prayers were sent up to heaven, and the sooner the sinner effected the expiation of his offences. Hence, the wheel was called the *praying wheel*[2]!

To understand the third line, it is necessary to premise that each Buddha, or patriarch, had a sacred tree, peculiarly his own, called his Bo-tree, under which, probably like Sakya Buddha, he was supposed to be born, did penance, preached, and died. Mr. Turnour, in naming each of the twenty-four Buddhas who preceded Sakya Buddha, mentions also the Pali name of each species of tree sacred to each Buddha. Amongst the number I recognize the Ficus Indica, Ficus glomerata, Ficus religiosa, Mimosa sirisha, Champaca naga, the Sâla, Shorea robusta, and Terminalia alata glabra: the want of a Pali dictionary disables me from extending the list. It will be seen by the plate that there is an evident although rude attempt to represent different foliage in the various figures of trees, and, consequently, different trees. We may suppose, therefore, that the prince, upon whose coin a particular tree appears, was the follower or disciple of the Buddha, or patriarch, whose tree emblem he adopts. In some cases, the appearance of different trees upon different coins may indicate their being of different eras.

With respect to the fourth line, the figures 1 and 2, in consequence of the one holding a staff and the other holding a trident, and on some coins being associated with a humped bull, have been deemed to have a connexion with Siva; but on the coins they are associated with Buddhist emblems. On coin No. 4, pl. 25, vol. iii., p. 436, J. A. S. B., the figure No. 2 stands erect, with his trident, as the only figure on one side of the coin, and, on the other, are the sacred bo-tree, and the chaitya, in the fourth form of the first line of the emblems, both indubitably Buddhist emblems, and the antelope, which is found in many Buddhist sculptures, appears between the two emblems: the figure cannot, therefore, be intended for Siva. But the same figure (naked except at the waist), *leaning on a humped bull*, is met with on one side of a coin of Kadphises, which represents a figure with a high cap and two ribands floating behind, habited in a kind of frock coat without collar, and putting something upon a small altar without flame—a trident, with a hatchet attached, standing by the side of the altar; the figure, altar,

[1] From "Chakka," wheel, and "Watti," the ruler or sustainer; the wheel being typical of the universe.

[2] Fa hian, p. 26, *note*.

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and trident being surrounded by a Greek inscription. With such associations, the bull, trident, and figure can scarcely have reference to Siva—particularly as the emblem on the top of the Buddhist standard, No. 19 of my emblems, is just over the rump of the bull; and the altar-figure of the gold coin, No. 10 of the same plate, has two undoubted Buddhist emblems upon it—the swastica, or mystic cross (Nos. 8 and 12 of my plate), and the figure 34 from my Buddhist inscriptions at Junir, and figures 34 or 35 of these inscriptions, are found on several of the Indo-Scythic coins (bull and trident figure) of pl. 38, vol. iv., J. A. S. B., p. 630. The humped bull on the coins does not necessarily connect them with Hinduism, for the sacred bo-tree, and a regular chaitya with swastica, are conjoined with a humped bull in the Indo-Bactrian coin 3, pl. 32, vol. vii., p. 1050, J. A. S. B. In the so-called Hindu coin 1, pl. 60, vol. vii., the bull is before a chaitya; in coin 2 of the same plate it is before a bo-tree. In coins 5 and 6, pl. 34, vol. iv., the bull is before the bo-tree; in coin 9 of the same plate the bull is on one side, an elephant on the other, and my Buddhist inscriptions' emblem is above the elephant. On coin 15, pl. 61, vol. vii., of the coins from Ougein, the bull is before a bo-tree, on one side, and on the other is one of the forms of the Buddhist praying wheel; but similar associations of the bull with Buddhist emblems are very numerous, whether in the Indo-Bactrian, Indo-Scythian, Behat, or Ougein coins. The bull, and trident-figure, therefore, are not necessarily *Hindu types*. With respect to figure 1 of the fourth line of my emblems, it is met with on coin 23, pl. 34, vol. iv., associated with the Buddhist bo-tree and praying wheel; and on coins from Ougein, with undoubted Buddhist emblems, pl. 61, vol. vii., J. A. S. B. How little the trident figure on the coins will correspond with Siva is shown from the following description of him from the Harsha inscription:—"The three-forked spear in thy *left* hand, the extended axe in thy right hand, thy head-dress the celestial Ganga herself, a serpent the necklace about thy throat, never was so wondrous vesture as thine, O *three-eyed* one." This is Parvati's own description of Siva, her husband. He is also called "moon-crowned, fast-bound with its shining horrid ornament" [clotted hair].

Figure 4, a Tartar looking personage, is met with on the Kanerkos and Kadphises coins, offering something upon a low altar. In no instance does it appear to me that the altar sends forth flames. In very many of the coins, it has a clearly-defined margin or upper edge, and in some it is crenated or cleft, but without flame issuing from it. The Chinese travellers speak of every Buddhist householder in Affghanistan having an altar outside his door, on which he daily offered flowers to Buddha. The coins may represent this altar, and it has been already remarked, that if not Buddhist, the altar would be Mithraic, and in neither case would the figure making an offering, with the trident figure, and bull on the reverse, have any connexion with Hinduism.

Something resembling the altars mentioned by Fa hian exist to this day amongst the Buddhist people of Ladakh, according to Mr. Moorcroft, who says, "A column of red stone stood near each house to avert, it was said, the effects of the 'evil eye,'" Travels in Ladakh, vol. i., p. 403; and at page

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157, he has the following remarkable words:—"The path then descended rapidly between a small temple on the left, and an altar or mound of masonry with two feet sculptured on it. These altars are very common, and perhaps indicate the former prevalence in these parts of the religion of Buddha, *which, more than any other Indian creed, employs this emblem!*" Buddhism would appear then, as in Fa hian's time, to continue the use of the altar. The altars of Nos. 4 and 5 may be connected with the initial emblem of No. 3 Buddhist inscription, from Junir, vol. vi., pl. 53, J. A. S. B., and No. 36 of the emblems. This form of altar can have nothing to do with the Sassanian fire altars, which, on the coins, pl. 14, vol. vi., is a pillar *taller than a man*, and with the flame distinctly burning on the summit. Emblem 6 is met with on coin 16, with bo-tree, and chaitya, and *bull*, from the Punjab; on coin 18 with the chaitya, bo-tree, swastica, No. 33, and *elephant* from Jaunpur, pl. 34, vol. iv.; on coin 48, with chaitya, bo-tree, and *antelope*, pl. 35, vol. iv. It is also found with the other Buddhist emblems, *wheel* and swastica, on the Indo-Bactrian coins, pl. 32, vol. vii. Emblem 7 is similarly found, on pl. 32, vol. vii., and on coin 1, from Behat, pl. 18, vol. iii., with chaitya, bo-tree, swastica, and *antelope*.

Emblem 8 is the celebrated swastica, or Buddhist cross; it was also the type of the Lao tseu or Tao sse, mentioned by the Chinese as peculiar religionists in China, before Sakya Buddha. Independently of this emblem being found on most Buddhist coins from all parts of India, it is also met with initial, and terminal, or both, on Buddhist inscriptions at Junir, Karli, and in Cuttack. It is also seen on the gold coin of Kadphises, pl. 38, vol. iv., the *trident* warrior and altar on one side, and figure with coat and *loose trowsers*, leaning on a humped bull, on the other; which has been construed into Siva, because on some of the coins of Kadphises this dress is wanting. Siva in a *coat* and *loose trowsers* would certainly be comical.

Emblem 9 is on coin 20, pl. 34, and on coins 34, 35, and 36, pl. 35, vol. iv., with a large chaitya on one side, and lion on the other, and generally on a large series of Indo-Scythian coins. It may be a further variety of the bo-tree.

Emblems 0, 21, and 22, are seen upon the Indo-Bactrian coins, pl. 32, vol. vii., associated with the other Buddhist types, chaitya, bo-tree, wheel, and swastica. It is also met with on No. 1 coin, from Behat, pl. 18, vol. iii., with the chaitya, bo-tree, swastica, and *antelope*.

Emblem 12 is an enlarged form of the swastica, and is seen as the chief emblem on coin 32, pl. 35, vol. iv.

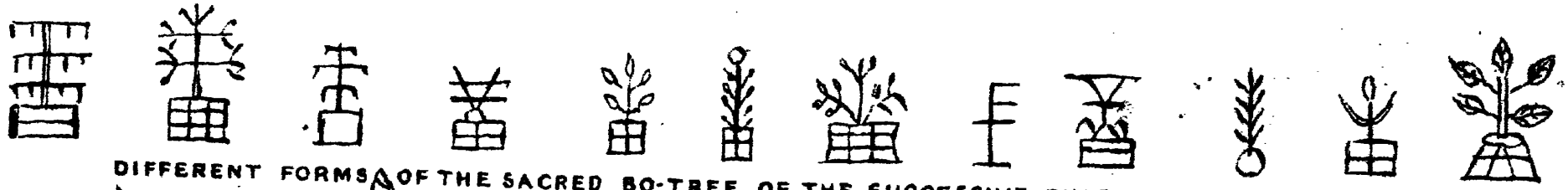
Emblem 13 is seen on the Buddhist coin No. 48, pl. 35, vol. iv., combined with the chaitya, bo-tree, antelope, and emblem No. 6.

Emblems 14, 15, 24, 29, and 32, are evidently derivations from a common original; 15 is seen on the coins 9 and 10, pl. 38, vol. iv., of the Indo-Scythic series; 29 is met with on the Kanerkos and Kadphises coins, which have the Tartar figure, with small altar, trident, and bull; pl. 12, vol. iii., with corrupt Greek inscriptions. As the chief figure on the coins changes in dress, and is with or without trident or bull, and *supposed* priest, the emblem slightly varies, still preserving its four prongs, until on the

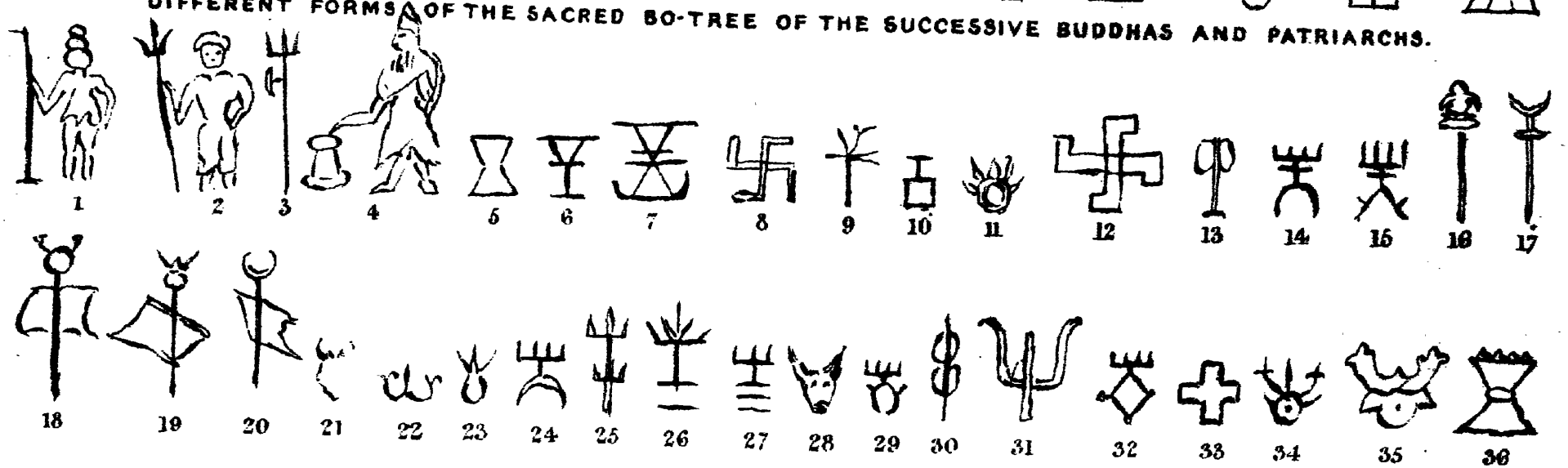
BUDDHIST EMBLEMS.

DIFFERENT FORMS OF THE BUDDHIST CHAITYA OR TEMPLE FOR RELICS.

DIFFERENT FORMS OF THE PRAYING WHEEL.



DIFFERENT FORMS OF THE SACRED BO-TREE OF THE SUCCESSIVE BUDDHAS AND PATRIARCHS.



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Canouj series of coins it assumes the form of 32. In plate 13, vol. iii., the emblem No. 29 is on the gold coin No. 10, in which the figure has *two* tridents, one of which he is sticking into the altar, and the Buddhist cross is on the coin; and in another, the figure has a trident, but is without altar, and a figure is seated astride on an elephant. 32 is on the archer coin (Sri Mahendra Sinha), Nos. 24 and 8, pl. 38, vol. v., with a lady seated on a lion; as is seen in the Buddhist sculptures of Ellora, and generally on the Canouj series, pl. 36, vol. v. But the emblem, in any of its forms, is not known to be *absolutely* Buddhist; although the probabilities are that, in form 29, it is either Mithraic or Buddhist, from its associations, and in form 32 it is plainly derived from the preceding forms, not less from its own peculiarities, than from the male figure and accompaniments; but if the princes of the Canouj coins be the same as those mentioned in the Allahabad and Bhitari column inscriptions, then it would have become a Hindu type, as those princes reverenced Brahmanical Gods. Mr. Court says in form 29 he has seen it sculptured at Susiana in Persia. I have introduced the forms to show their transition through the coins of different dynasties.

Nos. 16 and 17 are associated with the emblem (29) on the Canouj gold coins, which have their types in the Indo-Scythian series, from the preservation of the figure at the altar; but the figure has no longer the trident, but the nondescript staff and head No. 16, which very much resembles the crest and staff supporting the lotus on which Buddha is seated in the Karli sculptures: or this emblem is replaced, as in coin 23 of the Canouj series, pl. 39, vol. iv., by No. 17; and as the Canouj coin 11, pl. 36, vol. v., which is in fact the banner staff (No. 20) of the figures on the Buddhist chaitya at Bhilsa. This coin (11) is looked upon as the first of the connecting links between the Indo-Scythic and Canouj coins. The gentleman at the altar has absolutely a modern regimental coat, and the lady on the opposite side carries a Greek cornucopia! In spite of these anomalous associations, the coins are no doubt the precursors of the more numerous class of the Canouj princes, whose ancestors probably leaned to Buddhism, but who themselves leaned to Brahmanism. It is not, however, to be wondered at that they bear foreign types, when it is borne in mind that the origin of the Rahtore rajputs of Canouj, according to the genealogical tree preserved by the Jains, is traced up to an Indo-Scythic [Greek?] prince; and a descendant from him, Nayana Pala, made himself master of Canouj, A.D. 469, a fact which does not militate against Fa hian's statement, that when he was there, A.D. 400 to 405, a Buddhist prince reigned. Buddhism had been undisturbed up to the 5th century; but when Hiuan Thsang visited Canouj, two centuries afterwards, the dynasty had been changed.

Nos. 18, 19, and 20, are the standards surmounted by emblems, which are carried by figures, on the sculptures on the Buddhist chaitya, at Bhilsa, drawing 28, vol. vi., p. 452. The same emblems, combined with an elephant, a lion, or an antelope, are met with on coins; for instance, the spear-head of No. 19, on coin 15, pl. 60, vol. vii. It is evidently also the same as No. 23, which is met with on coin 1, pl. 32, vol. vii., of Indo-Bactrian coins,

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many of which have multiplied Buddhist emblems upon them. The spear-head of No. 19, No. 23, and probably No. 11, approximates in form to that of the emblem which surmounts the spires or apex of the Buddhist chaityas at Lè, the capital of Ladakh, according to Mr. Moorcroft, vol. i., p. 245.

No. 21 must be a decidedly Buddhist emblem, for it is seen associated with the wheel, bo-tree, chaitya, swastica, and antelope, on coin 6, pl. 32, vol. vii.

No. 22 is also decidedly Buddhist, for it is seen over the chaitya with several other Buddhist emblems on the Indo-Bactrian coins of pl. 32, vol. vii. It is also seen on the Nysam coin 30, pl. 3, vol. v., with an imperfect Greek inscription, connecting the Nysæan princes with Buddhism. Also upon a rare coin, No. 5, pl. 35, vol. v., of the Azos group: and Mr. Prinsep says it is found on the degenerate gold coins of the Kadphises group.

No. 25 is seen on the Buddhist Satrap coins, pl. 32, vol vii.; also upon the Buddhist Ceylon coins, Nos. 6, 13, and 14, pl. 20, vol. vi.

No. 26 is seen on coin 20, pl. 60, vol. vii. It may be one of the forms of the bo-tree.

No. 27 is seen on coins 24 and 26, pl. 60, vol. vii.

No. 28, being a bull's head, is seen on coin 14, pl. 61, vol. vii., of the coins from Ougein and Kaira in Gujerat, which bear the most unqualified characteristics of Buddhism in a seated figure of Buddha, the bo-tree, chaitya, praying-wheel, &c. This appearance of the bull's head on a Buddhist coin affords another proof of the trustworthiness of Fa hian, who says a bull's head was sculptured on the door posts of a Buddhist temple, which he saw in India, and he also says the head of the walking-stick of the Buddhist priests was sometimes fashioned into the form of a bull's head. But the bull's *scull* also occupies a place on the Indo-Sassanian coins (pl. 14, vol. vi.) over the head of the prince, with the unquestioned fire altar of the Persians on the reverse of the coin.

No. 31, the miscalled trident of Siva, is seen nearly filling up the reverse of the Indo-Sassanian coin, No. 11, pl. 15, vol. vi., with a man and bull on the opposite side; the bull on several other coins on the same plate being associated with the indisputable Buddhist emblems, the chaitya, praying wheel, and bo-tree.

No. 33 is an undoubted Buddhist emblem, joined on many coins with the chaitya, bo-tree, and elephant; on coin 22 from Canouj, vol. iii., pl. 18; on 17, with chaitya and swastica from the Punjab, pl. 34, vol. iv.; on coin 18, with chaitya and bo-tree, &c., from Jaunpur, pl. 34, vol. iv.; on coin 41, with the bo-tree, pl. 35, vol. iv.; also on the Buddhist coins 17 and 25 from Ougein, pl. 61, vol. vii.

Nos. 34, 35, and 36 are initial to three of the Buddhist inscriptions from the Junir caves, copied by Colonel Sykes, pl. 53, vol. vi. No. 34 is also found conjoined with No. 29, on coin 1, Kadphises in a chariot, and naked trident figure on the reverse; also on coin 3, with *bust* of Kadphises, and trident figure on the reverse, pl. 38, vol. iv. With respect to the trident, Prinsep says (vol. iv., p. 632) decisively, that the bull and supposed priest [trident figure?] are dedicated to the solar worship, and *not to Siva of the Brahman-*

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ical creed. Prinsep says (vol. vi., p. 1046) that the symbol 34, is in "*exact accordance* with the monogram on a large series of the Indo-Scythic coins, commencing with the reverse of the celebrated Mokadphises coin." This exact accordance, therefore, would seem to connect the princes of the coins with Buddhism.

No. 34 is also on the Buddhist coins 5 and 9, (bull and elephant,) from Behat, pl. 34; also on coins 34, 35, and 36, pl. 35, vol. iv.

No. 35 is seen on coins 2 and 3 of the Indo-Scythic series, pl. 38, vol. iv., with the Tartar head and trident figure, and is very probably, together with emblem 11, only a modification of No. 34.

No. II.

Chinese Account of India, translated from the "Wan-heen-t'hung-Kaou," or "Deep Researches into Ancient Monuments;" by Ma-twan-Lin. Published in the Nouv. Mélanges Asiatiques, tom. i. p. 196.

MA-TWAN-LIN'S CITATION OF CHINESE AUTHORITIES REGARDING INDIA.

1. The Chinese Emperor Woo te sent a General Officer, Chang keen, as ambassador to the Indo-Scythians B.C. 126. The Scythians were then in possession of Affghanistan.

2. Under the Chinese Emperor Ho te, A.D. 89 to 106, several ambassadors from India came to offer tribute.

3. Under Yan he, A.D. 159, strangers often came by the way of Tonquin and Cochin-China to offer tribute.

4. There is a tradition that the Emperor Ming te, A.D. 58 to 76, sent ambassadors to India to inquire about Buddha; the consequence was, that Buddhism began to prevail in China A.D. 147 to 167.

5. An embassy from China went through Burmah under the Woo dynasty, and *coasted* India (A.D. 222 to 280)—probably ascended the Ganges. The King of India was astonished at the appearance of these people by sea.

6. In the fifth year of the Emperor Wang te, A.D. 428, the King of Kapila (Oude), the beloved of the moon, sent diamonds and parrots, &c.

7. Under Ming te, A.D. 466, an ambassador from India (he received the rank of Lieut.-General) came to offer tribute.

8. In the eighteenth year of the Yuen kea (A.D. 441) the King of Soo mo lo (of India) sent the products of his country.

9. Under Heaou woo (A.D. 455), the King of Ghandara (Kandahar?) sent a superior officer with gold and precious vases.

10. Under Fei te, A.D. 472, the kingdom of Pho be sent an ambassador to offer tribute. *All these kingdoms were Buddhist.*

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11. Under the dynasty of Leang (A.D. 502), the King of India, named Keu to, sent his great officer, Choo lo ta, with vases of crystal, talismans, &c.

12. Under Seuan woo, A.D. 500 to 516, (*South* India) sent a present of *horses* of a fine breed. The ambassador mentioned the products of India, and stated that it carried on a trade with the *Roman Empire* and *Syria*.—*The writing is on leaves of trees.*

13. The Emperor Yaung te (A.D. 605 to 616) sent a person, but he did not get beyond Tibet.

14. Under the Tang dynasty, in the years Woo teh (A.D. 618 to 627), there were great troubles in India; the King (Siladitya?) fought great battles.

15. The Chinese Buddhist priest, Huen chwang, who writes his travels, arrived in India at this period, and had audience of Siladitya.

16. Ambassadors from the King of Magadha (Behar) arrived in China A.D. 642, with a present of *books*.

17. The Emperor Tae-tsung, A.D. 648, sent a superior officer to (She lo ye to) Siladitya (King of Magadha); but before the arrival of the ambassador Siladitya was dead, and his throne usurped by his minister. The ambassador was attacked and plundered. He retired to *Tibet, which, together with Nepal, were under China*,—collected a force, Nepal furnishing 7000 cavalry, with which he resented the insults he had received, took the usurper prisoner, and carried him to China.

The Chinese found the kingdoms of the Brahmans, in A.D. 648, to lie in the Punjab—Pan-cha-fa.

18. Under Kaou tsung, A.D. 650 to 684, a man of the atheistical sect of Lokayata, from the mouths of the Ganges, came to offer homage.

19. In the third of the years Keen-fung, A.D. 667, the five Indias sent ambassadors to the Emperor.

20. In the years Kae-yuen, A.D. 713 to 742, an ambassador from Central India made three attempts to reach China, and arrived the third time. He applied for aid against the Ta sha (Arabs!) and the Too-fan (Tibetans). The Emperor Heuen tsung (A.D. 713 to 756) conferred upon him the rank of General-in-Chief.

21. Northern India also sent an embassy.

22. The third of the years Kwang-shun, A.D. 953, a priest of Buddha, from Western India, accompanied by many other Buddhist priests, representing sixteen tribes or nations of India, brought tribute, amongst other things, horses.

23. A Chinese Buddhist priest returned from India after a second residence of twelve years there. He brought with him part of the body of Buddha (relics), and an abundance of books. The Emperor Tae tsoo, who reigned A.D. 950 to 953, summoned him to his presence, and inquired about the products of India.

24. A Buddhist priest of India, about A.D. 969, brought *Sanscrit* books, and envoys continued to bring them.

25. At this time the son of the King of Eastern India came to China.

26. A Buddhist priest, Kwang-yuen, returned from India, A.D. 983, bringing a letter from Moo-se-nang, (probably Mahdu Sinha, a king of

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Bengal, mentioned in the Ayeen Akberi,) also images of Sakya (Buddha) and relics of his body.

27. A.D. 983, another Buddhist priest came from India with books.

28. A.D. 984 to 988, a Buddhist priest returned from the countries of Western Asia with books. There was also a *Brahman* priest, named Yung-she, and a *Persian* infidel, who came together to the capital. The Brahman said that his country was called Le; that the King's family name was Ya-lo-woo-tee; that he was a worshipper of Buddha; and that he distributed gifts to the poor from the temple of Buddha.

29. A.D. 996, Buddhist priests arrive in ships!

30. A.D. 1025 to 1031, some Buddhist priests of Western India brought sacred books.

31. A.D. 1036, nine Buddhist priests came from India with bones of Buddha, sacred books, and teeth, statues, &c., of Boddhisatwas.

The preceding chronological account of the relations between China and India has also the following notice:—

"At the close of the year Kan yuen (about A.D. 756) the bank of the river Ganges gave way, and disappeared."

In the Pandu dynasty of Indaprestha, (Delhi,) the city of Hastinapur, then under King Nemi, was washed away. Nemi appears the fourth prince after Latanika, placed by Todd 1100 B.C., and therefore may be considered, by the same calculation, about 1020 B.C. It is not at all improbable the fact, with a fabulous Hindu date of 1020 B.C., may be the identical event recorded by the Chinese, A.D. 756, and a useful correction may thus be applied to the Pandu Table.

Volume.	Page.	Location of Inscription.	Language of Inscriptions.	Date.	Character used in Inscriptions.	Religion; or Divinities or Sages mentioned.	Kings or Princes mentioned.	REMARKS.
4	135 181 211 713	On images of Buddha from the temple of Sarnath, at Benares, and on an image from Bakhra, in Tirhut.	Sanskrit, but not pure.	After A.D. 800, and that of Sarnath, probably of the eleventh century.	More modern than Kanouj Nagari; approaching the modern character.	Buddhist. Tathagata. Sramanas. Buddha.	None.....	These inscriptions upon images of Buddha, although in a comparatively modern form of the Deva Nagari, the Brahmans of Benares could not read. They contain the quaint compendium of Buddhist doctrines, commencing with Ye dharmá hetu prabhavá, &c.; but the Sanskrit text of the moral maxim has not been found in the Tibetan Pragna Paramata. These are the first Buddhist inscriptions in Sanskrit met with, and they are most remarkable, showing at their late date that Sanskrit was still imperfect! The mounds and remains near Bakhra testify to a former Buddhist city. From copper-plate inscriptions found near Sarnath it is conjectured the Buddhist temple was erected by the sons of Bhupala, a rajah of Gaur, in the eleventh century. The image and inscription would probably be of the same date; and the character of the inscription corresponds to that date.
4	129 266	Kesariah mound, 20 miles north of Bakhra, in sight of the Gandak River.	Sanskrit.....	About the date of the Bakhra image inscription.	Same as Sarnath and Bakhra character.	Brahmanical. The Avatars. The Sukta hymn of the Rig Veda mentioned, but no invocation or Hindu gods named.	Chandradatta, son of Suryadatta.	The inscription is imperfect, but Dr. Mill says that the ever-living Chandradatta was born on the Sunday appropriated to the reading of the Sukta by his father Suryadatta. The Sukta has for one of its verses the holy "*Gayatri.*"
4	367	The mountain temple of Harsha of Shekavati.	Grammatical Sanskrit, but with some unusual terms, and some inexplicable words.	Erected A.D. 961, finished A.D. 973.	More modern than that of the Kanouj Devanagari, or Allahabad inscription, No. 2.	Mythology of the Puranas. Siva. The Pramathes. Munies, and Yaties, are called immortal. Indra, Kama, Nandi. The Naga's Rama. Balarama. Vishnu. Krishna Sambhu.	Gavaka, of the Chauhan family, A.D. 800. Chandra Raja, his son, A.D. 830. Guvaka, his son, A.D. 860. Chandra, his son, A.D. 890. Vakpata, his son, A.D. 920. Sinha Raja, who appears to have lost his kingdom of Shakavatis A.D. 961. Vigraha Raja of the Solar race, not related to	The inscription is at a temple of the Linga (Siva), and Dr. Mill says the "character furnishes a definite standard from which the ages of other monuments, of similar or more remotely resembling characters, may be inferred with tolerable accuracy." The temple was built to commemorate the destruction of the *Asura*, or demon Tripura, who had expelled Indra and the gods from heaven; and, on the mountain, Siva was felicitated by the gods, whence the name Harsha (joy). The princes are but donors and benefactors; the Brahmans are represented as the real builders; their spiritual genealogy is

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							Sinha Raja, and probably of Kanouj.	traced; one of them is made an incarnation of Nandi, similar in splendour to the great deity himself, and they are called "Lords of the Earth."
					Visvakarma. The portico of the temple is graced with the presence of *Gaya*, the holy *Asura*. Gayatri is called the wife of Brahma.		Vakpata appears to have had a hostile opponent, Tantra Pala, who he defeated; his younger brother was Durlabha. A Jaya Sri Raja gives a village.	India is called *Bharata* in the inscriptions. Siva is identified with his phallic emblem, and he is, also, called the *eight-formed* one. The sandal-wood of Malabar mentioned. Nudity, clotted hair, and ashes, characterize the Brahman teachers. The revenues of numerous villages are given for the support of the temple. It is singular that Ganapati, the son of Siva, is not mentioned; seeming to indicate that his worship was not yet established.
							Generals.	These are grants of land to Brahmans priests. Mr. Wathen, like Mr. Prinsep, refers the modern Deva Nagari, through various changes, which he shows in inscriptions of different ages, to the old Pali, Lat, or Column character. The era used in the inscription is the Valabhi era, corresponding to the 375th of Vikramaditya, or A.D. 319. Balabhi, or Balhara, is represented to have been destroyed under Siladitya 3rd, A.D. 524, by a Bactro-Indian army; it is supposed to be the Byzantium of Ptolemy. In the first inscription, Dhruva Sena is a follower of Bhagavata, and Dharapattah of the sun; all the rest worship Siva. The Brahmans are not spoken of with any respect or veneration, as the granthasmphyasy, I give to such and such a Brahman. Very considerable doubt exists with respect to the accuracy of the date of the inscriptions. The character corresponds to that of the eighth century. When Hiuan thsang was at Balabhi in the seventh century, there were 100 Buddhist monasteries, and 6000 Buddhist priests; and the king, although a Kshatriya, was a Buddhist.
							Bhatarka.	
							Dhara Sena.	
							Maharajas.	
					No invocation to the gods Maheswara, Menu, Dhurma Raja, or Yudhisthira, Bhagavata (or Vishnu), Surya, Svara (or Cupid), Kurvera, Ganga, Mahabharata, is quoted.		Drona Sinha.	
							Dhruva Sena 1st.	
							Dharapattah.	
							Griha Sena.	
							Sridhara Sena 1st.	
							Siladitya 1st.	
							Charagriha 1st.	
							Sridhara Sena 2nd.	
							Dhruva Sena 2nd.	
							Sridhara Sena 3rd.	
							Siladitya 2nd.	
							Two Princes.	
							Charagriha 2nd.	
							Siladitya 3rd.	
							Siladitya Musalla.	
							Devaka, father of Devana, father of Chandragana, elder brother of Swami Raja.	
4	481	Balabhi, in Gujarat. Copper plates.	Not mentioned.		A.D. 328?	Resembles Dr. Wilkins' Gaya inscriptions of eleventh century, but nearer Kanouj Nagari of eighth.		Opens with a salutation to Ganapati. Sambhu, Bhagavati (the goddess Anna Purna Devi).
"					A.D. 569?			
"		Sidhapura. Copper plates; much defaced.						
5	841	Stone slab in the fort of Chunar, near Benares.	Sanskrit, and no mention of it being ungrammatical.		A.D. 1333	Modern Deva Nagari, very slightly altered.		The inscription records the attacks on the fort of Chunar by Mahommed Shah Emperor of Delhi, defended by Swami, a Raja of Benares, who, together with his progenitors, are unknown in history. The inscription is valuable, as showing

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								the state of the Deva Nagari in the fourteenth century. The invocation to Ganapati shows that his worship was now established, which probably was not the case at the time of the Harsha inscription.
5	348 556	Caves at Adjunta	Pali?	Not mentioned ..	One resembling Balibhi, and one in the Seoni parallelogram-headed character, which is of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.	Buddhist	None; but the sculptures and paintings evidently represent royal personages and royal doings.	The first is one of the numerous inscriptions in the Buddhist caves at Adjunta, and is of interest from the character resembling that of Wathen's Balibhi inscription, which, with others, show the gradations of the character upwards into antiquity. The caves are remarkable for their paintings as well as sculpture. Capt. Grealey says, amongst the paintings there are three *Chinese figures!*
5	377	Piplianagar in Bhopal, on copper plates.	Sanskrit	A.D. 1210	Deva Nagari, little altered.	Instead of the usual Hindu invocation, it is to Virtue. The snake Shesha, Parasurama, Rama, Sita, Yudhishthira, Bhima, Kansa, Indra, Saraswati, Sambhu.	Raja Bhoja Deva. Son, Udayaditya. Naravarma. Yashovarma, 1137, A.D. Ajayavarma, 1143, A.D. Vindhayavarma. Son, Amushyavarma. Subhatavarma. Son, Arjuna, living.	This inscription was communicated by Mr. L. Wilkinson. It gives away the revenues of a village to a Brahman family by the young Raja Arjuna. It is remarkable for the frequent reference to the heroes of the poems, and the absence of the usual reverential notices of the now popular Hindu gods. Fire-arms in the thirteenth century could not have been used, for the successes in war of the princes are owing to flights of arrows. Subhatavarma appears to have destroyed Somnatan in Gujarat. The term Pergannah being used, the Mahomedans must have previously arranged the districts. The capital of the Princes was Mandu, or Oujein.
5	482	Asirgarh, a fort in Kandesh, on a seal.	Sanskrit, but not quite grammatical.	Tenth or eleventh century, by the character.	Deva Nagari, resembling the Gaya, or Gaur, approaching Allahabad No. 2.	There is not any invocation, or any mention of gods, but only munis; but there is a bull on the seal, and two men, one with a sceptre and axe, and the other with umbrella and axe.	*The great Kings*— Hari Varma. Son, Aditya Varma. Do. Isvara Varma. Do. Sinha Varma. Do. Kharva Varma, who is called King of Kings.	Mention is made that the Rajas Aditya Varma and Isvara Varma were married to the eldest daughters of the *Gupta race*, which may be that of the Allahabad inscriptions and Kanouj coins. If so, the Deva Nagari of the inscription would confirm the belief of the Guptas being of the ninth and tenth centuries. The Rajas were probably Princes of Kandesh.
5	347	Barahat and Gopesvara in Garh-	Semi-barbarous Sanskrit.	Not mentioned ..	The oldest inscriptions ap-	No religious invocation beyond Svasti	Names not made out in the old in-	These tridents with their inscriptions are instructive: they are precisely of the

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	495	wal, upon two bronze tridents, respectively twenty-one and sixteen feet high.							form of the trident on the Indo-Scythic coins, with the axe attached to the shaft: the oldest inscriptions—which, however, from the form of the Deva Nagari, cannot be before the seventh century—are in *relief* upon the shaft, and make no mention of Mahadeva or Hinduism; but the more recent are *cut into* the trident, which must have been taken down to admit of the incision. In one of these is the *Aum* and the name of Mahadeva, which had no association originally with the tridents. These facts strengthen the inference that the trident on the coins has nothing to do with Hinduism.
5	554	Harbureni, and other places, in Ceylon: numerous rock inscriptions.	Pali	From 104 B.C. to twelfth century.	From the Lât to the modern Tamul character.	Buddhist	Not stated	Sri, and no mention of *Hindu gods whatever*. In the more *recent* inscription on the Gopesvara trident, the invocation is *Aum* Svasti, and the spot is called sacred to Mahadeva.	Sir Wilmot Horton says, there are thousands of these inscriptions in Ceylon, and they exhibit the Deva Nagari in all its transitions. The inscriptions would appear to be much defaced, and little is yet made of them.
5	556	Adjunta caves in Kandesh: several inscriptions.	Pali	Before the eighth century, A.D.	Intermediate, between the Lât and Allahabad No. 2.	Buddhist, one of the inscriptions commencing with the formula, "Ye dharma."	Not stated		These inscriptions appear to be of different ages, from variations in the character; but, owing to mutilations, Mr. Prinsep has done little with them. One of them is in the Seoni parallelogram-headed characters. It is very curious, that the figures of Caxtons are represented in the fresco paintings in the caves. The paintings are admirable for their spirit and variety of subjects.
5	660	Nagarjuna cave, Buddha-Gaya: numerous inscriptions.	Sanskrit; but requiring the aid of a Pali scholar to translate it.	Samvat 73 or 74 of the Gopala or Bhupala dynasty of Gaur, corresponding to 1187 A.D., or 1140	Gaur alphabet, the immediate parent of the modern Bengali, and like the Harsha.	Sanction to Buddhism, *Mahara Sudasa*, Sahasrapada, the treasurer of the Raja, is called a *Dasasilasila Bodhisatva*.	Asoka Chandra Deva; his brother, Dasaratha Kumara, and Sri Mat Lakshmana. Seva Deva.		This inscription is of considerable importance, as, by its era of 73, it confirms Mr. Colebroke's correction by a thousand years of Dr. Wilkins's date of the Gaya inscription translated by the latter. It is of great importance, also, as it distinctly shows the Buddhist impression in those days of what Nibutti or Nirvana meant, namely—as expressed in the inscription—"*the absorption of his* (the writer's) *soul in the Supreme Being*," disposing of the question of Buddhist atheism. The inscription shows that the Buddhists had still a hold in India in the twelfth century. It was recorded by Sahasrapada, the treasurer of the Raja Dasaratha Kumara. The Princes are not met with in Hindu history.

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5	657	Nagarjuna, at Gaya.	Sanskrit	Eleventh century?	Gaur	Buddhist	Yagna Varma, and his grandson Ananta Varma.	The cave called Nagarjuna, after a celebrated Buddhist patriarch, is said in the inscription to have been excavated by Ananta Varma.
	,,	On images of Buddha at Gaya.	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated.....	Buddhist	Raja Vijyabhadra ..	By the inscriptions on the images, one of them was raised by the Raja Vijyabhadra, and the other by Jaga Sen and Kumara Sen, sons of Punyabhadra, private persons. The Brahmans *now* call a figure of Buddha—of course a *male*—and with the Buddhist text "*Ye dharma hetu*," &c., upon it, the Hindu *goddess* Saraswati!!
	,,	On a stone at Buddha-Gaya.	Sanskrit	Samvat 1005, or A.D. 948.	Allahabad No. 2..	Buddhist	Not stated	The inscription is said, by Dr. Wilkins, to purport that the *temple* of Buddha, at Buddha-Gaya, was *built* by Amara Deva, the author of the Amara Kosha; but it must mean *restored*, as it was seen before Amara Deva's time by Fa-hian.
		On a stone at Buddha Gaya.	Burmese	A.D. 1305	Pali	Buddhist	The Burmese King is mentioned.	The Burmese inscription says the Chaitya, or temple, was first built by Asoko, 218 years after Buddha, or B.C. 325; often restored, and finally restored by the Burmese Envoys, A.D. 1305.
5 6	661 1	Bhitari Lât, or Pillar, Ghazipur.	Not pure Sanskrit, nor easily intelligible.	Subsequent to Allahabad No. 2; and Dr. Mill says not earlier than Charlemagne in Europe, A.D. 800, if the Guptas be those of the Puranas. Moreover, the mention of the sectarial worship of the Bhagavata and Tantras makes the date comparatively modern.	Same as Allahabad No. 2, or Kanouj Nagari, with numerous misspellings.	No invocation. Indra, Varuna, Yama, Krishna, Siva, Sita, the Tantras, Devaki, the mother of Krishna, Rudra; but loads of forest timber are collected for the completion of sacrifices for Indra, Varuna, and Yama only; and not for Siva or Vishnu. These last, therefore, may have had honour, but not sacrifice.	The great King, Gupta. His son, do., Ghatot Kacha. Do., King of Kings, Chandra Gupta. Do., King of Kings, Samudra Gupta. Do., do., Chandra Gupta 2nd. Do., do., Cumara Gupta. Do. Skanda Gupta. A minor, Mahendra Gupta?	This inscription, like that of Allahabad, No. 2, is intruded on a Buddhist column, and is subsequent to it, as it carries on the Gupta family from Samudra to the boy Mahendra. Chandra Gupta 2nd, and Kumara Gupta followed Vishnu worship, but Skanda Gupta attached himself to the opposite doctrines, *now so prevalent*, of the mysterious and sanguinary Tantras. Skanda Gupta was dispossessed of his kingdom, *for a time*, by a treacherous minister. This was the case when the Chinese traveller, Hiuan theang reached Behar, in the seventh century, and he may refer to the event mentioned in the inscription; but he calls the King by a name construed to be Siladitya, and no king of this name reigned in Behar; nor nearer than in

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								...ceeded the Buddhist Kings of Behar. The absence of the insertion of the Tantras in the Allahabad inscription, and their insertion here, would seem to indicate the period of the origin of this worship.
5	726	Stone slab in the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.	Not Sanskrit; or so ungrammatical as to be scarcely intelligible.	No date, but after eleventh century, from the character.	Deva Nagari of the Harsha inscription nearly.	Invocation to Krishna, as son of Vasu Deva Narayana, as Lord of Lords and Creator. Vedas. Vishnu.	None mentioned ..	The inscription defines the boundaries of lands: apparently belonging to a temple of Vishnu. The inscription is only valuable as showing the variation in the form of the letters kh, gh, and a.
5	727	Seoni, in the Nerbudda or Nermada district, on five copper-plates.	Questionable Sanskrit, often unintelligible.	Eighteenth year of Pravara dharman rajya Samvat. A local era; after Mahendra Gupta of Kanouj.	Allahabad No. 2, with an *open parallelogram* at the head of each letter.	No invocation. Bhairava, Siva linga, Mahesvara, Yudhisthira, Vishnu, Sama Veda, Vyas.	*Rajas.* Pravara Sena. Sri Rudra Sena. Prithivi Sena. Rudra Sena 2nd. Pravara Sena 2nd.	None of the princes are known in history; but the inscription adds another Gupta (Deva), who is called "Paramount Sovereign," and whose daughter was the mother of Rudra Sena 2nd. The Deva Nagari is curious, having an open parallelogram at the head of each letter. The Vickramditya era not used in this; nor commonly in early inscriptions. Gives a village to a Brahman, but without any eulogy of Brahmans. *Begar*, or forced labour, is mentioned. Similar Deva Nagari is met with at Chattisgash.
5	731	Slab in the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.	Sanscrit, but scarcely intelligible.	Samvat 1093, or A.D. 1035.	Deva Nagari, of Sarnáth inscriptions.	Not mentioned	The great King Yaso Pala.	Yaso Pala, as King of Delhi, issues orders to his officers, but for what purpose is not made out.
5	340	On a slab at Wara, in the Konkun, Bombay.	Not mentioned	None.....	Saurashtra coins, and *long* tailed Deva Nagari.	No gods mentioned, but there is a trisula on the slab.	None.....	The inscription is a fragment, and cannot be fully translated; but Mr. Prinsep says it may be as old as the Gujarat coins with Greek heads upon them. The trisul, without the mention of Hindu gods, would seem to indicate that it is not necessarily an exclusive emblem of Siva.
6	88	Slab in the Museum of the Asiatic Society, Bengal; from Bhubaneshwar, Orissa.	Grammatical Sanskrit, with double meanings.	Samvat 32 of the Gaur era. A.D. 1174?	Gaur, or Harsha.	Invocation "Om." Vasu Deva, Krishna, Hari, Kamala, Saraswati, Bhava, Brahma, and Siva. Mahasa, Garuda, Shaktis, Lakshmi. Three Vedas only named.	Private family; one of whom was minister to a Raja Harivarma Deva. The Rajahs of Banga and Gaur.	This inscription dedicates a stone image of Vishnu, and is in praise of a Brahman, and his ancestors, for building a temple, and is full of Puranic fable. One of the worthy Brahmans, Bhava Deva, gave 100 damsels, "bright eyed," to a temple. The sea of Buddhism is spoken of, and Bhava Deva, the Brahman, as equal to the Omniscient, and skilful at annihilating the opinion of heretics.

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Volume.	Page.	Location of Inscription.	Language of Inscriptions.	Date.	Character used in Inscriptions.	Religion; or Divinities or Sages mentioned.	Kings or Princes mentioned.	REMARKS.
6	218	From the ruins of a magnificent Buddhist Chaitya at Amaravati (Oomrawti) in Berar. Museum of A. S. B., in manuscript.	Sanskrit, but neither pure nor of correct orthography.	Not mentioned, but of the transition period to modern Deva Nagari. A.D. 600, to A.D. 1000.	Ceylon, Seoni, and Andhra, passing to florid Southern Indian, and has much resemblance to that of some of the rock inscriptions at Mahabalipur.	Buddhism is called the kingdom-preserving and the very excellent religion of the people, which it is hoped will endure for ever.	Not made out	The inscription, which is imperfect, refers to the foundation and endowment of some Buddhist institution. It says, "place is not to be given to the disputer of Buddhism;" nevertheless praises those who relieve the guest and the Brahman, and considers injuries to the gods and Brahmans as great sins!! At the date of the inscription, therefore, there was not any hostility between Buddhists and Brahmans.
6	278	Slab in Museum A. S. B., from Bhabaneswar. Companion slab of the one before noticed, from the same place.	Polished Sanskrit, and exceedingly inflated.	A.D. 1174 is the date of Aniyanka Bhima's ascent of the throne, in the annals of Orissa.	Harsha, or Shekwati, almost modern Deva Nagari.	Salutation to Siva, and *Gautama* is called the Chief of Sages. Indra, Vishnu, Brahma, Rama, Kamadeva, Ananta.	Aniyanka Bhima ..	This prince was celebrated in Orissa, and endowed Jagannatha. He had the misfortune to kill a Brahman, and raised numerous temples in expiation of his offence, at one of which was the slab; and this slab led to the identification of the preceding at Bhabaneswar; but that inscription was Vaishnava, this Saiva.
6	454	Sanchi, near Bhilsa-Bhopal, on the Bhuddhist temple gateway.	Sanskrit prose..	Samvat 403, or 1009 or 18? The same, Samvat 18, is mentioned in the inscription at Brahmeswara, but the character is of the tenth century.	Evidently later than Allahabad No. 2.	Buddhist. The inscription is addressed to the Sramanes, or Buddhist priests, and salutation is offered to the *eternal Gods and Goddesses.*	The great Emperor Chandra Gupta, called by his subjects Deva Raja or Indra. Possibly Chandra Gupta, 2nd of the Bhitari column inscription. But he must have deserted the religion of his family.	The inscription records a *money* contribution, the coin being called "*Dinar*," and a grant of land by the great Emperor Chandra Gupta, for the embellishing the chaitya and the support of five Buddhist priests for ever, and it records the remarkable fact of the *purchase* of the ground by the Emperor for the purpose at the *legal rate*. It is uncertain whether the Samvat in the inscription is that of Vikramditya; it is much more likely to be a Buddhist family era. It is said, "*Whoso shall destroy the structure, his sin shall be as great, yea five times as great, as that of the murder of a Brahman.*" So that the Brahman was at a discount of five hundred per cent. compared with the Buddhist chaitya! From the *corruption* indicated by the salutation to the Eternal Gods and Goddesses, and the alphabet used, the inscription is probably not older than the eighth century.

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6	459	Second inscription, ditto, ditto, on the Bhuddhist temple at Sanchi.	Ditto	Numerals unintelligible.	Ditto	Buddhist. Mentions the holy monastery of Kakunada Sphota; and the four Buddhas are thrice named; and images of four Buddhas are in niches.	Not mentioned ...	This inscription records that a female devotee, Hariswamini, to prevent begging, caused an almshouse to be erected, and money was given for the lamps of the *four Buddhas*; so that, at this period, as *Fa hian* states, more than *one Buddha was worshipped*. The numerals of the date are not understood.
6	461	Inscriptions 3 to 25, on the Bhuddist temple at Sanchi.	Old Pali	Ditto, *but* before the fifth century.	Varying from Lât to Allahabad No. 2, or Gaya.	Gifts to the chaitya recorded.	Not mentioned	All the inscriptions are in the character before the Allahabad No. 2, or Gaya, therefore before the eighth century, and they are of different ages: they record small gifts by Buddhists to the chaitya—particularly by different *communities of Buddhists from Ougein*; and there is a regular progression in the form of the letters, from the simple outline to the more embellished type of the second alphabet of Allahabad.
6	566 to 609 and 791	Column at Delhi, Allahabad. Mattiah, Radhiah	Pali, but of an old character, between Pali and Sanskrit, possibly the original of both. The phraseology simple and straightforward, opposed to Sanskr.t hyperbolical eulogy and extravagant exaggeration.	By the Mahawanso, the fourteenth year of Asoko's reign corresponds to the 232nd year after the death of Buddha, and therefore to B.C. 311, and the inscription being in the 27th year of his reign, the date is B C. 298. The Dipawanso, says Asoko, was inaugurated 218 years after the death of Sakya, therefore B.C. 325.	Lât, or oldest form of Deva Nagari, which latter is deducible from it, letter by letter, through successive ages, excepting the new or additional Sanskrit letters.	Buddhist. Of this there can be no doubt, from the injunctions to teach "Dharma" under the sacred tree, and *turning the wheel of the law*, the mention of the ascetic disciples; certain dogmas, and the observance of the three holy days, monthly, mentioned by Fa hian, preachings, &c., and Babhana (Brahmans) are to be converted, and kindness and condescension shown to Brahmans and Sramans.	Piyadasi, or Asoko, Emperor of all India, identified as Asoko by the Hon. Mr. Turnour, from the Pali Dipawanso, which states that he was the grandson of Chandagutto, and viceroy of Ougein.—J. A. S. B., vol. 6, p. 791.	The inscriptions are the same on all the columns. Five hundred years ago, the author of the Hafta Klim, Mahumed Amin, said, the character was unintelligible to the learned of *all religions*. No images of Buddha, no temples or relics, mentioned. But *Dhamma* (the doctrine) is to be taught *under the* sacred *tree*. The chief object is the interdict of the slaughter or destruction of any living creature, and the abolishment of torture in punishments, and the punishment of death for criminals, and the exempting animals from work on the stated days. But the days, 8th, 14th, and 15th of the moon, do not quite accord with modern Buddhist practices. The name of Buddha, Gotama, or Sakya Muni, not mentioned; but the expression, Sukatam Kachhato, which Mr. Prinsep supposes is intended for Sugatam Gachhato, or Sugato (well come) a name of Buddha; and the inscriptions have frequent references to the acts to be done under the holy fig-tree, Buddha's Ficus Indica. The inscription opens in the twenty-seventh year of the King, Devanampiya Piyadasi's anointment. Asoko distinctly says, the object of his

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								doctrines is to increase the mercy and charity, the truth and purity, the kindness and *honesty*, of the world. The King, says he, prays for those of every creed that they, with him, may attain *eternal salvation*. This is not atheism.
6	576	The above stone pillar at Delhi.	Sanskrit	Samvat 1220, or A.D. 1163.	Almost modern Deva Nagari.	Hindu	Vesala Deva.....	This inscription was cut upon one of the old lats, or Buddhist columns, to record Vesala's victories, but not against the Buddhists, because they were gone.
6	664	Slab from Kurgoada, in Canara.	Canarese, but invocation Sanskrit.	Salivahana 909. A.D. 987: and there is an era of the family Machmal, 710, corresponding to the above.	Hala Canara	Invocation to Siva as Swayam bhunath Parbhate. Sambhu.	Machmal Deva and his son Bachwan.	The inscription is remarkable, adverting to the date, for the terms "suppressor of the pride of the *Daityas*," applied to Sambhu (Siva), having relation apparently to the extermination of the Buddhists, not long previously, by the Saivas. The inscription gives lands to a temple of Sambhu, and houses to the *native priesthood*. Not a word about Brahmans, and the mention of "native priesthood" would seem to confirm the belief of the modern introduction of the Brahmans into Southern India.
6	665	Fort of Kalinjar in Bundlekund, on a black marble slab.	Sanskrit	A.D. 1246?	Peculiar elongated and narrow Deva Nagari, not unlike Seoni, or the Lower Kanouj coins.	Invocation to Siva. Sambhu Parbati Ganga. Puranic imagery.	Parmalik, or the Milleki Rajas of the Mussulman historians.	The inscription is mutilated. It was from a temple of Mahadeva. The Raja was defeated by the Delhi monarch, Mahmoud bin Abtamsh, A.D. 1246.
6	668	Gumsar Cuttack, on copper plate.	Mixture of Sanskrit, Uriya, and Tamil.	Nalguili era Samvat 1; unknown, but the writing is *after* the tenth century.	Gaur or Bhabaneswar of tenth century.	Invocation to Hara. Kama, Ganga, Sesnag. The Yajur Veda and the Raja Dharma Sastra mentioned.	Kalyana Kulasa of the Bhanjamalla family, or Sri Netri Bhanja, grandson of Shara Bhanja Deva, son of Rana Bhanja.	This inscription gives a village to a Brahman, resembling the god of the Bhanja mountain. It concludes with the usual quotation from the Dharma Sastra, that he who disturbs the grant, and all his ancestors, shall become loathsome maggots in *dung*.
6	671	Buddha Gaya. Vaulted cavern, or Nágárjuni. Other inscriptions twenty-three.	Sanskrit	After Allahabad No. 2, and of the ninth or tenth century.	Gaya; and differs slightly from the Gujarat alphabet of Mr. Wathen, having many compound letters, and	Devi. Mahishasura. The image of Katyayani, is placed in this cavern of the Vindhya mountains, so that this	Yajna Varma. Sardula Varma. Ananta Varma.	This is the inscription translated by Dr. Wilkins, but subsequently more literally done by a boy educated in the Sanskrit College at Calcutta. The inscription gives the village of Dandi to Devi; but there is not a word about Brahmans,

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Inscrip. No. I.						
Do. 15, do. do...	Sanskrit	Do.....	Is therefore more modern than it.	Do.....	Sardula Varma	nor Puranic fables, unless the word *Mahishasura* implies it.
Do. 16 and 17...	Do	Do.....		No gods mentioned.	Krishna.	These inscriptions, in the same character as the preceding, only contain praises of the Varma princes, who Mr. J. Prinsep thinks were of the Gupta family. They are all in the Buddha cave of Nagarjuna.
Do. 2 and 3.....	Old Pali	B.C. 280 to B.C. 247.	Old Lát.....	Buddhist Buddha. Ascetics mentioned for whose use the cave was formed.	Son of Ananta Varma. The beloved of the gods, Dasalathana, in Pali. Dasaratha, in Sanskrit.	The title of Raja not applied, but the terms are "immediately upon his receiving *regal* anointment." These inscriptions are of great moment. In the Puranic prophecy Dasaratha is placed next but one below Asoka, and the character and language make him nearly the contemporary of Agathocles in Bactria and Mahasena Suratissa in Ceylon. The inscriptions record that the *Brahmans* guri's cave and the milk-maid's cave were excavated by the Buddhist ascetics, and devoted to them in perpetuity by Dasaratha, who, like Asoka, is called "Beloved of Heaven." The *Maiva* of the Sunga family are identified from these caves, and from coins.
Do. 4, 5, 6, &c., &c., including all the remaining to No. 29.	Various.	Various.....	Various, but none of them Lát.	Various.....	None mentioned....	The remaining inscriptions are all short, and in every variety of the Deva Nagari, from Allahabad No. 2 to modern Deva Nagari, and notice the Buddhist bo-tree or Hindu images subsequently introduced.
An inscription on a seal. Sri Vati (or Bhatt) Khudda, from Ougein.	Sanskrit	None.....	Saurashtra legend coins.	Not mentioned.....	Sri Vati (or Bhatti) Khudda, upon a seal from Ougein.	
Bareilly; village of Illahabas. At the ancient village of Maguta, district of Bhushana, on a stone slab.	Sanskrit verse; the language and poetry superior to anything of previous date, seen by the Society's Pandit, Kamalakanta.	Samvat 1049; A.D. 992.	In the inscription it is called the *Kaida*, and is midway between the Deva Nagari and the Gauri. Some of the vowel inflections wanting.	Brahmanical. Ananta, Ravana, Lakshmi, Indra, Rama, Siva, Ganga, Iswara, Madhu, and Sambhu Parbati Devi. The Vedantas mentioned.	The founder, Chyavan a Maharishi. Son Viravarma. Son Marschanda Pratapa. Brother Malhana. Son Lalla.	The inscription dedicates a temple to Siva and Parbati by Lalla, whose brothers are all of the royal race of Chhindu. The inscription inflated and highly poetic, and the language polished; nevertheless, there are variations in spelling, and inflections from modern Sanskrit. The inscription was found at a temple in the jungle, and there were the appearance of the ruins of a town about. A gift of villages and trees to Brahmans. None of the names occur in Hindu works, although the petty princes are called masters of the world.

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6	869	Multaye; Baitool, near the source of the Tapti river. Copper-plate grants.	Sanskrit verse, with some difference from modern spelling.	Mr. Ommaney says A.D. 1573; Mr. Prinsep says A.D. 709 or 909; but the character is rather that of 909.	After the Allahabad No. 2 and Gujarati.	No invocation, but simply Svasti. Vyasa; and the donor pronounces himself a firm Brahmanist, and a firm Bhagavata, or disciple of Vishnu.	Sri Durga Raja. Son Govinda Raja. Son Maswamika Raja. Son Sri Nanda Raja. Sri Yuddhasura.	The Raja Yuddhasura, of Rahtore Rajput origin, gives a village to Brahmans; but the inscription is remarkable for the absence of the display of Puranic gods and goddesses. The usual threat about resuming lands is quoted from the Vedas. The inscription is otherwise curious for using the era of the Buddhist Salivahana. None of the princes are in the lists of the Garha Mandala Rajas.
6	879	Hund, near Attock, on the Indus, on marble slab.	Sanskrit, mixed with Hindi.	Seventh or eighth century probably, or later.	Deva Nagari in transitu.	Parbati Deva. The husband of Parbati.	Not made out.....	Too mutilated to be useful. Speaks of the chief having *bland speech* for superiors and Brahmans, and talks of his kingly and *priestly* rule. The flesh-eating Turushcas (Turks) mentioned.
6	881	Kalinjar, in Bundelkund. Stone slab in the Museum of the Asiatic Society.	Sanskrit verse, but language and poetry of low estimate.	A.D. 1288; Samvat 1345.	Bundelkund Deva Nagari.	Deva as Vishnu, Lakshmi, and all the Avatars of Vishnu, Ganapati, Rama, and the Rakshas. Kashyapa is called the *first* expounder of the Vedas.	Family names of a Chief, the last of whom, Nanda, married a daughter of the King of Ougein.	The inscription is full of poetical and laboured images, but the Sanskrit is bad; and Kamalakasta, who translated it with Mr. J. Prinsep, protested against Mr. Prinsep retaining the original errors of the text. The inscription was recorded to dedicate an image of Vishnu.
6	970 to 980	Allahabad column. Inscription 2.	Not pure Sanskrit; seventy lines metrical, the rest prose.	Seventh or eighth century.	Allahabad, or Gaya.	Five lines wanting. Dhanada (Kuvera), Varuna, Indra and Antaka (Yama) Vrihaspati, Tumburu Narada. The Ganges coming from the hair of the Lord of Men (Siva) noticed. The Shastras. So far from any of the kings being made to worship Hindu gods, Samudra Gupta is said to put to shame Indra Yama, Kuvera, and Varuna.	Sri Gupta. Son Sri Ghatot Kacha. Son Chandra Gupta. Son Samudra Gupta. Son Chandra Gupta, the second; living.	This is the last *revised* reading of new impressions by Mr. J. Prinsep. The column was raised again by the decan of Chandra Gupta 2nd, probably. A curious thing in the inscription is the use of ka, the prototype of the modern positive sign in Hindee. None of the numerous kings named are met with in the Puranas, and few of the countries even. No mention of Brahmans whatever. The *poet* Dhruva Bhuta calls himself the slave of the feet of the great King, and hopes it will be acceptable to the divine Hari Sena. It is proclaimed to be executed by the slave of the feet of the supreme sovereign, the criminal magistrate, Tala Bhatta. Uses the term Shahanshahi, king of kings, which applies to the Sassanian dynasty of Persia, extinct in the seventh century. The

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6 1666	Junir and Karli caves, and other places in Deccan. Collected by Col. Sykes. Seven inscriptions.	Old Pali	Second to third century before Christ.	Old Lát but not so old as Delhi Lát character.	Buddhist. The inscriptions narrate by whom the caves were excavated, and for what objects. That at Karli is for foreign pilgrims the great *Chaitya* cave excavation at Junir is for the comfort of the attendants at the temple, &c.	Dharmika Sen is called the author of the Jún caves at Junir, but is not called King Vira Senaka excavated the Deghope temple. Sulisadatta is called Lord of the City of Thaka.	Scythian and Huns are included. By this inscription the power of Brahmanism was plainly only incipient.	
1672	Udayagiri and Khandgiri caves in Cuttack, 5 miles west of Bhaluneswar Numerous inscriptions. But the more modern inscriptions on the *same rocks* are Sanskrit.	Old Pali	*Before* the second or third century before Christ.	Old Lát.....	Buddhist. Arhantas, or Buddhist saints. Gotama and Buddha is understood.	The mighty Sovereign of Kalinga, but not named Prince Vá tika	The caves are stated to be excavated by Kalinga kings. Five of the emblems found on the Buddhist coins are met with in these inscriptures of the forms, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 8th, and a new form of the bo-tree. The monument at approach to modern Deva Nagari is seen, there is an association with Hindu gods, and not before.	
1675		Sanskrit	Some of fifth or 6th century, A.D. One of the tenth century, Samvat 9, which, if of the Gaur era, would be A.D. 1152.	Kutila	Brahmanical. Holy sanctuaries, Prabhasswara, or Jagannath	None mentioned..	The inscription of the tenth century, in Sanskrit, speaks of an equitable prince having the cave excavated *within the holy precincts* of the Lord of Gods Jagannath, for the holy ascetics. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, therefore, Jagannath was worshipped.	
1685	Khandgiri *rock* in Cuttack, the ancient kingdom of Kalinga.	Old Pali	The *great* inscription is after the Raja Dasaratha, 2nd of the Gaya inscription, but before the Junir inscriptions, therefore third or fourth century before Christ. The year 19th is twice mentioned in words, and if this be the Buddh-	Old Lát	Buddhist, and opens with salutations to the *Arhantas*, or Buddhist saints, and the sculptures represent figures of Buddha, the worship of the bo-tree, processions, &c. Merry dancing girls spoken of, and a chaitya temple and pillars. The Kalinga Raja, at	Asa, the great King, and speaks of a Raja who was in his 36th year, and just dead. Raja Kharavela Sanda, (King of the ocean shore), Nanda Raja. Note. Bhamadatasa is on one of the coins of the *Hasan atta* series, and *Brah-*	The inscription makes the young prince learn *navigation, commerce, and law*, as well as other school matters. At his accession, in his twenty fourth year, he chose the *Brahmanical* faith. But afterwards called about him the Buddhist priests who had been *settled there under the ancient Kings*. Subsequent breaks in the inscription interrupt the sense, but the dedication of *chaityas* is mentioned. Besares is noticed under its Pali name, and it evidently must have been Benares, as the Kos, Asa, latitudes much gold there.	

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				ist era mentioned by Fa hian in Ceylon, then the date is A.D. 215.		Buddha's death, got the left canine tooth, which was afterwards transferred to Ceylon, and is now in British custody.	*madatta* is said by Mr. Turnour to have received the tooth relic at Buddha's death at Kalinga.	The Brahman caste is written *Baiman* caste.
7	32	Kuhaon. Gorakhpúr. On a column.	Imperfect Sanskrit, with errors of orthography.	Not before tenth century.	The Gupta or Allahabad No. 2, a little before the Gaya alphabet.	No invocation. No Hindu gods named. Indra mentioned; and five images of him are set up by the roadside, which the pillar records. The naked figure on the column, backed by the seven-headed snake, is the same as my drawing represents from the Buddha cave at Ellora. Vide Appendix.	Mentions the death of Skanda Gupta, [of Allahabad?] 133 years before the date of the inscription, but the recorder of the inscription belonged to a wealthy private family.	This is an inscription on a column, by a wealthy individual (Madra), in honour of himself and family, son of Rudra Soma, son of Bhatta Soma, son of Amila. Madra professes to be the friend and patron of Brahmans, Gurus, and Yatis; but there are not any Hindu gods named in the inscription, and all the *naked* figures cut on the pillar are evidently the same as are found in some of the Buddhist caves of Ellora. The translator speaks of the errors in the text. The chances are, that the inscription, like the Gupta inscriptions of Allahabad and Bhitare, was cut on a previously-existing Buddhist column.
7	42	Bakergunj, Bengal, 120 miles east of Calcutta. On copper-plates.	Sanskrit verse, inflated, eulogistic, and punning.	Samvat 3, of Kesava Sena's reign, which, from the Ayin Akberi list, makes the year A.D. 1136.	Gaur; a little *less simple* than the earlier alphabets of the Pala dynasty.	Aum, salutation to Naryana. Vedas, Hara (Siva,) Saraswati, Kama, Rudra, Indra. The seal of Siva is called Sadasiva. Ravana, Lakshmi, Sesnag, Ganga, Balarama, Jagannatha, Satis, mentioned.	Vigaya Sena. Son Ballaha Sena. Son Laksmana Sena. Son Raja Kasava Sena.	This inscription is on copper-plates, in a *singular* state of preservation. The Sena dynasty was of *low* origin, calling themselves Sankaya Gaureswara, or Lord of Gaur. The inscription gives a grant of three villages to a Brahman, called Iswara Deva Sarma, but uses no terms of reverence. In referring to the numerous battles of the princes there is not any mention of fire-arms, but of bows, arrows, swords, &c. The founder of the family was a Doctor. The inscription says that Lakshmana Sena erected pillars of victory and altars at Benares, Allahabad, and Jagannatha.
7	53	Jain images, in marble, dug up at Ajmir.	Prakrit, derived from the Pali.	Twelfth century. A.D. 1182 is on one image.	Deva Nagari	Jain, of the Digambari class. The name of one of the images Prajnanath.	None.....	Five images of naked Jain saints were dug up at Ajmir, in a Mussulman burial ground; and the inscriptions on them are curious for showing the *Prakrit* (not Pali) of the twelfth century.

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7	217 to 262	Girnar, on the coast of Gujrat, at Junagharh; and the same inscription occurs at Dhauli, in Cuttack, on the opposite side of India, with the addition of three local edicts, one of which would seem to have been done by Asoko's father, as it enjoins the young prince at Ougein to issue similar ordinances to his own.	Old Pali, or intermediate between Sanskrit and Pali; but supposed to represent the Pali of the West of India of the fourth century B.C., and the inflexions at Dhauli and Girnar are not quite the same; and there is a difference in the grammar of the two series of inscriptions. From Mr. Prinsep having referred a Sanskrit inscription at Girnar, to the third century before Christ, instead of the fourth or seventh A.D. (which he afterwards *rectifies*,) he was induced to derive the Pali from the Sanskrit.	B.C. 330, by the Buddhist, Chinese, and Burmese chronology; but the Greek notices will make it B.C. 280, and the Mahawanso makes the accession of Asoko B.C. 325.	Old Lát.....	Buddhist. Upholds Dhamma, or the law. Mentions days and periods for humiliation, prayer, &c.; the sending of missionaries; preachings. Expatiates on the sources of true happiness, virtue, benevolence, peace, charity, reverence, &c., rewarded with temporary blessings in this world, and endless moral merit *in the next*; and the victory of victories is that which overcometh the passions. It speaks of the wicked being punished in the nethermost regions of *hell*, and the good having final emancipation, and they are to hope ardently for heaven. The promotion of the king's *salvation*, and the *salvation* of all unbelievers, and ANOTHER EXISTENCE, are expressly spoken of; also the propitiation of Heaven, and the king's IMMORTALITY. Where is atheism here?	Asoko, or Piyadasi. The Greek King Antiochus, and one of the Ptolemies of Egypt, and Antigonus.	These inscriptions are on a rock at Girnar, a celebrated Buddhist locality, and are edicts of Piyadasi, in the tenth and twelfth years of his reign, and are, therefore, older than those of the Delhi and Allahabad Láts, which are in the twenty-seventh year of his reign. The chief object is to *prohibit the slaughter of animals*, both for food and in religious assemblies. The second edict provides *medical* aid for men and animals. The third orders the *quinquennial* assemblies (*Vide* Fa hian) for prayer and preaching. The sixth appoints custodes morum (*Vide* Arrian and Buddha's Sermon.) In all there are fourteen edicts inculcating Buddhism.
									The remarkable fact of the mention of the name of Antiochus of Syria, in the medical edict, and Antigonus and Ptolemy of Egypt in the 13th, occurs. In Asoko's zeal for proselytism he sent to those Greek princes.
									In the first edict Asoko distinctly says *formerly* hundreds of thousands of animals were sacrificed for food in the *refectory* and temple for food; but that not one should be killed for the future. The third edict enjoins kindness to Brahmans and Sramanas; because for many HUNDRED YEARS PAST there has been disrespect to Brahmans and *Sramans*, and slaughter of animals. The Rajah Taranginí mentions King Megha-vahana, a Buddhist sovereign of Kashmir of the third or fourth century, issuing an edict *against the slaughter of animals*, similar to those of Asoko.
7	587	Brahmeswara in Cuttack, both from Bhuneswara, on a slab in the museum of the Asiatic	Sanskrit verse..	No intelligible date, but the character is after the tenth century —1141? certainly after Lalat In-	Gaur alphabet, or Harsha.	No invocation. Brahma, Upendra (Vishnu), Maheswara, Indra, Bali, Siva. Vedas, grammar, poetry, logic,	Janamajaya, Lord of Telinga. Son, Dirghadava. Son, Apavara. Raja Vichitravira. Son, Abhimanya.	Commemorates the temple of Brahmeswara being erected to Siva by Kolavati, the mother of Udyotaka. Theera Samvat 18 is used. The temple was no doubt erected after that to Siva at Bhabancsar, which Mr. Stirling says was

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		Society of Bengal.		dra Kesari, A.D. 617.		&c., mentioned but no Puranas. No eulogy of Brahmans.	Sun, Chandihara. Raja Udyotaka Kesari Deva.	completed A.D. 657, and that of Kanarak A.D. 1241. If the Samvat era is the same that of Gaur of the dynasty that subverted the Bhupalas, it corresponds to A.D. 1141.—*Vide* J. A. S. B., vol. 5, p. 661.
7	565	Nanch Ghát, Dekkan, in a cave chamber. From Colonel Sykes's collection.	Old Pali	Before Christ	Old Lát.....	Buddhist. Glory to Indra, the Lords of Sakra. Sun and vasus, sanctified saints, Varna, Varuna, and spirits of the air, and Lokapalas, or upholders of the world.	Young Prince Rakesa. The great warrior Tunakayiko. Prince Hakusaro, connected with the house of Amara Pala.	This is part of a long inscription in a chamber cut in the rock overlooking the Konkan in one of the passes, which was evidently the high road from Ad-janta, Ellora, Junir, to Kalian and the cave temples in Salsette. The inscriptions in all these localities are very numerous, and call for translation.
7	737	Piplianagur in Bhopal, on copper, being one of the four plates formerly noticed by Mr. L. Wilkinson.	Sanskrit	Samvat 1235; A.D. 1178.	Peculiar open parallelogram attached to Deva Nagari letters.	Glory to Sri Ganesa. Siva, Kumadeva, Indra, Varuna, Ramachandra. No mention of Puranas.	Great King Sri Udayaditya. Son Great King Sri Nara Varma Deva. Son Great King Sri Yaso Varma Deva. Son Great King Sri Jaya Varma Deva. Prince Sri Harischandra Deva.	Gives *shares of government rents of villages* to Brahmans. The *Patel's* of villages mentioned. The capital was Nilagiri. Rank-chandra was the son of the great Sri Lakshmivarma Deva. The Paramar, Powar, or Perar tribe spoken of,—evidently the ancestors of the present Mahratta Powars of Dhar.
7	710	Idra, Gujarat. Copper-plate. There is only an analysis of the inscription given.	Sanskrit prose; each word having a double meaning.	Samvat 380; A.D. 323; but, if the Balabhi era be used, three hundred and nineteen years must be added.	Before Allahabad No. 2, but not quite Lát.	*Four Vedas* mentioned, but not one name of the Puranic gods.	Prasanga Raja. Grandson of Samanta Datta.	The grant is of a village; and the donees are designated "those who are versed in the four Vedas;" and the term Brahman is not used. The grant was for the worship of the five—Jagnia, Rishi, Chaur, Bairavideva, and Aphaleo. There is the usual question about the resumption of lands.
7	300	Junagunh, near Girnar, in Gujarat, on a rock with the Pali edicts of Asoka.	Sanskrit prose, but with grammatical errors, and punning.	If after Wathen's inscription, or the Andhra Kings, then between the third and the end of the sixth century A.D.	Altered Lát approaching Wathen's plates.	Buddhist. The invocation is Siddham, and there is not the slightest trace or allusion to Brahmanism.	Raja Maha Kshatrapa, or Swami Chastana, his son was Raja Aridama. Chandra Gupta Maurya of Magadha is referred to, and his grandson Asoka.	Records the reputed regnal of a judge, —one by Puyya Gupta, treasurer of Raja Chandra Gupta Maurya; then by the Greek (Yavana) Raja of Asaka, Tushaspa; and, lastly, by Rudra Dama. The names of eleven sovereigns of this dynasty have been made out from their silver coins, which are unquestionably Buddhist, the chief and central emblem

				On the coins of some of the princes of this dynasty are the dates 283, 323 360, 385, and 390, but of what era is not known. Rudra *Dama* mentioned in the inscription is the father of the Rudra *Sah* of the coins, with the Samvat 385.	Old Deva Nagari near, Wathen's	On the coins of the princes the chaitya is impressed and one of the princes is called Jina Dama, or votary of Buddha.	The following names of the Rudra Sah family appear on the coins. Rudra Sah. His son Aga Dama. Dama Sah no coins. His son Vijaya Sah. His brother Vira Dama. His son Rudra Sah, date 283. His brother Viswa Sah date 324. [illegible] Sah, [illegible]. His son Utri Dama, date 360. His son [illegible] Sah. Swami Rudra Dama no coins. His son Swami Rudra Sah, Samvat 385 and 390.	on the reverse being the chaitya. Rudra Sah is called the son of Jina Dama, the votary of Buddha. One of the completions of the bridge is in the seventy-second year of the son of the Raja Swami Chastana, called the Raja Aridama. Although this inscription be in Sanskrit, there is not the slightest relation to Brahmanism in it. Both by the inscription and coins the princes are Buddhists, and Swami Rudra Sah has the *Samvat* date 385, which, if of Vikramaditya, places him in the fourth century of the Christian era, but if the era be the Baudh, the date is A.D. 704. The inscription mentions the *election of a king* Rudra Dama, *by the people*, who did not permit the sacrifice of animal life; and he [illegible] the Lord of the country of Oujein, Mathura, Sindh, &c., and he conquered Satkarni, King of the Dekkan.
7	442	Two separate local edicts, at Dauli in Cuttack. The remaining edicts corresponding with those at Girnar in Guja-rat.	Old Pali......	Third or fourth century before Christ, but the year of the king's reign is not stated, as in the other edicts. B.C. 306?	Old Lat	Buddhist Commands [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] charity kindness, virtue. The king says, For my [illegible] I desire this [illegible], that they may be [illegible] sessed [illegible] benefit [illegible] happiness as to things of *this world* and of the world beyond.	De anampiya, or the beloved of the gods, and, as [illegible] young Prince of Oujein is named the [illegible] is [illegible] bly the father of Asoka who was regent at Oujein.	The first edict is addressed to the public officers of the city of Tosali, and commands murderers to be imprisoned. Both edicts appoint two Tupha's, or college-for meditation and the propitiation of Heaven. The question of atheism in *ancient* Buddhism is set at rest by these edicts, which repeatedly speak of this world and the world hereafter, and the people are expressly commanded to propitiate Heaven, and to "CONFESS AND BELIEVE IN GOD, WHO IS THE WORTHY OBJECT OF OBEDIENCE;" or, more literally, "HIM, THE ETERNAL, YE SHALL PROPITIATE BY PRAYER."
7	633	Airun, in Bhopal, on an image of the Boar Avatar in a temple to Vishnu.	Sanskrit but with words written corruptly	Of these no period as the following inscription, Dhanya Vishnu being alive at the time both were written. Probably about the eighth century A.D.	Subsequent to Kanouj Nagari, or Allahabad No 2, [illegible] before the Gaur or Harsha character	Invocation to Vishnu as the [illegible] Avatar, or [illegible] of the Vedas Bhagavat [illegible] of the Rig Veda Vishnu is called Jagan Narayana, Naravima in the form of *Varaha*, or the boar.	Raja Indra Vishnu. His son, [illegible] [illegible]. His son [illegible] [illegible]. His son, Matri Vishnu. Also [illegible] of Surashtra, who is called King of	The temple was built in the first year of the reign of Raja Tarapani, by Dhanya Vishnu, the confidential minister and brother of Raja Matri Vishnu. The inscription is the first in honour of the *boar* incarnation of Vishnu, and the Boar [illegible] probably belonged to this family of princes, who worshipped Vishnu as the Boar. The minister Dhanya obtained his office by public election, and *through*

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							Kings and governing the earth.	*the graves of God!* Dhanya is called a Rishi amongst the Brahmans and the devoted worshipper of Bhagavan: but there is not any pretentious eulogy of Brahmans.
7	634	Airan, in Bhopal, on a pillar in front of the temple.	Same as the last inscription.	The year 165 of the era of some dynasty, which, from the mention of Buddha Gupta, is possibly of the Kanouj family. Probably about the eighth century A.D.	Same as last.....	Vishnu, Garuda, Lokapalas, Bhagavan, Janardana (or Vishnu), Punyajanas (or Rakshasa).	The King Buddha Gupta, who governed the country between the Jumna and the Narmada.	The pillar was raised, at the expense of Dhanya Vishnu, before the temple of the preceding inscription, by Vaidaha Vishnu, who had been elected to the Regency. The notice of the new Gupta, and a date of the dynasty, 165, is of great interest, as Buddha Gupta necessarily followed those mentioned on the Allahabad and Bhitari columns. And up to Buddha Gupta's time, if he belonged to the Kanouj dynasty, its duration had been only 165 years. In the early part of the fifth century, A.D., Fa hian found a Buddhist King at Kanouj; and in the early part of the seventh century Hiuan thsang found a Hindu King reigning. The dynasties, therefore, had been changed between the fifth and seventh centuries, and the Gupta family had sprung up in the interval.
7	901	Amakunda, or Varangal, in Telingana, on a slab.	Telugu and Oorya, with Sanskrit slokas.	Saka 1054, or A.D. 1132, being the year Chetrabhanu of the Vrihaspati Chakar, or sixty years' cycle of Jupiter.	Not mentioned...	Hari, Ganesa, Saraswati, Siva, Maheswar, Ravi Souri (or Vishnu).	Raja Rudra Deva....	Rudra Deva is the Raja mentioned in the Jagannath temple annals as Charang or Chorgunga, and was the founder of the Gunga Vansa dynasty. He was a benefactor to Jagannath, adorned it, and *populated* its neighbourhood. The inscription contains a long account of Rudra Deva's genealogy and of his battles. There are not any praises of Brahmans, or even mention of them! From the mention of Ganesa, his worship must have been used in the twelfth century.
7	909	Kaira, in Gujarat. Copper-plate. One of four, from Dr. Burn.	Sanskrit prose, each word having a double meaning,—and incapable of being closely	Samvat 390, or A.D. 333, if the era be that of Vikramaditya, but if of the Balibhi era, then A.D. 640.	Closely allied to the Kanouj Nagari, or Allahabad No. 2,—possibly a little earlier.	The *four* Vedas mentioned; but not one word of Brahmanical gods or Brahmans.	Raja Samanta Datta. His son, Vijaya Bhatta, or Vita Raja. His son, Prasanga Raja Datta.	The Raja Prasanga, of the royal race of Gajjara, gives a village to those who are versed in the *four* Vedas, not for the worship of Brahma, Vishnu, or Siva, or their effects, but for the worship of the five Jagnas, Bali, Charu, Baiswadeva,

			rendered into English.					and Agnihotra. Brahmans, although alluded to, are not even named; even the writer *Rewa* is not called a Brahman.
7	966	Kaira, in Gujarat. Copper-plate. No. 1, from Dr. Burn.	Sanskrit prose.	Samvat 365, or A.D. 309; but if of the Valibhiera, then 319 years must be added.	The same as the last.	Opens simply with "*Glory*," instead of other invocation. Ganges river, Lakshmi, Saraswati as wealth and knowledge), Upendra, Swayambhu, four Vedas.	Bhatarka Senapati. Griha Sena. Sridhara Sena 1st. Siladitya 1st. Chara Griha, or Iswara Griha. Sridhara Sena 2nd Dharuva Sena 2nd Sridhara Sena 3rd Dharuva Sena 3rd, or Dharmaditya.	This is No 1 of four plates found by Dr. Burn at Kaira, and is similar to one published by Mr. Wathen in the J. A. S. B. It confirms the order of the reigns given by Mr. Wathen, and affords additional dates, and circumstances of high interest, respecting the Valabhi, or Balhara dynasty of Gujarat. This plate omits four princes between Bhatarka and Griha Sena, and terminates with Dharuva Sena 3rd, the grantor. Mr. Wathen's plate goes on one prince more, Siladitya 2nd. Although six reigns intervened between Mr. Wathen's and Dr. Burn's plates, the son, named Madana Hila, of the minister Shanna Bhatta, who prepared the first plate, is a witness of the present grant. The bow the chief military weapon. No fire-arms; chariots used. From the absence of all mention of the gods of the modern Hindu Pantheon, it is plain they could not have been respected in Gujarat in the fourth century A.D. Dharuva Sena 3rd, indeed says he is liberal to Brahmans (but without mentioning them with respect) and to the temples of the gods. The grant gives a field to a Brahman, for the sake of the donor's father's and mother's virtue. On the seal is "Sri Bhatarka," under a bull, as in Mr. Wathen's plate.
7 9	1056 545	From a temple at Oodeypur.	Sanskrit; with gross errors of grammar and incorrectness of expression.	Samvat of Vikramaditya 1116, corresponding to 981 Salivahana, and to 446 of the era of Udyaditya, A.D. 1059.	Almost modern Deva Nagari.	Salutation to Ganesa. Parvati, Siva, with five faces! Vedas. Swaha. Meru. Sastras.	Raja Suravira, of the Pavara (Powar) line. Gondala, his son. Arevalamathana, do. Udayaditya, his son Salivahana, his son	This inscription is of importance, as it discloses a new era, that of the family of Udyaditya, the probable founder of Oodeypur, corresponding to the era of Vikramaditya 1116, and of Salivahana 981, and Kaliyuga 4160. This would place the foundation of Oodeypur A.D. 614. The Raja's name is not in the chronological tables of the Sesodi Rajputs, or of any other dynasty. Arevalamathana went to Malava, and recovered his former kingdom of Madhyadesa.

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No.	Page	Location of Inscription.	Language of Inscriptions.	Date	Character of the Inscriptions	Religion, or Dynasties or Sages mentioned	Kings or Princes mentioned	REMARKS.
8	176	Khajuraho, eighteen miles from Chhatarpur, in Bundelkund	Sanskrit verse, in an ambitious inflated style, the verses polished and elaborate, but some obscure, and abounding with quaint pedantry and punning	The first part of the inscription, Samvat 1018, A.D. 962 last part, Samvat 1173 or 1116	Allahabad No. 3, and therefore resembling the Harshaan Bilbancswar II the inscription is called the *Kadaba* character, and in the eleventh and twelfth centuries appears to have prevailed from Cuttack to Cabul	Invocation to Siva Maheswara, Sambhu, Bharati, Isana pati, Brahma, Indra, Richas and Brahmans other seas, the Munis, Atri, Canada Satrive, Yavvana, Arjuna and the *Pura* heroes Krithaka and Kurda Sumitra, Bhima Dhritarashtra, Sagara and the Puranic origin of the ocean noticed Buddhism Vaidyas Karma, Brahmans The temple dedicated to Pramatha Nath	Rajas Nannuka Vaky Yasovigraha Vahula Srihasa Yasovarma Dharma Deva Panga Jayavarma Deva.	The inscription is chiefly in honour of Banga by whose who, as usual, is elevated into a great king. The kings of Oude and Ceylon attend to do him homage, and his captives are the wives of the kings of Andhra, Radha, and Anga. Banga is, of course, eulogized by the Brahmans, because he built dwellings for them and gave them lands and panously ended his days, aged 160 by drowning himself at the junction of the Jumna and Ganges, as did also the Brahman minister of his father and grandfather. It is to be remarked, that the inscription had twice before been carried in irregular characters, and it was only in A.D. 1016 that it was put into proper Deva Nagari. The story of creation from Brahma and the egg is told. *The influence of the moon on the tides is alluded to.* The inscription alludes to a passage in the Mahabharata, in which Siva is represented to have given his own flesh to a hawk, instead of a bird which had sought refuge with him. This story is told of Buddha, more than 1,000 years before this time and is much more suitable to his name and life-sparing character than to the bloody Siva. Here again we have got a Brahman (Sri Rama, *whose feet earthly kings adored!*
8	300	Baroda in Gujarat, found in digging the foundations of a house. Copper plates.	Sanskrit, with punning; but the grammatical structure not stated	Saka 734, or A.D. 812	Not exactly resembling any other character, but sufficiently near Wathen's plates to admit of its being easily made out by Kamalakanta of Calcutta, though not a dialect of the Brahmans of Gujarat	Brahma. Siva is called the god of gods. Dharma, Vishnu, Swayambhu Sambhu Ganges, Indra, Parthas, Indra. The gods Kinnaras, Siddhas Siddhyas and Vedyadharas Hara Pur Ve Brahmans of Gujarat	Govind Raja Karka, his son Krishna, his son Dhruva, his son. Govind 2nd, his son Indra, his brother Karka 2nd, son of Indra, and his brother Dantivarma	At the time of this inscription the period of Charlemagne in Europe, Hindustan and the Deccan were divided into *four* kingdoms,—that of Gujarat westward, that of Malwa central to the east the Gourha Raj, including Bengal and Behar, and the Lateswara Raj to the south. The *Surastra* kingdom spoken of Lat, in Karka's reign, it is expressly stated to have been called, before his time, Sourajya, the identical name of the Saturas sovereignty at this day Krishna Raja was devoted to

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8	481									
9	417	Dug up at Kumbhi, in the Sangor territory, thirty-five miles north-east of Jabalpur, on copper-plates.	Old Pali, with two or three [illegible]	A.C. 300, because the inscription evidently refers to the first convocation at Pataliputra	Oldest Lát or column character, or Delhi No. 1.	Buddhist. The supreme Buddha. Dharma, or the law, or faith.	Asoko, as Piyadasa Raja.	This is another of Asoko's edicts, from a new locality, showing the wide extent of his domain. It differs somewhat in style and language from the pillar and rock edicts. The subject is the Buddhist		

ters of the sun, Ramchandra.

Invocation to "Om," and glory to Brahma, Vishnu, Atri, Bodhana, the sun, Pururavas, Urvasi, Bharata, Yamuna, Purandara or Indra, Prayag, Parusavarana, Varuna Deva, Mahadeva. Sama Veda.

Yuva Raja Deva. Kokalla, his son. Gangaya Deva, his son. Karna Deva, his son. Yasus Karna Deva, his son. Gaya Karna, his son. Nar Sinha Deva, his brother. Vijaya Sinha, his brother. These princes are called of the Kulachuri dynasty.

Brahmans, and the *nominal* Brahmans, through their *greediness for his gifts*, resumed their former rites. His fort was *Elapur*. Indra Raja, who ruled the Lateshara kingdom conquered that of Gujarat, and he added the owner of Malava against the King of Gourba (Bengal). The inscription gives a village to the Brahman Bhanu, but without expressions of veneration, for the sake of his father and mother's memory. It is curious for enumerating the privileges consequent on possession; *Adang*, fruit, marriage and other fees; fines for petty offences; free labour; treasure trove; mines, &c. It concludes with the denunciation from *Veda Vyasa*, against resumers of lands, in the story of the Sagara Raja. The grant is confirmed by the counter-signature of Danti Varma, the heir presumptive.

The grant gives a village to a Brahman, Sitha Sarma, but without expressions of veneration. Karna Deva's wife, Avalla Devi, is stated to have been of a Hun family. The 21st verse likens the king, Nar Sinha, to Parasurama, making the world the *dominion of Brahmans by the destruction of the Kshatryas*. The inscription is curious for enumerating the chief officers of the king, Vijaya Sinha, namely, the prime minister, chief priest, the chief scribe or secretary of state, the chief councillor, the chief judge, the powerful secretary for foreign affairs, the great chamberlain, the incorruptible superintendent of police, the treasurer, and the master of the horse and elephants. The usual interdict to resuming lands and the story of Sagara are quoted.

Nearly the same as the Chhattarpur inscription, and therefore like the Harsha and Allahabad No. 3.

Samvat 932, or A.D. 876.

Sanskrit verse and prose, and quaint, with obsolete names, punning, and orthographical errors.

No.	Page	Location of Inscription.	Language of Inscriptions.	Date.	Character used in Inscriptions	Religion or Divinities or Sages mentioned.	Kings or Princes mentioned	REMARKS.
		stone or rock on a hill.		lipatta, or Patna, in that year, in the 17th year of the reign of Asoko.				commandment, forbidding the sacrifice of four footed animals The Vedas are alluded to but not named, and condemned as "*mean, and false in their doctrine, and not to be obeyed.*" The scriptures of the Muns (which must be the Vedas) are spoken of as directing blood-offerings and the sacrifice of animals. Priests and priestesses, religious men and religious women, amongst the Buddhists, are commanded to obey the edict, and bear it in their hearts.
2		Mahamalaipur rock inscriptions.	Sanskrit.....	Eighth to tenth century	Kutila or Gaur character	Siva.....	None named.....	These inscriptions relate to the well-known sculptures at Mahamalaipur, and are little more than names applied to the figures in the sculptures. They are described in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society.

P.S. In the body of my Notes, I omitted mention of some important facts contained in the above Analysis of Ancient Inscriptions; namely, that prior to the fourth century A.D., every inscription whatever is in the Pali language, and by Buddhists: and subsequently to that period, a rough Sanskrit makes its appearance, gradually refining into the polished Sanskrit of the tenth and eleventh centuries, the Buddhists themselves, FOR THE FIRST TIME, using the so-called Sanskrit. And every subsequent inscription of these religionists being in that language, the Pali disappearing from India; but being retained by the fugitive Buddhists in foreign countries; thus affording *further* ground for the presumption that the so-called Sanskrit gradually superseded and displaced the Pali. W. H. SYKES.

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No. IV.

Very frequent mention of the Puranas having been made in the preceding Notes, the following very brief—indeed skeleton—analysis, taken from Professor Wilson's observations, may be useful. The chief object is to give the impression of so learned an authority as Professor Wilson with respect to the dates of the well-known productions.

Sect.	*Names of Purana.*	*Chief Object.*	*Chief Descriptions.*	*Probable Dates.*
1 Vishnu..	Brahma	Worship of Siva, of the Sun, also of Krishna as Jagannath.	Orissa and its temples, and the Banas river in Marwar.	13th to 14th centuries.
2 Vishnu..	Padma	Do., lake of Pushkara, or Pokhar in Ajmer.	Temple of Sri-rangam, in Mysore, and city of Haripur (probably) Vijayanayar (14th century) on the Tungabhadra.	12th to 16th centuries.
3 Vishnu..	Vishnu	Vishnu exclusively..	..	Wilson thinks about A.D. 954.
4 Siva	Vayu, or Siva	Worship of Siva, of the Yoga school, which originated in the 7th and 8th centuries.	Various Tirthas. The narrator, Suta or bard, half Brahman half Kshatriya.	The oldest, probably, from its air and want of reference to known modern things. 7th and 8th centuries.
5 Vishnu..	Sri Bhagavata....	Vishnu and Krishna. Asserts all is illusion. Hindus of every caste, and even Mlechchhas, outcasts or barbarians, might learn to have faith in Vasudeva.	Vopadeva, to whom it is attributed, lived at the court of Hemadri, Raja of Devagiri Deogur or Dowlatabad, prior to its conquest by the Moslems in the 14th century. Twenty-four incarnations.	After Vishnu to 13th century, say Colebrooke and Wilson. Itself asserts it was composed after all the others.
6 Vishnu..	Narada, or Naradiya.	Vishnu. Virulently sectarial.	Let not this Purana be repeated in the presence of the killers of cows and contemners of the gods—Moslems.	Modern—about 16th or 17th century: after the Mahomedans.
7 Durga..	Markanda, Markandeya.	Durga or Kali.....	Quotes the Mahabharat. Not sectarial; chiefly narrative.	9th or 10th century.
8 Siva	Agni, or Agneya..	Saiva. Worship at Gaya.	Follows Mahabharat and Ramayana in stories of Rama and Krishna; not a word original, but a cyclopædia of old materials. Seems, in some places, an abridgment of the Vishnu.	Cannot be very remote. Probably before the Mahomedan invasion. Cites the commentator on Panini, therefore after mass of Hindu poetry, and part supplied eight or nine centuries ago.
9	Bhavishya, or prophetic.	Worship of Siva. Legends of Nag Panchani; a mere ritual. No Purana.	Mahabharata quoted, and Krishna is said to relate it to Yudhishthira.	Probably prior to the Moslem invasion.

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Sect.	Names of Purana	Chief Object	Chief Descriptions	Probable Date.
10 Vishnu	Brahma Vaivar tha.	To describe acts of Brahma, Devi, *Ganesa*, and Krishna, chiefly the latter.	Sectarial, and no Purana at all Origin of artificer's caste	Certainly modern as it cannot be the Purana mentioned in the Matsya.
11 Siva ...	Linga	Worship of Siva as the Phallus but no mention of obscene rites	Sectarial, and properly not a Purana Brahma and Vishnu fight for supremacy, and the Linga puts down both Twenty-eight incarnations	Certainly not before the 8th or 9th centuries, and may be later.
12 Vishnu	Varáha, or Boar	Vishnu, in the boar incarnation No leaning to Krishna.	Various Tirthas, one of Mutra (Mathura).	12th century
13 Siva ...	Skanda, or Six faced deity.	Siva worship.	Sectarial temples of Siva at Benares, or Kasi, and also his temples in Orissa and at Jagannath.	The Kasi Khanda, probably before Mahmud of Ghazni's first attack on Benares.
14 Vishnu and Siva	Vamana, or Dwarf	Vishnu; but mixture of Linga, and worship of both.	Dwarf avatar of Vishnu, or Krishna Various Tirthas at Benares, Himalaya, and north west of Delhi	Subsequent to the rivalry of the Saivas and Vaishnavas May have been compiled about three or four centuries ago.
15 Siva and Durga	Kurma, or Tortoise.	Worship of Siva and Durga; although the name would imply Vaishnava	Avatars of Vishnu and legends of Siva	Subsequent to Tantrika, Sakta, and Jain sects Yogis try to identify themselves with the divinity
16 Siva ...	Matsya, or Fish.	Worship of Siva, but not sectarial	Fish avatar *The Mahabharata quotes this story from the Matsya*, and therefore should be *subsequent*	Quotes the very words of Vishnu and Padma Puranas, and therefore after 12th century
17 Vishnu and Siva.	Garuda, or Vulture	Sun, Siva and Vishnu worship	Birth of Garuda not mentioned, but of sacred places dedicated to the sun A questionable Purana.	Quotes the Tantrika ritual, therefore subsequent to 7th and 8th centuries
18 Siva ...	Brahmanda.	Narrative, chiefly, but also worship of Durga as *Parasakti*	Egg of Brahma, of Kamchi, or Konjeveram.	Rules of a Sakta, or Tantrika description given, therefore modern, as Wilson calls them corruptions of the religion of the Vedas and *Puranas*

The Puranas are not to be relied upon, in their present condition, as authorities for the mythological religion of the Hindus at any remote period. The Mahabharata says of itself, that no legend is current in the world which is unconnected with it, and therefore intimates its being the origin of those told in the Puranas.—*Preface to the Vishnu Purana*, p. 58.

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SEVENTEENTH ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE SOCIETY,

HELD ON THE 9TH OF MAY, 1840.

THE RIGHT HON. C. W. WILLIAMS WYNN, M.P.,

PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

WAS READ AS FOLLOWS:—

It is with considerable satisfaction that the Council can open their Report on the Proceedings of the past year by stating that the expenditure of the Society has continued to be kept considerably within the receipts; and that, having thus recovered from the state of financial difficulty into which they had fallen, the funds will now allow of the publication in the present year of two Numbers of the Journal. It is right, however, to qualify the satisfaction which at first arises from observing so large a balance in hand at the close of the last year's account as 407*l.*, by remarking that the actual surplus of the receipts above the expenditure is only 111*l.*, which is not equal to the cost of the second Number of the Journal proposed to be published in 1840. The state of the funds, if viewed in reference to their economical management, must be, on the whole, gratifying; but if the operations of the Society are crippled for want of larger means; if its Library is so entirely dependent on the contributions of Societies, and of individual Members, that no branch of Oriental inquiry can be made complete on its shelves for the use of its Members, or of Oriental scholars, or persons engaged in the prosecution of researches into the civil and natural history, geography, antiquities, and products of Asia, or even of India alone; if collections of various kinds which would be given to enrich its Museum are withheld by the possessors, or refused by the Society, because there is not room where to lay them out and exhibit them, and there are not means to procure

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larger accommodation; if the hopes of public assistance in obtaining more suitable apartments, though long cherished, must now be abandoned, the friends of the Society must lament the limited extent of that prosperity which ought to attend such an Institution in this great country. Much as the Council deplore this inadequate support, it was their duty not to attempt more than their resources would justify; and they can only urge on every Member of the body the great importance of the utmost individual exertion to increase the number of Resident Members, on whose annual subscriptions must chiefly depend the usefulness of the Society.

The regulation of January, 1838, increasing the amount to be paid by Life Members, appears to have had some, though not a very considerable, effect in diminishing the number of those who compound for their subscriptions. The amount received from that source in the last year has been much below the average of former years; but that average is deduced from sums so very different in amount, that no positive opinion can be formed as to the eventual operation of the altered rule. The amount was something above 115*l.*, which exceeds the receipt of the preceding year. It is more important to notice, that the alteration has not diminished the whole receipts of the Society, which are larger this year than on an average of the last ten years.

The Council have also the satisfaction to observe, that they continue to experience the good effects of the regulation passed in 1838, the object of which was to recover arrears of subscription, and to prevent, as far as practicable, their future accumulation. They are now enabled to state, that their lists exhibit fewer defaulters than have at any former period been found upon them.

The number of Elections during the past year has considerably exceeded that of the preceding, being nineteen Resident Members. There were two Elections of Honorary Members, one of his Highness IKBAL-OOD-DOWLAH, Prince of Oude, an Oriental scholar of considerable attainments, who, while in London, frequently attended the Meetings of the Society, and exhibited a lively interest in their proceedings; and the other, of His Highness the SULTAN OF TURKEY. His Highness's donations of Oriental works not otherwise readily accessible, entitle him to be held in grateful remembrance by this Society, which has, by his death, so soon been deprived of the further advantages promised by his enlightened assistance.

Two Corresponding Members have been also added to the Society's List: one, the Rev. C. F. SCHLIENZ of Malta; and the other, Professor GUSTAVUS FLUEGEL, the learned Editor of Haji Khalfah's great Bibliographical Dictionary.

The deaths of Members during the past year have been more than ordinarily numerous. They include two Honorary, two Corresponding, two Foreign, and eighteen Contributing Members, and are as follows:—

Honorary.

His Highness Runjít Singh, Rajah of the Punjáb.
His Highness Mahmúd, Sultan of Turkey.

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Corresponding.

General Allard.
Cavelly Venkata Lutchmiah.

Foreign.

Count Munster Meinhovel.
Professor Peter Von-Bohlen

Contributing.

Josias du Pré Alexander, Esq.
The Right Hon. Lord William H. C. Bentinck, M.P.
Major-General Sir William Blackburne.
David Colvin, Esq.
Sir Francis Hastings Doyle, Bart.
Thomas Daniell. Esq., R.A.
General William Farquhar.
James M'Donnell, Esq., M.D.
The Right Hon. the Earl of Powis.
Crosier Raine, Esq.
Thomas Redhead, Esq.
James G. Remington, Esq.
The Right Hon. John Sullivan.
Lieut.-Col. E. L. Smythe.
Col. Josiah Stewart.
Benjamin Torin, Esq.
Major-General Sir N. Trant.
Sir W. Williams Wynn, Bart., M.P.

The political merits of MAHARAJA RUNJIT SINGH are matters for history to dilate upon, and are already familiar to Europe. It is in his capacity of patron of letters and science that the Society records and regrets his death. His becoming enrolled amongst our Honorary Members is one evidence of this character; but more practical proofs of his liberal encouragement of talent have been repeatedly displayed by him whenever opportunity permitted its exercise within his own dominions. His readiness to avail himself of the skill and knowledge of European officers in the organization of his forces, and the management of his provinces, whilst it evinced his discrimination, may be attributed to policy also; but the facilities which he afforded them to search for the precious remains of antiquity in the Punjáb, and to collect and publish geographical illustrations of parts of his principality, before little known, were proofs of liberal and comprehensive feeling, little to have been expected from a sovereign in his situation. It is for even still more decided marks of his liberality, however, that we have reason to be thankful to him, and in an especial manner, for the encouragement of every kind, the personal notice, the freedom and safety of access to his territories, the facilities he commanded or bestowed, and even the pecuniary aid which he was ever prompt to grant to European travellers. Moorcroft, at a season

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when Runjit Singh's connexion with the Government of British India was precarious, and involved various contingencies of eventual discord, was treated by him with marked hospitality and distinction, and was allowed to traverse at will the Punjáb and Kashmír, and the intervening dependencies; and at a later period Jacquemont acknowledges that he received, not only similar permission and aid, but even liberal supplies—of all of which he stood in need. Conduct of this description, and in an Asiatic prince, fully entitles the Maharaja to the grateful commemoration of an Asiatic Society.

One of the most distinguished of the European Officers in the service of Maharaja Runjít Singh was General ALLARD, whose claim to literary notice rests upon his having brought to France, and presented to the Royal Cabinet, an invaluable collection of Bactro-Indian coins and antiquities collected by himself or by his colleague, General Ventura. They have been the theme of minute and learned description by the late M. Jacquet, and by M. Raoul Rochette, in the Journal Asiatique. The death of M. Allard and of his illustrious master might seem to augur unfavourably for the prosecution of research in the Sikh dominions; but General Ventura and M. Court are still there, and they are both known as zealous and able contributors to our knowledge, both of the present and past history of the Punjáb.

CAVELLY VENKATA LUTCHMIAH, a Brahman of Madras, was for many years at the head of the Native Establishment formed by Colonel Mackenzie, for the collection and elucidation of manuscripts, inscriptions, and antiquities illustrating the early or actual condition of the Dekhan. He accompanied Colonel Mackenzie to Calcutta, and after that officer's death, assisted for some time in compiling a Catalogue of the collections, until ill-health obliged him to return to Madras. He was a very respectable English scholar, well versed in the principal languages of the South of India, and deeply imbued with that love of antiquarian lore which animated his master's researches. After his return to Madras, and the recovery of his health, Cavelly Venkata resumed his literary pursuits, and made several communications to this Society. He was also mainly instrumental in founding a Native Literary Society at Madras, and was President of it at his death. Although instances of a command of the English language did occur at Madras amongst the cotemporaries of Cavelly Venkata, yet the acquirement was then rare, and was effected under great disadvantages. It was much rarer, however, for it to be applied, as it was by him, to literary research.

Of our deceased Foreign Members Dr. PETER VON BOHLEN, Professor of Oriental Languages and Literature in the University of Königsburg, is best known to Oriental scholars by his edition of the Satakas or Centos of Bhartrihari, with a Latin translation, and by his work upon the Hindus, Das Alte Indien. The former is a proof that he was a Sanskrit scholar of no ordinary merit; and the latter displays extensive reading and judicious investigation. As a summary view of the history, religious institutes, monuments, literature, and sciences of the Hindus, it is at once a com-

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prehensive and concise authority, to which we have yet nothing in our own language to be compared. Dr. Von Bohlen was in England a few years since, and was then in a precarious state of health, which has terminated in his decease, whilst yet in the prime of life.

There are several names in the list of deceased Members whose loss will be felt, and is regretted by this Society. To notice each separately would be to swell this report beyond its fair limits; but there is one which the Council cannot pass over in silence,—that of Sir William Blackburne, whose long residence at the court of his Highness the Raja of Tanjore, rendered him familiar with the history and antiquities of the South of India, and the usages and habits of the people. He was for many years a member of the Council, where the unremitting interest he exhibited in the objects for which we are associated, and the kind feelings and courteous manners shown in all his intercourse, will endear his memory to all who enjoyed the pleasure of his acquaintance.

Thomas Daniell, Esq., has been much known as a painter of Indian subjects. When between thirty and forty years of age he visited India in company with his nephew, where he remained ten years, chiefly employed in making a splendid collection of paintings, most of which have at various times appeared before the public. Mr. Daniell was a member of the Royal Academy, at whose annual exhibitions many of his productions appeared. He died on the 19th of March last, at the very advanced age of ninety-one.

Although in consequence of some delay on our part in electing him as a Corresponding Member, yet every object for which this Society is instituted, every branch of Oriental inquiry, whether of a literary or scientific description, has suffered too severe a loss in Mr. James Prinsep for us not to offer our tribute of regret for his premature death. One of a numerous family remarkable for every attribute that graces humanity, Mr. James Prinsep in early life devoted his energies to the cultivation of experimental science; and was in consequence appointed Assistant Assay Master in the Calcutta Mint in 1819. In the following year he was nominated Assay Master of the Mint of Benares; and was there most usefully and honourably employed for above ten years. In his official capacity he devised many ingenious arrangements for the discharge of his duty with accuracy and despatch; and carried on, with equal industry and talent, various scientific investigations connected with his professional labours. Amongst others, he instituted a number of experiments on the best mode of measuring high degrees of temperature, the result of which was honoured by insertion in the Transactions of the Royal Society; and drew up an interesting report on the discoveries in Electro-magnetism, which was also published in this country, in the Quarterly Review. He also set on foot a Society at Benares for literary and scientific objects; and several valuable communications, especially on subjects of chemistry, meteorology, and astronomy, by him and his associates, were published, partly in the Asiatic

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Researches and partly in the Quarterly Oriental Magazine and Review, in Calcutta.

Nor were his duties whilst at Benares restricted to those of his office. His skill as an engineer and an architect were put in requisition by the local authorities; and he designed an edifice erected for a mint, repaired the minarets of the Mosque of Aurengzeb, when in a state that threatened infinite mischief to the adjacent houses; and planned and executed the means of draining the city. He also made a statistical survey of Benares, the particulars of which are published in the Asiatic Researches; and, whilst thus engaged, he availed himself of his talent and taste as an artist to delineate many of the most interesting of the picturesque and characteristic objects with which Benares abounds. His drawings were lithographed in England, and form a volume which for character and truth has never been equalled by any artistical illustrations of Indian scenery. The plates are accompanied by descriptions which are in like manner faithful and instructive, and show that he had made himself thoroughly acquainted with the people, as well as with the place. The same merit distinguished the whole of his career; and the natives of India never had amongst them a warmer, a more active, or a more judicious friend.

Upon the abolition of the Benares Mint in 1830, the services of Mr. Prinsep were transferred to that of Calcutta; and with his removal commenced those remarkable exertions by which he is known as a distinguished Orientalist. He joined the Assay Office as Assistant Assay Master; but on the departure of his predecessor, Mr. Wilson, in January, 1833, he succeeded to the situation of Assay Master. In both capacities he was laboriously occupied by his official duties. He was also actively engaged in collateral scientific researches; in the chemical analysis of mineral or metallic substances, of the nature of which it was the interest of the Government to be accurately apprized; or in experiments or observations of a miscellaneous description.

Amongst the principal fruits of his labours in this department were a series of experimental researches on the depression of the wet bulb hygrometer, a subject included amongst the desiderata of the British Association for the Advancement of Science; and an elaborate compilation entitled Useful Tables, in which the coins, measures, and weights of British India and the East are described from experimental verification; and the computations of time, according to the Hindu and Mohammedan calendars, are fully and clearly explained, and accompanied by chronological dynasties of the ancient and modern sovereigns of Persia, India, Tibet, Ava, Ceylon, and the interlying and adjacent regions: the whole constituting an authority of the highest character and greatest practical utility.

These duties and pursuits, although demanding far more than common assiduity, were insufficient to satisfy a mind, the activity of which was unwearied, and the energies of which appeared to be inexhaustible; and the chief source of Mr. J. Prinsep's claims upon the admiration and gratitude of Orientalists, whether their tastes be scientific or literary, is the

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the Journal of the Asiatic Society, of which he was the sole editor, and to which he was a most industrious and valuable contributor.

In 1829, Captain Herbert, then attached to the department of the Surveyor-General, set on foot a Periodical, to which he gave the modest denomination of "*Gleanings in Science*," as it was especially of a scientific character, and was composed of materials in part derived from European publications of the same class. Captain Herbert left Calcutta in 1831, and before his departure, made over to Mr. Prinsep the continuation of his Journal. Mr. Prinsep having become joint secretary of the Asiatic Society, thought it likely that the objects of the Society and those of the periodical he had taken charge of, might be advantageously combined; and, with the concurrence of the Society, he changed the form and title of the work, to that of "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal," in which papers upon topics illustrative of man and nature in the East, whether communicated direct, or through the Society, might be appropriately made public. The project was judicious; its execution most successful; and the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal is at once a monument of Mr. Prinsep's extraordinary talents and application, and a rich mine of information on many of the most interesting objects of Oriental research. The work, up to the time of his leaving India, extends to seven volumes; the two last of which are in two parts each, exceeding a thousand pages of closely printed matter in small type. There are, from Mr. Prinsep's own pen, nearly a hundred articles, besides a variety of editorial matter; there are some hundred plates, a great number of which are of coins and inscriptions; and most of these are drawn, and even engraved, by Mr. Prinsep himself. When to all this is added the entire editorial superintendence and correction of the work, from eighty to a hundred pages a month, it is difficult to conceive how it was possible for one unassisted individual to have accomplished the task; much more is the astonishment increased, when we find that all this labour and inquiry was not his business, of which he had more than enough beside,—but his amusement: the occupation of that time which any other public servant, however diligent and zealous, would usually have dedicated to rest, or to society.

The varied nature of Mr. Prinsep's contributions to the Journal will be best appreciated by reference to the Index of any one of the volumes. Thus, in the fifth, we find him the author of the following papers:—

1. On a new Standard Barometer; 2. On the Roof of the Church of Fort William; 3. On the Damatha Cave Inscriptions; 4. On the Chemical action of Copper on Ink; 5, 6, 7, &, 9. On Ancient Inscriptions; 10, 11. On the Wet Bulb Hygrometer Depressions; 12. On the Measurement of the Arabic Quadrant; 13. On New Bactrian Coins; 14. On a statue of Silenus; 15. On New Mithraic Coins; 16. On Hindu Coins; 17. On the Vallabhi Dynasty; 18. On the Nautical Instruments of the Arabs; 19. On Sámar Salt; 20. On the Range of the Barometer in various places. The same volume has six full plates of Coins, drawn and engraved by Mr. Prinsep; and fifteen plates of Inscriptions and Antiquities, also drawn by him on stone.

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Amidst the many valuable contributions with which the Journal is furnished by its editor, those which have excited most universal interest, being known throughout continental Europe as well as in India, and better than in Great Britain, belong to the two classes of Coins and Inscriptions, in both of which the discoveries of Mr. Prinsep have been most surprisingly brilliant. Bringing to the task of deciphering ancient, and hitherto illegible characters, the readiness of resource which his practice of philosophical experiment had taught him; the quickness and accuracy of eye which he derived from his accomplishments as an artist; the energy and perseverance which were part of his nature, and the knowledge which he had gathered by observation and study, he combined qualifications rarely united in the same person, although essential to success; and completely made out the purport of the remains of antiquity which had been recently brought to light; or which when longer known, had baffled all previous ingenuity and application.

Availing himself promptly of a suggestion of Mr. Masson in regard to the inscriptions on the reverses of the Greek Bactrian Coins, he succeeded in forming an alphabet which has received the concurrence of the Continental scholars. He also determined the value of the characters which appear upon the coins found in Kutch; and first detected the curious application of Hindu inscriptions to Mohammedan names on the coins of the first Mohammedan princes of Delhi. In the characters of inscriptions on columns, stones, and rocks, Mr. Prinsep's researches have traced the formation of the alphabet in which Sanskrit has been written in Upper India, for the last thousand years at least, the Devanagari, through a variety of older modifications, up to what appears to be its earliest known form, that in which it is found upon the rocks in Gujarat, and which is certainly anterior to the third century before the Christian era. These modifications he has exhibited in two engraved tables in the seventh volume of the Journal; and they furnish an invaluable key to all future attempts to investigate further the subject of Indian Palæography. It is not one of the least important of the results that he has obtained, that many of the details of both Brahmanical and Buddhist genealogy and chronology have been verified by the inscriptions he has deciphered; and that the same unquestionable evidences have confirmed the existence of amicable relations between Chandragupta, or Sandrocottus, and his immediate successors, with the Greek princes of Persia and Egypt, who were the successors of Alexander, as intimated by the Greek historians.

The numismatic and palæological discoveries of Mr. Prinsep have contributed, in a most essential manner, to furnish a satisfactory outline of the history of India, from the invasion of Alexander, to that of Mohammed Ghori, an interval of fifteen centuries. That materials exist in the inscriptions in the cavern temples of India, for carrying the history still further back, to the sixth century before Christ, or the date assigned to the reformation taught by Sakya, Mr. Prinsep has himself intimated as possible; and it is stated in the Preface to the seventh volume of the Journal, which was completed under the superintendence of his brothers,

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that it was his anxious purpose to have prosecuted this inquiry. The purpose was worthy of him; and if success were attainable, it would have been his portion. His untimely decease has interrupted all reasonable prospect of the question being immediately determined; but it is to be hoped that the zeal which it was one of his great merits to have had the power of animating in others, will not expire with him. His example may still incite the former associates of his labours to persevere, in the confidence that they cannot better honour his memory than by imitating his example.

Towards the end of 1838, the extreme and incessant application with which Mr. Prinsep had laboured for six years, with little apparent feeling of inconvenience, certainly with no expression of a feeling of fatigue, no sensible diminution of zeal or vigour, produced effects, the more alarming that they were as unexpected as severe. After struggling against them for some time in vain, it became absolutely necessary to relinquish all business whatever, and seek for relief in rest and change of scene. The remedy came too late. The energy that had borne up against such unusual exertion so long, was entirely exhausted. Mr. Prinsep arrived in England in 1839, in a state of extreme prostration of bodily and mental strength; and although from his time of life, which was under forty, his constitutional vigour, his equability of disposition, and his temperate habits, his friends flattered themselves that they might augur favourably of the result, yet he continued to linger, without any permanent indication of amendment throughout the year; and has at last sunk beneath the fatal effects of a too prodigal and prolonged expenditure, and consequent exhaustion of the intellectual powers.

Mr. Prinsep was, at the time of his quitting India, Secretary of the Mint Committee, and of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society of London, and a Member of the Asiatic Society of Paris, and of various scientific and literary associations at home, on the Continent, and in America. Since his return to Europe, he had been elected Foreign Member of the Royal Academy of Berlin, and of the Institute of France.

Among the subjects of peculiar interest which have occupied the attention of the Society during the past year, no one possessed a higher value than the report of the progress made by MAJOR RAWLINSON in deciphering the arrow-headed inscriptions on the rocks at Bisitún. As historical monuments concurring with, and confirming the genealogy of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, given by Herodotus, and the great events of that monarch's adventurous reign, they are invaluable; while the comparative certainty which now attends the development of the cuneiform clusters of signs, and the concurrence of Major Rawlinson with Professor Lassen, and Monsieur Burnouf, as to the powers of those symbols, hold out the best hope that all the information which the inscriptions in that character, so widely diffused, may be supposed to contain, will ere long, be laid before the world.

With a highly praiseworthy desire of accuracy and certainty, Major

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Rawlinson is anxious that his discoveries should not be printed except in their most complete and perfect form; and he has promised to lose no time in placing his entire translations in the possession of the Society for publication. Meantime the gratification experienced by the Meeting before whom the extracts and notes already received from Major Rawlinson were read, will be long recollected, and has excited a lively desire to receive the promised detail.

The union of Her Most Gracious Majesty with His Royal Highness Prince Albert of Saxe Coburg, an event which has diffused joy and hope throughout the land, has not been allowed by this Society to pass without paying their tribute of respectful congratulation on the happy occasion.

An Address was voted to Her Majesty, which was presented by the Right Honourable the President of the Society, accompanied by the Right Honourable Sir Gore Ouseley, Bart., and was by Her Majesty most graciously received.

An Address was also voted to His Royal Highness Prince Albert, which was transmitted by Sir Gore Ouseley; and acknowledged in the following letter from His Royal Highness's Comptroller of the Household, the Lord Robert Grosvenor.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, *April* 2, 1840.

My dear Sir,

I have this day, according to your desire, had the honour of submitting to Prince Albert, the Congratulatory Address from the Royal Asiatic Society. His Royal Highness duly appreciates your attention in not presenting it personally; and has commanded me to request that you will accept for yourself and have the goodness to convey to the Members of that Body His Royal Highness's best thanks for the expressions it contained.

I remain, my dear Sir,

Your's most faithfully,

R. GROSVENOR.

Right Hon. Sir Gore Ouseley,
&c. &c. &c.

The eleventh Number of the Society's Journal is now laid on the table; among its articles is one on the Sea-ports of China, written several years ago by one of the present Members of this Council, which will amply repay the attention with which it must be received at the present juncture.

The Council have received from the Secretary of the Oriental Translation Fund the following Report of the operations of that distinguished branch of the Society, which they have much gratification in laying before the Meeting.

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The Committee have published since the last anniversary of the Society, the following works:—

1. Practical Philosophy of the Muhammadan People; being a translation of the Akhlak-i-Jalaly; by W. F. Thompson, Esq.

2. The second volume of Professor Flügel's edition and translation of the great Bibliographical Dictionary of Haji Khalfa.

3. The first volume of Professor Garcin de Tassy's Histoire de la Litterature Hindoui et Hindustani.

4. The second livraison of M. Quatremère's translation of Makrizi's Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks.

5. Professor Wilson's translation from the Sanskrit of the Vishnu Purana.

The importance of the Dictionary of Haji Khalfa is well known by Oriental scholars; and the value of the work of Makrizi, as the record of a dynasty full of interest to the investigator into the History of Egypt, is also justly appreciated. Elaborate and favourable criticisms have appeared of the works of Mr. Thompson and M. Garcin de Tassy, evidencing the attention they have attracted from reviewers, and the increasing desire of the reading public to become intimately acquainted with the literature of the East. The last work enumerated, the Vishnu Purana, must be especially gratifying to the inquirer into the curious and intricate mythology of the Hindus, and into the sectarial divisions of Hinduism. Professor Wilson's translation occupies no fewer than 665 pages in quarto, including numerous notes and elucidations; and is followed by an extensive index of names of divinities, heroes, sages, and places, affording a valuable key to the mythology of the Puranas, as well as to the Hindu myths in general. In the Preface to this work the learned translator has devoted forty pages to a succinct account of the whole eighteen Puranas. His analyses of two of these, the Brahma Purana and the Padma Purana, have already appeared in the fifth volume of the Journal of the Society; and it must be earnestly wished that Professor Wilson's health and leisure may enable him to accomplish the laborious task he has proposed to himself of placing, in the course of time, before Oriental scholars, similar analyses of the whole series of these voluminous writings.

The Preface to the Vishnu Purana contains also the result of much patient investigation into the cosmogony and doctrines of the Vedas and Puranas, and into the historical traditions derived from these ancient Hindu Scriptures, from which may be deduced many authentic data of the condition and progress of the civilization of mankind in very remote ages.

The Vishnu Purana must, therefore, be considered a most valuable addition to the treasures of Hindu literature which have been opened to Europeans by means of the Oriental Translation Fund and the exertions of its Committee. Amongst these treasures are to be found several other works of the highest interest relating to the same subjects; namely, the Raghuvansa, the Harivansa, the Rig-Veda, the Kumara Sambhava, and the Sankhya Karika, all translated from the Sanskrit, and affording the most

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authentic materials for the studies of those few, who, as Professor Wilson observes in the Preface before mentioned, "in these times of utilitarian selfishness, conflicting opinion, party virulence, and political agitation, can find a resting-place for their thoughts in the tranquil contemplation of the yet living pictures of the ancient world which are exhibited by the literature and mythology of the Hindus."

Among the translations recently offered to the Committee are those of the Nalodaya, from the Sanskrit, by the Rev. W. Yates, of Calcutta; and that of the Atish Kedeh, a biographical Persian work, containing an account of more than eight hundred Persian poets, with specimens of their compositions; proposed to be translated by N. Bland, Esq.

Of the translations in the progress of printing, the History of the Mohammedan Dynasties of Spain, by Señor de Gayangoz, is nearly completed.

The new translations for the Committee, which are in a state of considerable forwardness, are

The Nishan-i Haideri, translated by Colonel Miles, from a MS. belonging to the library of Her Majesty.

Ibn Khallikan's Bibliographical Dictionary; translated by Baron Mac Guckin de Slane; and

The Kitáb al Yamini, translated by the Rev. James Reynolds.

The following Report of the Auditors was read:—

AUDITORS' REPORT.

In laying the Accounts of the Society, for the year ending 1839, before the Meeting, the Auditors regret to state that the financial resources of the Society do not exhibit so satisfactory an aspect, as might, upon a superficial examination, appear.

It will be gratifying, however, for the Society to know that there are no outstanding debts beyond the ordinary and current expenses of the season; and that the balances in favour of the Society exhibit an annual increase from the year 1837, at which period the balance in hand amounted to 170*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.*: in 1838, it was 296*l.* 3*s.* 3*d.*: in the past year, 1839, (as per Statement, No. I.) it amounts to 407*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.*: and, according to the estimate (as per Statement, No. II.) furnished to us by the Secretary, it is expected to amount, in the present year, to nearly 500*l.* But it here becomes the duty of the Auditors to point out to the Society that this apparent improvement in their financial affairs, does not arise from any increased prosperity in their resources, but from certain retrenchments introduced into their expenditure:—1st. in the appointment of an Honorary Secretary in lieu of a Stipendiary one; and, 2ndly, in the department of printing. And, with respect to the Library, it is to be regretted that the funds of the

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Society have at all times been altogether inadequate to admit of hardly any appropriation to the objects of that department. But it is unnecessary for the Auditors to remark, that retrenchment or inadequacy in these departments is destructive of the efficiency of the Society, and the very objects for which it is instituted. It therefore becomes of the first importance for the Society to consider in what way their resources may be augmented, as well as their expenses reduced.

The Receipts for the past year, (*vide* Statement, No. I.) were :—

	£.	s.	d.
For Annual Subscriptions and Arrears of ditto . .	647	17	0
Admission Fees of New Members . . .	47	5	0
Compositions of Subscriptions	115	10	0
Annual Donation of the Hon. East India Company	105	0	0
Dividends on Stock	87	8	6
Sale of Publications	53	12	9
Making a Total of . . .	1056	13	3

The Disbursements were :—

House-rent, one year	220	5	0
Rates and Taxes	57	19	10
Salaries and Wages	247	10	0
Printing Journal, and extra Copies of ditto . .	208	16	1
Miscellanies	211	1	5
	945	12	4
Leaving a Balance between the Receipts and Expenditure for the year, of	111	0	11
Which, added to the Balance of the preceding year, 1838	296	3	3
Leaves a Balance in favour of the Society at the close of 1839, of	407	4	2

The Assets of the Society are estimated as follows :—

Value of Stock in 3 per cent Consols . . .	1800	0	0
Library, Museum, Furniture, Stock of Publications, &c.	3500	0	0
	£5300	0	0

It remains only for the Auditors to express their entire satisfaction at the correct manner in which the Accounts have been kept by Mr. Elliot, the Treasurer, and Mr. Clarke, the Honorary Secretary.

SAMUEL BALL.
WILLIAM NEWNHAM.

London, 2nd May, 1840.

STATEMENT, No. I.

Receipts and Disbursements, from Jan. 1. to Dec. 31, 1839

RECEIPTS.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
From 121 Subscriptions of Resident Members for 1839, at £3 3s. each	381	3	0			
83 ditto, ditto, at £2 2s.	174	6	0			
4 ditto, Non-Resident ditto, at £2 2s.	8	8	0			
Annual Donation of the Hon. East India Company	105	0	0			
Three Dividends on Stock in 3 per cents	87	8	6			
				£756	5	6
Admission Fees of Nine New Members, at £5 5s.	47	5	0			
Four Compositions from Resident Members	115	10	0			
Arrears of Subscription	84	0	0			
Copies of Publications sold	53	12	9			
				300	7	9
Total Receipts in 1839				£1056	13	3
Balance in hand at the end of 1838				296	3	3
				£1352	16	6

DISBURSEMENTS.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
By House Rent, one year	220	5	0			
Rates and Taxes	57	19	10			
Salaries and Wages of Assistant Secretary, Clerk, Porter, and Housekeeper	247	10	0			
				£525	14	10
Printer's Bill for Journal, No. IX.	154	19	0			
Extra Copies of Journal, Nos. I., II., III., and IV., purchased to complete Sets	53	17	1			
Stationery, Circulars, and Periodicals	37	19	0			
Balance of Bricklayer's Account for Repairs of House	20	17	7			
Balance of Subscription List of Worsley Bust	25	5	0			
Coals	32	3	6			
Sundry Small Bills	22	5	9			
Collector's Poundage	35	6	0			
Postages and Petty Disbursements	37	4	7			
				419	17	6
Total Disbursements in 1839				£945	12	4
Balance in hand on the 31st Dec. 1839				407	4	2
				£1352	16	6

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STATEMENT, No. II.

Estimate of Receipts and Disbursements for 1840.

ESTIMATED RECEIPTS, (fixed).

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
From 130 Annual Subscriptions for 1840, at £3 3s. each	409	10	0			
86 ditto, ditto, at £2 2s.	180	12	0			
Annual Donation of the Hon. East India Company	105	0	0			
One Year's Dividend on Stock in 3 per cents	58	5	8			
				£753	7	8

ESTIMATED RECEIPTS (contingent).

Admission Fees and Subscriptions of 12 New Members at £8 8s.	100	16	0			
Compositions of Subscriptions	123	18	0			
Arrears of ditto	21	0	0			
Sale of Publications	10	0	0			
				255	14	0
				£1009	1	8
Balance in hand, 31st Dec. 1839				407	4	2
				£1416	5	10

ESTIMATED DISBURSEMENTS (fixed).

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
By House Rent, one Year	220	5	0			
Rates and Taxes	50	0	0			
Salaries and Wages of Assistant Secretary, Clerk, Porter, and Housekeeper	271	0	0			
				541	5	0

ESTIMATED DISBURSEMENTS (contingent).

Printing Journal, No. X.	207	13	0			
Stationery and Sundry Printing	30	0	0			
Collector's Poundage	34	0	0			
Bookbinding and Periodicals	15	0	0			
Sundry Small Bills	35	0	0			
Coals	20	0	0			
Postages and Petty Disbursements	34	0	0			
				375	13	0
				£916	18	0
Estimated Balance on 31st Dec. 1840.				499	7	10
				£1416	5	10

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H. S. GRÆME, Esq. moved, "That the thanks of the Society be returned to the Auditors; and that their Report, together with that of the Council, be received, and printed in the Society's Proceedings."

The motion was seconded by Dr. HORSFIELD, and carried unanimously.

The Right Hon. Sir ALEXANDER JOHNSTON, as Chairman of the Committee of Correspondence, gave to the Meeting an interesting and comprehensive *resumé* of the scientific and literary operations prosecuting in every part of Asia; to which, and the inquiries connected with their progress and effects, the attention of the Society should be directed.

Sir EDWARD COLEBROOKE, after expressing the pleasure which he had received in hearing the luminous sketch which had been given by Sir Alexander Johnston, of the various operations interesting to history, literature, and science, which were in progress in various parts of the East; and adverting to the zeal and anxiety always manifested by the Right Hon. Chairman of the Committee of Correspondence to draw the attention of the Members of the Society to every matter which might increase our knowledge of the East; and improve our means of advancing the welfare of our fellow subjects in India, moved, "That the thanks of the Society be voted to the Right Hon. Chairman of the Committee of Correspondence; and that he be requested to reduce his observations to writing, for the purpose of being printed in the Society's Proceedings."

Sir JAMES ALEXANDER seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

COLONEL SYKES having expressed his great regret at the absence of Colonel Barnewall, the Chairman of the Committee of Commerce and Agriculture, to whose zeal and exertions the Committee owed much of the progress they had made, proceeded to read the following summary of their Proceedings:—

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE OF AGRICULTURE AND COMMERCE.

Since the last Anniversary Meeting of the Society, this Committee has embraced the investigation of several matters, very important to the trade and agriculture of India, and the commerce and manufactures of England. Various inquiries are still in progress, which it will take time to complete, and which, in the result, are expected to be very beneficial. To enter more fully upon them in this Report, would be but to anticipate the record of the Committee's Transactions. It will be sufficient to notice briefly, the most important of the matters that have engaged the Committee's attention.

The Committee have received several valuable communications respecting Cotton Wool. Foremost of these is a paper by MAJOR-GENERAL

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Briggs, marked by much zeal, ability, and research, containing a sketch of the attempts which have been made to improve the Indian cotton, explaining the reasons why they have failed, and the manner in which he considers they should in future be conducted: next in order is a Memorandum by Dr. Lush, stating, from the result of much experience in India and inquiries in this country, the opinion he entertains of the great advantage that hereafter will be derived from a more general introduction of the culture of Pernambuco cotton. At the same time the Committee have to express their acknowledgments to Dr. Lush, they have also to add their acknowledgments to Mr. Williamson, the late able Revenue Commissioner at Bombay, for a Paper containing his views of the best measures which can be acted upon for obtaining an adequate supply of cotton from India for the home market. This paper, and several important suggestions from Mr. Williamson, the Committee consider of much value. They have in continuation of this subject, printed for circulation the instructions of the Honourable the Court of Directors to the Government of India; also, Lord Auckland's Minute of the 14th of August, 1839, which embraces a review of all the information before the local governments of India at that period, which, with the latest proceedings of the Horticultural and Agricultural Society at Calcutta, the Committee believe to comprise information of great value and importance at this moment.

Mr. Solly is at present occupied in the examination of an extensive series of cotton soils, from various countries in America, Asia, and Europe; which, it is hoped, will be completed in time to be inserted in the next number of the Proceedings.

Mr. J. Capper, of Ceylon, has furnished the Committee with some interesting information respecting the production of sugar in that island. The attempts, which have hitherto been made to cultivate the sugar cane and manufacture sugar in Ceylon, have failed. Mr. Capper, however, states, that it is at last succeeding. The sample of Ceylon sugar forwarded by him, has been favourably reported on here; and a considerable quantity is now on its way to this country. Whilst on the subject of sugar, the labours of Dr. Gibson must not be omitted. It would have been difficult to select a man more admirably calculated to carry out successfully attempts to improve the rude processes of the natives than Dr. Gibson; the result of whose perseverance is not merely that he has himself made superior sugar, but that he has also, by his example and influence, induced the natives to adopt his improvements. Samples of sugar prepared under his superintendence have been reported on by Mr. J. Travers and Mr. Solly.

The extraordinary progress which has been made in improving Indian wool is now known to almost every one. The Committee has received some valuable information from Mr. Thomas Southey; and they have also to record a highly interesting paper from Lieutenant Conolly, on the Angora goat; which has been printed and distributed.

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A commercial history of the rise and manufacture of cocoa-nut oil, has been received from Mr. Capper, which shows the rapidly increasing demand for that article; and points out how large a supply of it may be obtained from Ceylon alone. Connected with this subject, are several communications on the best means of importing cocoa-nut oil, so as to guard against the great loss from leakage which has been commonly experienced. It appears, that from the fortunate discovery of a wood adapted to the purpose, casks are now made in which the oil is brought over without any loss; and that thus the evil is perfectly remedied. A letter lately received from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, after returning thanks for Mr. Solly's report on oils, announces that they are in hopes of being enabled to send over to this country, a sufficient quantity of each of the new oils described in that Report, to enable experiments to be made to ascertain satisfactorily their commercial and practical value.

A series of several papers have been read by Mr. Solly on drugs and dye stuffs. One of the principal of these is an account of an extensive collection of samples from the Punjab and Mysore, sent over by the Chamber of Commerce at Bombay, to the London East India and China Association, and by that body forwarded for examination. Although in so extensive a collection of substances, there are of course many well-known articles; yet there are also several new and unknown substances which promise to be of value, and are therefore worthy of further and more complete experiments. Amongst the most important of the new substances described in this Report may be noticed, "Maen, an astringent substance, suited as a substitute for galls;" "Poppli Chickha;" "Maddi Chickha;" and "Lodar bark," dye stuffs; and the Tallow, or solid oil from the Vateria Indica, &c. &c.

Papers on Lichens, and on East Indian Safflower, by Mr. Solly, have been read. In the latter, inquiry is made into the probable cause of the great superiority of the Chinese over East India Safflower.

Mr. Solly's observations on Malwa and Kandeish Opium, and on a new Indian resin, adapted to the making of varnish, may also here be mentioned.

Several papers on the cultivation of silk have been received. Amongst these, it is sufficient to specify one by COLONEL SYKES, in which he recommends the introduction of the Morus Multicaulis into India, as its cultivation is stated by the Americans to be attended by peculiar advantages; and to be better adapted to the growth of good silk than any other species of mulberry.

The observations of Mr. BROWNE on the successful cultivation of Tea in Wynaad, have been confirmed by a paper from J. SULLIVAN, Esq., who, however, states likewise, that the plants are also now flourishing in the Neilgherries.

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The importation of Caoutchouc from Assam has greatly increased; and some of it is considered to be superior to any other rubber for manufacturing purposes. The introduction of this article into the English market, which originated with our Secretary, Dr. Royle, has caused a very considerable reduction in the price of South American Caoutchouc, and prevented its becoming, as it were, a monopoly.

In consequence of applications from India respecting the fibre of the leaf of the pine-apple, Mr. Solly made inquiries concerning its eligibility as an article of manufacture. The result of his inquiries shows, that although there is evidently a considerable prejudice against its use, yet, that if it could be brought over cheap, it might undoubtedly be used with advantage.

Many other communications, on cattle, linseed, kino, cinnamon, coffee, &c. &c., have been read, which it is unnecessary here further to particularize. A second number of the "*Proceedings*" appeared in the course of last summer; and a third, which will bring down the account of the labours of the Committee to the conclusion of the present year, is being prepared

The Committee beg to express their best acknowledgements to Mr. Solly, for the benefit they have derived from the zeal and ability evinced by him during the past year, and for the valuable papers read by him before the Society.

William Newnham, Esq., moved, and L. H. Petit, Esq., seconded the motion; "That the thanks of the Society be voted to the Chairman of the Committee of Commerce and Agriculture, for his valuable services in that office."

The motion was put and carried unanimously.

David Pollock, Esq., moved, "That the thanks of the Society should be voted to the Council, for their important and valuable labours during the past year."

The motion was seconded by Robert Hunter, Esq., and carried unanimously.

The Right Hon. the President, in rising to thank the Meeting, in the name of the Council, for the vote just passed, begged leave to apologize for the rarity of his attendance during the past year at the Meetings of the Society, which was occasioned by infirmity and indisposition, in consideration of which he hoped he should be excused. He had heard with pleasure the Report of the Council; it was true that many might regret that the finances of the Society were not in a more prosperous condition, but he augured well for them in future. He thought there was every prospect of the exertions of the Society attracting more favourable notice, and was convinced that they were on the way to superior prosperity. He did not wish to undervalue the exertions of individual Members, who might by private application gain new Subscribers among their friends; but he trusted much more to an increased public sense of the efficiency of the Society, as improving our acquaintance with India, and showing how the interests of India might be benefited.

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The Right Hon. Chairman of the Committee of Correspondence had shown how many causes were at this moment in operation to produce an advancing movement in the East; but he had omitted one very potent agent of civilization, and that was steam navigation. The time required now for a voyage to India was what would have been required, a few years ago, for a tour to Russia or Constantinople. Instead of looking anxiously once or twice a year for the Indian fleet, we had now a monthly communication with that part of our Empire. We owed to this rapid intercourse the more lively interest now taken in Eastern matters, and the more extensive knowledge which now prevails of Asia generally. He knew that much greater interest was felt for India by this country than at any former period. It was urged, and felt, and acknowledged in our Parliament, that we owed a great debt to India; that India was a source of great profit to this country; that we had drawn largely upon its resources: and that we had not made any adequate return. He thought that the Society was also aiding to raise an interest in the East, by communicating to the public the results of researches into the antiquities of Asia. And he would now allude to the Bisitún Cuneiform Inscriptions, which had been copied with zeal and care, and deciphered with great sagacity by Major Rawlinson, who had thus been instrumental in affording that which promised to contribute more information regarding the East, than had been received for centuries, contained in documents whose authority was undeniable, in inscriptions more ancient than any that had ever been read. These inscriptions were full of historical information, not concerning a small and obscure tribe, but of one of the first and most civilized nations of antiquity, the Empire of Darius Hystaspes. Such a contribution to literature would be a material recommendation, and was calculated to awaken the interest of Europe. It would do more towards promoting the Society than all the exertions of individual Members to procure subscriptions or assistance from Government. He was of opinion that the successful cultivation of tea in India had also done much towards creating an interest in England respecting that country. It had been introduced in a fortunate moment, when the continuance of our trade with China was suspended; and although he hoped that our intercourse with that Empire would ere long be renewed, he was glad that we were preparing to be independent of it, for what had become with us a necessary of life. The discovery of tea in Assam we owed, as we owed so many other advantages, to the talent, the perseverance, and intelligence of the servants of the East India Company, of whom Canning had said, "They united the abilities of statesmen with the research of scholars." He hoped the Journal of the Society would continue to be the vehicle of communicating to the world the results of the enlightened labours of those officers, and it must bring more co-operation than any canvass or individual exertion could do. The Right Hon. President concluded with the expression of his anxious desire for the welfare of the Society.

Sir GEORGE STAUNTON rose and said that those who witnessed the infirm state of our excellent President could not but feel a double measure of gratitude to him for his appearance at Councils whenever he was able,

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and especially for his attendance on the present occasion. He felt and lamented with the Council that all hopes of obtaining immediate assistance or patronage from the Government had failed; but he felt also that the failure did not arise from any want of exertion on the part of the President or of the Council. They had repeatedly endeavoured to draw the attention of Government to their case, both in a national and political point of view. They had obtained from Her Majesty the most gratifying expression of the interest she took in their prosperity. He felt it would be invidious to enter particularly into the causes why nothing practical had hitherto resulted from Her Majesty's gracious disposition to the Society. He would confine himself, therefore, to offering his congratulations to the Society, that notwithstanding this disappointment, they had been able, though entirely unassisted, to do so much towards the promotion of the various great and useful objects for which it was instituted. He was confident that they would continue to render important benefits to India, and greatly improve our knowledge of its resources, and extend our communication with it, so that, in the end, the national importance of the Society would be better appreciated.

Sir GEORGE STAUNTON begged, before he sat down, to draw the attention of the Meeting to an important Memoir on the subject of our intercourse with China, by Mr. Ball, a Member of the Council, which had been just published by the Society. Mr. Ball had resided above twenty years in China, and had peculiarly devoted his attention, throughout that period, to the cultivation and manufacture of tea, and the best mode of supplying this country with that most important article of our Chinese commerce. About the period of Lord Amherst's embassy Mr. Ball reduced the results of his inquiries upon this interesting subject to the shape of a Memoir for the information and assistance of our Ambassador in his negotiation, especially with respect to the Ports of China at which that trade might be most advantageously carried on for the interests of both countries. This Memoir was privately printed, but only two or three copies of the original impression at present exist; and the Council considered that they would be rendering an important public service by reprinting in their Journal a document, which, though it was unhappily not available for any useful purpose at the time it was written, was become of peculiar importance at the present period, when the whole of our relations with China were evidently undergoing revision, and about to be placed on a new footing through negociations supported by competent force from India and this country.

Sir GEORGE concluded by proposing that the thanks of the Society should be voted to the Right Hon. the President.

Sir JEREMIAH BRYANT, in seconding the motion, said that he was one of those who had cordially welcomed the President, when, at the first institution of the Society, he took the chair which Sir JEREMIAH rejoiced to see him still filling, so much to the advantage of the Institution and its interests.

The vote was put, and carried unanimously.

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The Rev. Dr. MILL rose and said that many words were not necessary in introducing the motion he was about to make. No one who had the advantage of knowing the learned Director, or who had read his valuable lectures delivered at the University, of which he is an ornament; no one who had seen his version of the *Vishnu Purana*, or who had profited by his many other valuable contributions to Oriental learning, but would desire to testify the high sense entertained of his distinguished merits; and he would therefore propose a vote of "Thanks to the Director and Vice-Presidents of the Society for their valuable services."

The motion was seconded by W. OLIVER, Esq., and carried unanimously.

The DIRECTOR returned thanks for the honour done him; and expressed his readiness and desire at all times to contribute, by every means in his power, to promote the great objects, and further the interests of this valuable Institution.

Sir EDWARD HYDE EAST moved, that the thanks of the Society be voted to the Honorary Secretary, Mr. Clarke, for his valuable services in the performance of the important and onerous duties confided to him, on the efficient discharge of which, the usefulness of the Society so much depended. He felt assured that this vote would have been carried by acclamation, if the forms of the Society would have permitted him so to propose it. In reference to the Report of the Council he would remark, that although the Society was cramped by want of funds, yet, on the whole, he saw no reason to despair of its progress and success. But such an institution, like everything else, required time to arrive at maturity; and the public did not at once discover all the sources of advantage or information to be derived from it. The Society had communicated to the world much that was valuable, and so doing must excite the public interest. Conducted as it was, he thought there was no doubt that its affairs would eventually be as prosperous as its best friends could desire.

The motion was seconded by F. C. BELFOUR, Esq., and carried unanimously.

Mr. CLARKE, in returning thanks, assured the Meeting that his humble services, of which the value had been greatly over-rated by the Right Honourable and Learned Mover, had been rendered most easy and agreeable to him by the indulgence with which they were always received by the Council, and by the ever-ready aid and support of their invaluable Director. He should be ungrateful if he did not also acknowledge the great assistance he derived from the zeal and efficiency of the Assistant Secretary, Mr. Norris, whose various and extensive acquirements, and zeal in the pursuit of those subjects of inquiry to which the labours of this Society are directed, entitled him to their best acknowledgments.

Major CHASE moved, and CHARLES ROBERTS, Esq., seconded, a vote of thanks to the Treasurer of the Society; which was carried unanimously.

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Mr. ELLIOTT returned thanks.

The HONORARY SECRETARY submitted a recommendation from the Council of the 7th of December last, that Article XXI. of the Regulations should be so modified as to accord with Article VII. The intention of the Rules was to restrict the election of Corresponding Members to persons not resident in Great Britain. A case had lately occurred of a gentleman being proposed who resided at Malta. The present wording of Article XXI. would have prevented his election, because he was residing in the British Possessions in Europe; whereas, according to the known intention of the Society, and to the wording of Article VII. he was clearly eligible, as not residing in Great Britain; and was a most desirable accession to the number of Corresponding Members.

It was therefore proposed to omit in Article XXI. the words, "in the British Dominions in Europe," and to substitute the words, "within the British Islands," as in Article VII., where the same class of Members are spoken of. The motion was put and carried unanimously.

In pursuance of Article LIII. of the Regulations of the Society, the names of Members whose subcriptions have been in arrear for at least eighteen months were declared. The defaulters were three only; and their names are now excluded from the list of the Society.

Colonel GALLOWAY and Major JOHN SMITH having been appointed Scrutineers, the Meeting proceeded to ballot for the new Members of Council, and for the officers of the Society.

At the close of the ballot the following gentlemen were declared elected into the Council, in the room of the eight Members who go out by rotation:—

Colonel Sir Jeremiah Bryant, C.B.; Sir Charles Forbes, Bart.; J. Marshall Heath, Esq.; Sir Richard Jenkins, G.C.B., M.P.; Sir James Law Lushington, G.C.B.; The Rev. W. H. Mill, D.D.; William Newnham, Esq.; Henry Wilkinson, Esq.

All the officers of the Society were declared unanimously re-elected.

The next Meeting was announced for the 20th of June.

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

EIGHTEENTH ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE SOCIETY,

HELD ON THE 8TH OF MAY, 1841.

THE RIGHT HON. C. W. WILLIAMS WYNN, M.P.,

PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

WAS READ AS FOLLOWS:—

BEFORE entering on the ordinary topics of the Annual Report, the Council have the great satisfaction of announcing that His Royal Highness, PRINCE ALBERT, has been graciously pleased to become one of the Vice-Patrons, and also a Contributing Member of the Royal Asiatic Society; and further, that His Royal Highness has commanded that his name should be set down as a Subscriber to the Oriental Translation Fund.

The honour thus conferred on the Society will not fail to be duly appreciated; and when it is recollected that the Society has for its Patron HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY, the August Consort of His Royal Highness, and likewise that one of the most learned and distinguished Oriental scholars in Europe, Professor Lassen, of Bonn, a Foreign Member of the Society, at one time enjoyed the privilege of having His Royal Highness for his pupil, the Council cannot but feel a lively hope that the pursuits in which the Society are engaged, will meet with especial regard and encouragement at the hands of His Royal Highness, PRINCE ALBERT.

The Society have to lament the decease of thirteen of their Members since the last Anniversary. They are as follows:—

Resident and Non-Resident.

James Cropper, Esq.
Colonel John Cragie.
John Forbes, Esq.
General Benjamin Forbes Gordon.
General William Hull, C.B.

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Sir J. W. Lubbock, Bart., F.R.S.
Samuel H. Lewin, Esq.
Colonel E. T. Michell, C.B.
Charles E. Pigou, Esq.
Colonel Thomas Shaw.
John Thornhill, Esq.
General Sir Henry Worsley, G.C.B.

Corresponding.

General Thomas Gordon.

There is no name in the foregoing list which so strongly claims the tribute of a grateful notice as that of Sir Henry Worsley. The military career of that distinguished officer was one of unceasing devotion to the public service from the early age of thirteen, until repeated attacks of illness, the consequence of intense professional labours, during many years, in the field, and in the onerous and responsible posts of Adjutant-General and Military Secretary to Government,-compelled him unwillingly to forego the achievement of further honours, or the rendering of additional service to his country; and he returned to his native land, honoured by the universal respect of the army, and possessing, in a more than ordinary degree, the esteem and confidence of the Indian Government.

But though compelled to relinquish his personal exertions in the country which had witnessed his long and arduous toils, he continued to cherish the strongest feelings of attachment to India, and of interest in all that concerns her welfare. As a Member of the Society he frequently addressed valuable communications to the Council on points which had suggested themselves to his active mind; and he was ready at all times to contribute to the furtherance of any object which it was proposed to effect by co-operation and subscription.

But not content with these more general means of aiding the views of this Society, he made them the objects of that munificent liberality which was so distinguished a trait in his character, and which prompted him to present most liberal donations to public institutions of great and enlarged utility. A donation of 100*l.* was made by him in 1836; and the splendid gift of 1000*l.* succeeded in 1837, destined to aid the general purposes of this Society, and also to embrace the contemplated operations of the Committee of Agriculture and Commerce, about that time established. It was by this noble and opportune assistance that the efficiency and activity of that section of the Society were promoted and secured, and the finances of the Institution relieved from considerable pressure.

It cannot fail to be a source of gratification to the Society, that it was enabled, during the life-time of Sir Henry Worsley, to adorn its room with a bust of that munificent and public-spirited man, as a fit companion to that of their illustrious first Director, Mr. Colebrooke, to whose enlarged mind, and wisely devised plans, the Royal Asiatic Society owes its foundation and existence.

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The Council regret to observe, that the number of retirements* in the past year amounted to eight; and three names have been removed from the list, under the provisions of Rule liii; making a total of eleven, which added to the deaths, the whole loss sustained in the twelvemonth amounts to twenty-four,—a larger number in one year than has occurred since 1827, when the decrease was twenty-nine.

The Contributing Members elected in the year were seven, with one Corresponding Member, which number, being deducted from the before-mentioned total, leaves the actual loss sustained by the Society, sixteen.

Philip Barnes, Esq.	George Smith, Esq.
James Ferguson, Esq.	G. F. Travers, Esq.
Sir Charles Malcolm.	General F. W. Wilson, C.B.
A. W. Ravenscroft, Esq.	Rev. D. J. Gogerly. (*Corresponding.*)

To such fluctuations all public bodies are alike subjected by circumstances beyond their control; and the Council, adverting to the value of the services which the Society is capable of rendering to the best interests of India, entertain a confident hope of a more extended support in the ensuing year. The pursuits in which the Society is engaged are deeply interesting, not only to that portion of our fellow-countrymen, whose lives have been passed in the various functions of the public service in India, but to every one who is conscious of the value and importance of our Eastern possessions, and of the power with which this nation is entrusted for the good of its millions of inhabitants; and to every one who has friends or relations taking a share in public duties amidst the scenes of the Society's researches.

Adverting to the causes assigned by several of those gentlemen who have withdrawn from the Society, the Council would beg leave to remind the Members that it is not by the ability to attend the monthly meetings, or even to contribute to its literary productions, that they should measure the value of their continuance in the general body of the Society, the resources of which are chiefly dependent on the number of its resident Members. The necessity of economy has often cramped the exertions of the Society, which ought to be enabled, by liberal subscriptions, as well as by large donations, to offer for the use of all who take an interest in India, and its prosperity, a more extensive library, a larger museum, and more spacious apartments to contain and exhibit them. But the Society's library is even now of considerable extent, and possesses much that is curious and valuable, and not elsewhere to be found; and in its museum, though the confined space in which it is deposited does not allow of justice being done to the exhibition of its contents, it has a large variety of interesting and valu-

* *Retirements.*

Thomas Alcock, Esq.	John Richards, Esq.
General Boardman.	Samuel Skinner, Esq.
John Millar, Esq.	Colonel Strover.
Major William Pace.	Robert Wallace, Esq.

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able objects, illustrative of the science and art of India, the customs of its people, and its history, natural and civil. These collections are accessible to its Members, and to those friends whom they may introduce. Many years have elapsed since the existing catalogues were first prepared, during which the extent of the collections has greatly enlarged, and the Council are taking measures for the preparation of new catalogues, which they hope at an early period to present to their members.

The Council, strongly impressed with the belief that many persons would join the Society who are at present unaware of its operations, and of the advantages which it presents, would suggest to their Members the importance of using their individual exertions to make its objects and existence more widely known; and they trust, that, with such aid, the number of Contributing Members may be largely increased.

It will be gratifying to the Meeting to learn from the statement which will be submitted by the Auditors, that although the expenditure of the year included an arrear due to the printer for work done in 1839, a considerable balance remained in hand at the close of 1840. This result, however, is produced by the rigid system of economy which has been adopted in restricting the expenditure within limits scarcely compatible with the fair prosecution of the objects for which the Society is embodied. One number only of the Journal has been printed within the twelvemonth; but the Council have pleasure in stating, that the materials for another number are collected, and its printing has actually commenced.

Adverting to the circumstances which have been stated, the Council have still to deplore the failure of their endeavours to obtain apartments in some of the public buildings, or to be otherwise relieved from the heavy charge incurred on account of this house, averaging little short of 300*l.* a year.

The following statement will show the receipts *from the payments of Members*, including compositions, in the last eleven years:—

	£.		£.
1830 . . .	887	*Brought forward*	5227
1831 . . .	858	1836 . . .	1048
1832 . . .	903	1837 . . .	917
1833 . . .	986	1838 . . .	892
1834 . . .	794	1839 . . .	820
1835 . . .	799	1840 . . .	806
Carried forward	£5227		£9710

Giving an Average of £880 per annum.

From the other sources of income, including the annual donation of the East India Company, an addition of about 200*l.* is derived, giving a total average of 1080*l.*, scarcely equal to the present economical disbursements.

The Committee of Agriculture and Commerce, established in 1836, have published from time to time, in their separate Proceedings, the results of

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their interesting investigations, and the various and valuable information which they had collected. The inquiries for the prosecution of which they were embodied as a distinct Committee, were so extensive and important, and the advantages to the arts and commerce of this country pointed out in their early proceedings as necessarily consequent on a better acquaintance with the products of the East, became soon so evident, that societies and chambers of commerce, and other associations, were formed by the zeal of commercial adventure to prosecute the same objects, in the spirit of mercantile interest and speculation.

At the end of last session, the East India Company, sensible of the importance of prosecuting the interesting objects for the attainment of which the Committee had been instituted, formed a department under themselves to aid and more effectually work out the same benefits; and, justly appreciating the eminent qualifications of Dr. Royle for such a duty, they selected that gentleman to conduct its details, under their support and influence. This new occupation of the time and talents of Dr. Royle, from which the Committee had derived previously the greatest advantage, and on which the success of their exertions was greatly dependent, would have been matter of deep regret if the Council did not feel that the objects which they had so much at heart in the appointment of the Committee, will be worked out with far greater advantage through the means which that gentleman will now have at his disposal, and the influence by which he will be supported. On consideration of these circumstances, and adverting also to the insufficient funds raised to maintain a separate establishment for the Committee of Commerce and Agriculture, it appeared indispensable that its functions should terminate at the end of the last year.

It is not, however, intended to abandon this interesting branch of investigation, but henceforward to carry it on by a Committee of the Council. The specimens already collected, and such as may in future be obtained, will be here exhibited to all who may desire to have access to them through this Society. A Correspondence will be kept up with the European and Native Associations and Kindred Institutions, now turning their attention to similar objects in Great Britain and India; and the Council trust that they shall be in friendly and active communication with the late Secretary of the Agricultural Committee in his new and important office; and they will look for occasional aid also from the experienced talents, intelligence, and zeal of their late coadjutor, Mr. Solly, whose chemical analyses of the specimens submitted to him, while attached to the late Committee, were so ably and clearly drawn up. Thus making the best use in their power of all such means and appliances as may be within their reach, the Council hope still to co-operate, not inefficiently, in furthering the objects to which a new impetus had undoubtedly been imparted by the establishment and operations of the Committee of Agriculture and Commerce.

The Society's Library has received several valuable accessions during the past year, as well from those Societies which contribute their transactions

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in the various fields of literature and science in which they are employed, both at home and abroad, as from learned authors who have presented their works, and individuals who have added valuable donations to enrich our shelves. But there is one splendid and munificent gift which calls for a special notice in this Report: it is that of a large and most valuable collection of Chinese works, accumulated with diligent research and at considerable expense, by the late THOMAS MANNING, Esq., who for many years zealously devoted himself to the investigation of that curious language in the country where it can be most successfully studied.

At a very early period of his life, while a student of the University of Cambridge, Mr. Manning entertained an idea that in the structure of the Chinese language many analogies might be traced in elucidation of his own views respecting the Greek prepositions and particles. An ardent investigator of the philosophy of the human mind, he further conceived an earnest wish to study the moral and social characteristics of that remarkable people, and to trace the causes of the peculiar phenomena which they present; with these views, having resolved to visit China, he repaired to Paris at the Peace of Amiens, to prepare himself by previous study of several works, which were then more readily accessible at that capital than in any other place, to enter with advantage on his projected researches. Returning to England, he shortly afterwards proceeded to Canton, where he resided engaged in his favourite pursuits, under the patronage of the East India Company. Finding the impossibility, however, of carrying out his ulterior project of studying the habits and character of the people, he endeavoured to penetrate into the provinces of the empire through Rangpore and Thibet; but, foiled in these endeavours, he returned to Canton, where, on the arrival of the British Embassy, he was appointed by Lord Amherst to accompany His Lordship to Pekin, as one of his interpreters.

It was under such favourable circumstances that Mr. Manning's Chinese Library was formed. His representatives, aware of the value of such a collection, and anxious that it should be rendered most extensively available to the scholars and students of that language, resolved on presenting it to the Royal Asiatic Society; who have expressed to the liberal donors the high value they place on the gift, and have assigned to it a separate space in the Chinese Library, under the designation of "The Manning Collection." The council have further the satisfaction to announce, that SAMUEL BALL, Esq., a Member of the Council, and an excellent Chinese scholar, has kindly undertaken, and is now engaged in preparing, a Catalogue of the works composing this valuable Collection.

The Secretary to the Committee of the Oriental Translation Fund has furnished the Council with the following notice of the proceedings of that Committee since the last anniversary of the Society:—

The first volumes of two important translations have been printed by the Committee since the last Annual Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society; namely, the "History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain; from the

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text of Al-Makkari; translated from the Arabic by Don Pascual de Gayangos:" and "Masudi's Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems," also from the Arabic, by Dr. A. Sprenger. In the preface to the latter work, the translator says:—"Masudi has a just claim to be called the Herodotus of the Arabs: combining, like Herodotus, ethnography and geography with history, and learning with experience and oral information, he distinguishes between the various nations of the East, and gives us a picture of their innate character;" that he has "the merit of treating the tenets of all sects with equal attention: and ancient traditions, which had existed in the East for thousands of years, seem to have melted, as it were, in his mind, into one original idea." * * * "In this respect, even his history of the Creation is of interest; for he unites the traditions respecting cosmogony which were kept up in the East, together with the documents of Moses and Sanchoniathon, with the Scriptural accounts." From these causes, and from the intimate acquaintance which Masudi had with the Arabic, Persian, Coptic, and Greek literature of his time (that of the tenth century), his work has deservedly gained a very high reputation; and the present translation must aid considerably in extending a knowledge of Eastern history. The Author's style in the original is in general easy; his narratives are given in a pleasing manner; and the whole work evinces the sound sense and enlarged philosophical views of the writer.

Señor de Gayangos's translation of Al-Makkari's Mahommedan Dynasties in Spain fills up an important hiatus in historical literature. A good history of the settlements of the Arabs and Moors in the South of Europe has long been wanted, and will now be supplied. The labours of Casiri and Conde, though valuable in this respect, were not sufficient to allay the curiosity felt throughout the learned world for the history of a people whose manners, arts, and literature were almost unknown; but whose influence upon the civilization of Europe is now generally acknowledged. The work of Al-Makkari, though compiled in the East, and at a time when Spain was on the point of casting away from her shores the relics of her conquerors, is nevertheless based upon authentic records, or borrowed from preceding histories not to be found in our libraries. It contains a full account of the Conquest of Spain by the Arabs, and of their wars with the Christians; it gives ample details of their manners, trade, agriculture, commerce, and civil and religious institutions; as well as on the sciences cultivated by them; in short, it affords us a complete history of Moorish Spain from the conquest of that country by Tárik, in the year 711 to the taking of Grenada, in 1492.

The volume now presented to the public through the medium of the fund extends to nearly seven hundred pages in quarto; and is enriched with numerous critical and explanatory notes by the learned translator, derived principally from original sources, by which the deficiencies common to most Arabic authors have been compensated, and the interest and value of the translation greatly enhanced.

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Of the works in the course of printing under the auspices of the fund, Baron Mac Guckin de Slane's English translation of Ibn Khallikan's Lives of Illustrious Men of Islam approaches nearest to completion; and a volume will be published in the course of a few weeks. The learned translator has already edited the Arabic text of Ibn Khallikan, with singular accuracy and judgment.

The translation of the Dabistan, which was commenced by the late Professor Shea, of the East India College, is being continued by Captain A. Troyer, of Paris, a Member of the Royal Asiatic Society. The printing of the work is begun; and before the close of another year the Committee hope to be enabled to offer to their supporters this truly curious and interesting account of ancient religious creeds and sects.

A translation of the Jámi al Tuárikh, by W. H. Morley, Esq., a Member of the Committee, is in progress. This celebrated Persian work of Rashíd al Dín gives a copious account of the origin of the Turks; the reigns of Changiz Khán and his descendants, to the author's own time; an abridged History of the Prophets, Mohammed and the Khalifahs to the year of the Hegira, 700; a Chronicle of the Jews and Christian Princes, and also an interesting Geographical and Historical Description of the various Countries of the Earth. The translation will comprise the whole work; as fortunately the long lost portions have been discovered by remarkable coincidences, since 1838, in three separate collections of Oriental MSS., in London, by Professor Falconer, Mr. Morley, and Professor Duncan Forbes; its publication will be hailed with gratification by every lover of Oriental literature; and must redound to the reputation of the translator, and even to the credit of the country itself.

The third volume of Professor Flügel's edition and Latin translation of the extensive Bibliographical and Biographical Dictionary in Arabic of Haji Khalfa is nearly completed. The publication of this work will forward the cause of Oriental literature in a great degree, as it will readily afford a guide to the scholar in pointing out to him those works, the study of which is most desirable and useful; and it will assist those who have access to the libraries of the East in judging of the respective merits of their contents. It is probable that no work of so comprehensive a character as that of Haji Khalfa has ever been attempted in Europe. The "Bibliotheca" of Fabricius somewhat resembles it; but that is limited to notices of books, whereas this contains Biographical notices also.

The Li-ki, long announced for translation, from the Chinese, by Professor Julien, is now in the press. This very extensive work is attributed to Confucius; and is one of the most difficult in the Chinese language. It is the ancient code of Chinese moral and ceremonial law; and forms the basis of the manners and habits of that remarkable people. The Committee trust, judging from the progress already made by the industrious translator, to be able to present their subscribers with a volume of the work in the present year.

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A work of considerable interest, both to the classical and Oriental scholar, has been recently accepted by the Committee, and is proceeding towards completion. It is the "Divine Manifestation" of the ecclesiastical historian Eusebius. This work has been long lost, and had, it was thought, perished, but has been discovered in a Syriac version. It will be translated, and the original text edited by the Rev. Professor Lee.

The printing of Makrizi's History of Egypt, translated by M. Quatremère, is being continued. Few works will be more pleasing to the European reader, or more interesting to the Arabic scholar than this; and the notes with which the translation is edited will add greatly to its value.

Colonel Miles has completed the translation, from the Persian, of the Nishan-i-Haideri, a History of the Mysore during the reigns of Hyder Ali and his son Tipú. The MS. which Colonel Miles chiefly employs in his translation was confided by Her Most Gracious Majesty to the Committee for that purpose.

The Kitab-al-Yamini of Al-Utbí has been undertaken for translation by the Rev. James Reynolds, the Secretary to the Committee, and is slowly proceeding, its progress being chiefly retarded by its difficulty. It may be classed, in this respect, with the Timúr of Arabshah, or the Makámát of Hariri. The labours of the translator will, however, be well rewarded if he be enabled to bring them to a successful issue; and it is only surprising that a work, always regarded as purely classical in its style, and relating to the popular Mohammedan hero, Mahmúd of Ghazni, should not have been translated before.

The extensive nature of the Committee's undertakings will be apparent from the preceding brief review of its operations. The works already printed at the expense of the Fund amount to fifty-six; and the Committee, while gratefully acknowledging the munificent support they have received, cannot but express their regret that the list of their Subscribers should not comprise a number more adequate to the claims upon their patronage and aid. How much of the increased interest now prevailing in regard to Oriental letters may be attributed to the establishment of the Royal Asiatic Society, and its offset, the Oriental Translation Committee, it is not here the place to speculate upon. But the esteem with which the Committee is regarded by foreign scholars, and the conviction that our own Orientalists can, at present, only rely on the aid of the Fund for the means of advantageously laying the results of their labours before the public, induces the Committee to believe that they shall be enabled long to foster and encourage pursuits so especially gratifying to those who follow them, and which cannot fail ultimately to exert a beneficial influence over various branches of literature.

As connected closely with the objects of this Society, the Council deem it their duty to bring to the knowledge of the Members the recent institution of a Society for a purpose of the most essential importance to the

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successful cultivation of Oriental literature, the publication of the original texts of the most esteemed Oriental works. Although the press has been for some time actively employed in the printing of Oriental books, the number of standard works so printed bears but a very small proportion to those which still exist in manuscript, and which are consequently to be consulted only with difficulty, with much loss of time, and at a considerable expense, to the great impediment of Oriental study. It is also to be remarked, that of the Oriental works which have been published, the publication has taken place almost exclusively on the Continent; the cost of printing in this country, and particularly of printing in the Oriental characters, being much heavier than it is abroad, and consequently tending by the high price of the books to shut them out from the Continent, and to limit their circulation even in England, where it could not under any circumstances be expected to be extensive. To remedy these evils, and to render the valuable Oriental libraries in England more readily accessible to the scholar of Europe, as well as to remove from this country the discredit of being far behind the Continent in the advancement of those studies in which we have a much more immediate interest than our neighbours, it has been resolved to attempt the formation of a fund, from which to defray the expense of printing standard Oriental works, so that they may be afterwards disposed of to students at a charge within their means, and that Oriental works of merit and importance may be preserved and disseminated by the press. For these objects the most distinguished Oriental scholars of this country have cordially associated, and have been joined by many of the friends of Oriental literature, and of literature in general. The project has been also received with the highest approbation by many of the most eminent Orientalists of Continental Europe. The Society is yet in the first stage of its progress, and its success will depend upon the support which it may hereafter receive. In the mean time it has commenced operations, and the following works are in the press or in course of preparation.

Arabic.

An Account of various Religious Sects, by Muhammad Al Shahrestáni, edited by the Rev. William Cureton.

Sanskrit.

The Vrihadaranyaka, an Upanishad of the Yajur-veda, edited by M. Louis Poley.

The Hymns of the Rig-veda, edited by Professor H. H. Wilson.

The Prayers and Hymns of the Yajur-veda, edited by the Rev. W. H. Mill, D.D.

The Dasa Kumára Charitra, edited by Professor H. H. Wilson.

Syriac.

The Chronicle of Elias of Nisibis, edited by the Rev. William Cureton.

Persian.

A History of India, from the Jámi al Tuárikh of Rashíd Al Dín, edited by William H. Morley, Esq.

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The Five Poems of Nizámí, edited by Nathaniel Bland, Esq.
Yúsuf and Zulaikhá, by Firdausí, edited by William H. Morley, Esq.

The Society continue to receive from the active and intelligent Branch Society of Bombay many curious and valuable Papers on the antiquities, religion, and habits of the native population in various parts of that interesting Presidency. Their recent communications on Buddhism have served to aid the labours of our zealous Member, COLONEL SYKES, who has furnished an elaborate article, full of curious research on that subject, in the forthcoming number of the Journal. Some information on the Buddhist system has been also furnished from Ceylon, where the Reverend Mr. Gogerly has devoted much labour to the investigation of whatever that island has presented to his inquiries on that head of research. The zeal and intelligence manifested by Mr. Gogerly in the prosecution of these objects induced the Council to propose him as a corresponding Member of the Society on a late occasion, when he was duly elected.

From the Bombay Branch Society the Council has also received some valuable and curious accounts of certain Hill tribes in the Northern Konkan. This branch of inquiry is at once so curious, and so little explored, in its most valuable details of language and usages, that the Council are induced to express a hope that the efforts of the Indian Societies may be directed on something of a systematic and co-operating plan, to collect and compare the fullest information respecting them, with a view to ascertain the antiquity and connexion of the several mountain and forest classes in various parts of our territories, and their pretensions to be considered the aboriginal possessors of the extensive regions of India.

From the Societies of Calcutta and Madras, the Society has received no other communications than the transmission of their valuable Journals.

AUDITORS' REPORT.

In laying the Accounts for the year ending December 31, 1840, before the Meeting, the Auditors regret to state that the financial resources of the Society are less satisfactory than in the former year.

The *Receipt* for 1840, (*vide* Statement, No. I.) is as follows :—

	£.	s.	d.
Annual Subscriptions and Arrears of ditto . . .	560	13	0
Admission Fees of New Members	78	15	0
Compositions of Subscriptions	147	0	0
Annual Donation of the Hon. East India Company .	105	0	0
Dividends on Stock	56	5	6
Sale of Publications	64	3	3
Total Receipt . . .	1033	16	11

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The *Expenditure* for the same period is:—

	£.	s.	d.
House-rent, one year	220	5	0
Rates and Taxes	49	4	9
Salaries and Wages	225	0	0
Printer's Bill, for Nos. X. and XI. of Journal, &c.	379	14	7
Current Expenses, Housekeeper's Account, Stationery, and Miscellanies	210	9	5
Total Expenditure	1084	13	9

Showing an excess of 50*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.* over the current receipt of the year, which sum being deducted from the balance in favour of the Society at the end of 1839, of 407*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.*, leaves a balance in hand on the 31st of December, 1840, amounting to 356*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.*

In comparing the Income of 1840 with that of the two preceding years, the Auditors regret to perceive a diminution in the only item which can be considered as the real test of the Society's prosperity or declension, namely, that of Annual Subscriptions; and in looking to the Estimate (Statement, No. II.) of the probable Receipt for the present year, they have further to lament that an unusual falling off in the number of New Members is anticipated. The Auditors, therefore, feel it to be their duty most earnestly to remark, that it is an object of the first importance for the Society to consider in what way its resources may be augmented; and they trust that Members will use their exertions for that end, and especially to promote a fresh accession of new associates as the best means of ensuring the permanent stability of the Institution.

As regards the Expenditure of the Society, the Auditors need scarcely remark upon the necessity of keeping it within the Income. A principal item of expense, and one which ought to be the least restricted, is that for printing the Society's Journal; and however much any limitation on this head must be deplored, as tending to impair the utility of the Institution, and to prevent the accomplishment of its objects, the Auditors see no hope, in the present condition of the Society's funds, that the plan which has been followed for the last four years of printing only one Number in the year, can be prudently departed from.

The Assets of the Society are estimated as on the preceding year, namely —

	£.	s.	d.
Value of Stock in 3 per cents.	1800	0	0
Library, Museum, Stock of Publications, &c.	3500	0	0
	5300	0	0

The Auditors have to express their entire satisfaction at the correctness of the accounts kept by the Treasurer and the Honorary Secretary.

W. H. Sykes, . . . *On the part of the Council.*
Louis Hayes Petit,
Robert Barnewall, } *On the part of the Society.*

London, 1st May, 1841.

STATEMENT No. I.

Receipts and Disbursements from Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1840.

RECEIPTS.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
From 127 Subscriptions of Resident Members, at £3 3s. each	400	1	0			
69 ditto, ditto, at £2 2s.	144	18	0			
5 ditto, Non-Resident, at £2 2s.	10	10	0			
				£555	9	0
Admission Fees of 15 New Members, at £5 5s.				78	15	0
4 Compositions of Subscriptions at £31 10s.	126	0	0			
2 Balances of ditto, at £10 10s.	21	0	0			
				147	0	0
Arrears of Subscription, paid up				25	4	0
Annual Donation of the Hon. East India Company				105	0	0
One Year's Dividend on Stock in 3 per cents				58	5	8
Publications sold, less sundry charges of the Booksellers				64	3	3
				£1033	16	11
Balance in hand, 31st Dec. 1839				407	4	2
Assets: £1,942 17 1, 3 per cent. Consols.						
				£1441	1	1

DISBURSEMENTS.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
By House Rent, one Year	220	5	0			
Rates and Taxes	49	4	9			
Salaries of Assistant Secretary, Clerk, and Porter	225	0	0			
				£494	9	9
Printer's Bill for Journal, No. X.	207	13	1			
Ditto, ditto, No. XI.	162	15	0			
Ditto, Moiety of Paper on Cotton,	9	6	6			
				379	14	7
Imprests to Honorary Secretary for current Expenses, small Accounts, and Housekeeper's Wages	100	0	0			
Collector's per centage	33	19	0			
Stationery, Circulars, Lithography, Bookbinding, &c.	44	4	10			
Insurance, and a Subscription returned	7	10	0			
Coals	15	13	6			
Carpenter's and Glazier's Bills and Sundries	9	2	1			
				210	9	5
				£1084	13	9
Balance in hand, 31st Dec., 1840				356	7	4
				£1441	1	1

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STATEMENT No. II.

Estimate of Receipts and Disbursements for 1841.

ESTIMATED RECEIPTS (fixed).

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
From Annual Subscriptions, (as per last Year's Receipt)	555	9	0			
Annual Donation of the Hon. East India Company	105	0	0			
Dividends on 3 per cent. Consols	58	5	8			
				£718	14	8

ESTIMATED RECEIPTS (contingent).

Admission Fees and Subscriptions of New Members	50	8	0			
Compositions of Subscriptions	105	0	0			
Arrears of ditto	29	8	0			
Sale of Publications	25	0	0			
Cash transferred by the Committee of Commerce and Agriculture	101	9	2			
				311	5	2
				£1029	19	10
Balance in hand, 31st Dec. 1840				356	7	4
				£1386	7	2

ESTIMATED DISBURSEMENTS (fixed).

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
By House Rent, one Year	220	5	0			
Rates and Taxes	50	0	0			
Salaries of Assistant Secretary, Clerk, and Porter	225	0	0			
				£495	5	0

ESTIMATED DISBURSEMENTS (contingent).

Imprests to Honorary Secretary for current Expenses, small Accounts, and Housekeeper's Wages	100	0	0			
Collector's per centage	30	0	0			
Purchase of New Books, authorized	50	0	0			
Stationery, Circulars, Lithography, Bookbinding, &c.	50	0	0			
Coals and Sundries	40	0	0			
				270	0	0
Printing Journal, Nos. XII. and XIII.				370	0	0
				£1135	5	0
Estimated Balance on 31st Dec. 1841				251	2	2
				£1386	7	2

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Major John Smith rose to move a vote of thanks to the Auditors; and said, that although he admitted there was a small diminution in Receipts, yet he could not participate in the feeling of despondency expressed in their report: in his opinion the statements read were as satisfactory and safe, so far as the stability of the Institution is concerned, as any he had ever heard in that room. He moved, "That the thanks of the Society be voted to the Auditors; and that their Report, together with that of the Council, be received, and printed in the Society's Proceedings."

The motion was seconded by James Fergusson, Esq., and carried unanimously.

W. Newnham, Esq. said that the portion of the Report read on the subject of the Committee of Commerce and Agriculture, obviated the necessity for dilating on the services that had been rendered by that department of the Society; and he would therefore at once move, "That the thanks of the Society be voted to the Chairman of the Committee of Commerce and Agriculture, and to the Committee, for the zeal and efficiency with which they have carried out the objects of its establishment."

Nathaniel Bland, Esq. seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

George Stratton, Esq. rose to move a vote of thanks to the Council for their services during the past year.

This motion was seconded by Colonel Miles, and carried unanimously.

The Right Hon. the President said, that the difficulty he felt in rising from the Chair to address the Society would form the best excuse for what he had to say to them. It had for some time been to him a matter of much regret that he was not able more regularly to attend the Meetings. He knew it was for the interest of the Society, that the President should be with them as often as possible, and himself assist in and superintend their proceedings; he trusted that, during the eighteen years that he had held the honourable office, he had never neglected that duty, until his increasing infirmity had made it impossible for him satisfactorily to discharge it. When the Society was first formed, he had been recommended to the Chair, by his political station at the head of the Board of Control; and having always been most anxious to promote every measure which could tend to the welfare of India, or encourage in this country an acquaintance with its habits and resources, he had gratefully accepted the honour done him. In this he had been sanctioned and supported by His Majesty George the Fourth, who declared himself as Patron to the Society, and had himself recommended that the President of the Board of Control should always be, ex-officio, a Vice-Patron, as a means of communication between himself and the Society. When a change of political circumstances had

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removed him from his station as President of the Board of Control, he had gratefully accepted the wish of the Members that he should continue to be the President of the Society. He had had much gratification in witnessing the progress which had been made since that time in a knowledge of the East, and in an acquaintance with its wants and resources. Much had since then been done to draw more closely the bands which united that great country with this island; and he was happy to say, that a tardy debt of justice had recently been paid in equalizing the duties on East and West India sugar, and followed up in the present session by a similar concession on the article of rum. The result of such a measure might be imagined from a statement which he had heard made in the House last night, when it was estimated that 100,000 tons of sugar would, in the next season, be imported from India; and that, even in the present year, the probable quantity was 60,000. It was our duty to encourage the staples of India. By our skill we had nearly extinguished the native manufacturers; and we now supplied them with the articles they used to make for exportation to Europe. It was important to ourselves, as well as to India, that she should be able to make a return to us for what we supplied her with. The effect of the equalization of the burdens on sugar had been already felt, and he trusted that this would be the dawn of a better system of commercial legislation for India, from which that empire and this kingdom might alike derive benefit. He had not heard the Report of the Council with satisfaction. It was a subject of regret that the expenditure of the Society exceeded its income: there could be no prosperity when the capital was thus drawn upon; and it was doubly to be regretted that the deficit should be felt in the Society's publications,—the main stay of its usefulness, and the means by which its labours were made known, the number of its Members kept up, and future contributions obtained. On looking at the volume of the Journal on the table, he had to regret that only five articles were the results of the labours of the Society during the year. This could not be attributed to slackness on the part of its officers, who had at their head, as Director, the most eminent Oriental scholar that Europe could boast of. He regretted much that they had received no communication from Major Rawlinson, whose political avocations he feared had compelled him to relinquish the valuable investigations in which every man who had the smallest relish for the memorials of authentic ancient history, must feel so lively an interest. He must now return his warmest thanks for the support which he had always experienced in the Chair; and he was happy to understand that he was likely to be succeeded by a nobleman of zeal and talent, who had already devoted much of his time and energy to the interests and objects of the Society. In taking his farewell of them, he would use the opportunity of expressing his best hopes for the prosperity, the continuance, and the permanence of the Society.

Sir George Staunton rose and said, he begged to propose a resolution which he was confident would receive the cordial and unanimous concur-

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rence of the Meeting. He then moved, that the thanks of the Society be given to the Right Hon. C. W. W. Wynn, for his long and tried services as President of the Society, since its first institution, and for the great zeal and interest with which he had uniformly exerted himself for its welfare. Sir George regretted that this proposition had not been placed in better hands. At the same time he felt that, even if he had possessed the eloquence necessary to do justice to his feelings on this occasion, he would have been restrained from employing it, out of delicacy to the President, while he was himself present in the Chair.

He had, however, some claim to come forward upon this occasion, because having been not only connected with the Society from its first institution, but also a party in all the preliminary meetings and discussions which gave rise to it, he was probably more fully acquainted than most of the Members with the circumstances which had led to the original election of the President, and also more able, from personal knowledge, to appreciate the advantages the Society had derived from his services. He happened to be one of that small party of the friends of our late venerated Director, Mr. Colebrooke, to whom he first imparted his project of endeavouring to found an institution of this character; and he ever looked upon this as one of the most flattering circumstances of his life. He was also present at the Meeting at which it was resolved to invite Mr. Wynn to accept of the Chair, and this enabled him to assure the President, that the political station he then occupied was neither the only, nor even the main, ground of their choice. All they felt was this, that it was a fortunate circumstance for the newly-founded institution, that the gentleman who was recommended to their choice by so many personal qualifications happened also to occupy a public station so favourable for promoting its objects by his official patronage.

The Society acted in this spirit at the time that Mr. Wynn ceased to hold office; and so far from accepting, at that time, his resignation of the Chair of the Society, they felt that the wisdom of their choice had received the strongest confirmation from this actual experience of his services. Nothing had prevented the Council from adopting a similar course at present, but a conviction that it would be an ungrateful return for the President's past services, to urge any longer his continuance in the Chair, subject to the very painful sacrifice of his health and comfort with which it was obviously attended. The Society had now, under his auspices, attained a position for accomplishing the object for which it was instituted, as far as its own exertions were concerned, to the full extent that could have been reasonably anticipated at its outset. It is true, it had not yet received that support and assistance from the constituted authorities of the State to which the great public utility of its object freely entitled it; but this disappointment was in no wise to be attributed to the absence of zeal or exertions on the part of our excellent President.

In conclusion, Sir George observed, that he trusted the Society, although losing the valuable aid of Mr. Wynn as President, would long continue to enjoy his countenance and support as a Member of the Society.

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In seconding the foregoing motion, the DIRECTOR said, that although he had not enjoyed the advantage of many years co-operation with the Right Hon. President, yet he had seen enough in the period during which he had had the pleasure of knowing him, and was sufficiently aware of the value of his services, to be able to say with the greatest sincerity, that he deserved well of the Society. He would not occupy the time of the Meeting by an enumeration of many acts of benefit to the Society, or of kindness to its Members, which had been done by Mr. Wynn, but there was one very important passage of his administration, which he could not pass over unnoticed on this occasion—it was the very efficient aid he had given towards inducing the authorities in India to renew the support, which for a time they had withdrawn, to the printing and publishing of standard Oriental works. The Director observed, that he had had the means of knowing that to Mr. Wynn's exertions it was mainly due, that instructions had been sent out from this country to Bengal, to direct the renewal of the Government patronage of that most valuable operation.

Carried unanimously.

The PRESIDENT returned his thanks for the honour done him. His wishes were for the good of the Society; and although he should no longer hold the honourable office of President, he should continue to show how far he appreciated the labours of the Society; and how much he was interested in whatever concerned the welfare of India. He would here say, that he regretted that the absence from town of Sir Alexander Johnston had prevented them from receiving the highly interesting detail of the proceedings of the Committee of Correspondence, with which they were usually favoured by that gentleman.

SIR GORE OUSELEY assured the Meeting, that he rose on the present occasion with mixed feelings of regret and satisfaction. No one could feel more deeply than himself the loss they were about to sustain; he had long witnessed and highly appreciated the value of those services of which they were now to be deprived, and he would willingly dwell longer upon them, were he not restrained by a sense of what was due to the presence of the right honourable gentleman whose resignation left the office of President vacant. His rising was to propose for election into the high and honourable office, one whose predilections were Oriental; whose knowledge of the languages and acquaintance with the literature, manners, and institutions of the East, peculiarly fitted him to be at the head of a Society instituted for encouraging the cultivation of that literature, and the investigation of those institutions; and whose rank and influence in society would enable him to be of essential service to the Society in many ways. The nobleman towhom he referred was the Earl of Munster, and he felt assured that when he mentioned his name, the Meeting and every Member of the Society would cordially agree with him, that a fitter candidate for the Presidentship could not be proposed.

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Sir James Law Lushington rose to second the motion made by Sir Gore Ouseley. He lamented sincerely the occasion that deprived them of the active services of Mr. Wynn, though he hoped the Institution would not wholly lose the benefit of his occasional presence. He would not dwell on that source of regret, in which he was sure every one present participated. He would rather advert to the motion which he had now seconded, and which proposed to fill the office by the nomination of Lord Munster, whose fitness was universally acknowledged. The constant attention which his Lordship devoted during his sojourn in India to those matters which were the objects of the Society's institution, his station in this country, and his intimate communication with the most learned Orientalists on the Continent, prominently marked him, he would not say to replace, but to succeed Mr. Wynn.

The election of the Earl of Munster as President of the Society for the ensuing year was then put, and carried unanimously.

Professor Wilson said, that the election of the Earl of Munster to the office of President had created a vacancy among the Vice-Presidents, of whom the number, as prescribed by the Rules of the Society, is four. They could not be at a loss to find a successor among so many persons, eminent for attainments and personal character: the only difficulty was in the choice; yet there was one name which stood most prominent, and which every one who felt an interest in the honour and welfare of the Society would desire to see enrolled among its Vice-Presidents. He meant the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, whose researches in Indian History, and acquaintance with the literature and institutions of the East, as well as the great extent of his personal knowlege, and the urbanity of his manners, peculiarly fitted him for the office for which he had now the honour to propose him.

Sir Gore Ouseley seconded the motion: and congratulated the Society on the nomination of a gentleman than whom none was better qualified for the office of Vice-President, whether in reference to the goodness of his heart and disposition, or to his extensive literary acquirements.

The election was put, and carried unanimously.

Louis Hayes Petit, Esq. said, that he was much gratified by finding that it devolved on him to move a vote of thanks to the excellent Director of the Society, Professor Wilson. To name him was to name one whose value to the Society could not be too highly appreciated by all who felt an interest in its welfare, or any attachment to the pursuits of Oriental literature. To him the Society was indebted for much of what it had done; and for the estimation in which it was held by Oriental scholars in all parts of Europe. He hoped that they should long continue to have the advantage of his talents; and he would hail what had already been done by Professor Wilson as an earnest of the benefits they might hope, for a long time, to derive from his able superintendence of their labours.

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Sir CHARLES MALCOLM seconded the motion, which was unanimously carried.

The DIRECTOR said, he was much indebted to the Society for their vote. He regretted that his many and onerous occupations prevented him from giving much more than his personal attendance, and he could not but feel on that account that he was occupying the place of a more efficient person. Such service, however, as he was enabled to render, he would most willingly give to the Society. He had less merit than another might have in his attendance upon them, because the objects of their pursuit were identical with his own, and in contributing to carry out their views, he was merely indulging his own long-cherished tastes. He would take this opportunity of making one observation in reference to what had fallen from the President on the subject of the publication of the Journal. It had been already stated that the publication had been restrained by financial considerations. The small number of the articles in the Journal, now laid on the table, was occasioned by the length of one article of considerable interest, which it was deemed inexpedient to divide, so as to bring it in portions into two successive numbers. Besides these considerations, however, it was certainly true that the communications from Asia had not been so numerous of late as they were on the first institution of this Society. The reason of this was evident to all who had observed that a great number of institutions had arisen, both in India and in England, whose objects and researches drew to them many articles that would, in former times, have appeared in the pages of our transactions. Besides these circumstances, it was to be observed, the increasing interest in Oriental literature and research had induced many gentlemen to publish, at their own risk and cost, the results of their studies. It must be remembered, however, that the interest so excited on Oriental subjects owed its origin, in no small degree, to the early labours of this Society. In conclusion, he would only add, that many gentlemen have undoubtedly gathered in India much useful information, which their own diffidence prevented them from imparting. He would recommend them to take courage; and if by this suggestion he could induce them freely to communicate what they possessed, he felt assured that he should have rendered valuable service to this excellent Institution.

THOMAS NEWNHAM, Esq. moved the thanks of the Society to the Vice-Presidents, for their services during the past year. He said that, however much he was grieved at the cause which had produced a vacancy in their body, he was gratified that the Meeting had shown the sense they entertained of the services of the Vice-Presidents by raising one of their number to the dignity of President.

This vote was seconded by ROBERT HUNTER, Esq., and carried unanimously.

Sir HERBERT COMPTON rose to move the thanks of the Society to their Honorary Secretary, RICHARD CLARKE, Esq. He would not take up the

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time of the Meeting by expatiating on the merits of one with whose conduct as Secretary they must all be more fully acquainted than he could be, who had till very lately been absent from England; but having had the pleasure of an intimate personal acquaintance with Mr. Clarke for nearly forty years, he felt truly gratified at being the medium of voting the thanks of the Society to one to whose worth, talents, and acquirements, he was happy to bear the most unequivocal testimony.

The motion was seconded by GEORGE SMITH, Esq., and carried unanimously.

Mr. CLARKE rose to thank the Meeting for the vote which had just been so kindly passed; the gratification which he felt on the occasion was greatly enhanced by the circumstance of its being proposed by his highly respected friend Sir Herbert Compton, with whom his acquaintance dates from his earliest arrival in Madras, in 1801. In his situation of Secretary, it was a high gratification to him to anticipate the pleasure of frequently meeting him as a member of the Council into which he was about to be elected, and where he was sure the services of Sir Herbert Compton would be of great value, and would be fully appreciated. He could assure the Meeting that such service as he was able to render was a source of unmixed pleasure to him; at the same time he would truly say, that he was so conscious of his own deficiencies, as well in the power of contributing to the advance of the Society's character, as in the command of time, that he should be always ready to retire when any better qualified person would undertake the office. He could not sit down, without adverting to the continued exertions and valuable services of his highly informed, and ever willing assistant Mr. NORRIS, for which he begged to express to him his very best thanks.

B. S. JONES, Esq. then moved that the thanks of the Society be voted to the Treasurer, Mr. Charles Elliott.

J. BIRCH, Esq. seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. ELLIOTT returned thanks.

THOMAS T. MARDON, Esq. moved the thanks of the Society to the Librarian, John Shakespear, Esq.

Seconded by HENRY WILKINSON, Esq., and carried unanimously.

Mr. SHAKESPEAR returned thanks.

JAMES FERGUSSON and JOHN GOLDIE, Esqrs. having been nominated Scrutineers, the Meeting proceeded to ballot for the new Members of Council, and for the Officers of the Society.

At the close of the ballot, the following gentlemen were declared unanimously elected into the Council:—

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The Right Hon. Sir Charles E. Grey, M.P.; The Right Hon. Holt Mackenzie; Sir Herbert Compton; Colonel R. Barnewall; Nathaniel Bland, Esq.; Thomas Newnham, Esq.; Louis Hayes Petit, Esq.; The Rev. Thomas Robinson.

The officers for the last year, with the exception of the late President and the Earl of Munster, as one of the Vice-Presidents, were all unanimously re-elected.

On the Right Hon. Mr. Wynn leaving the Chair, Sir Robert Campbell rose, and moved that the thanks of the Meeting should be voted to that gentleman for his conduct in the Chair; and he would ask leave to use the opportunity of stating, that he believed he was the only member of the Court of Directors of the East India Company now left, who had been a Director at the time when Mr. Wynn was elected to the office of President, which he has just resigned. He remembered it well; and he remembered also that it was not merely because he held the office of President of the India Board that he was chosen to the high place which he held in the Royal Asiatic Society—but because he performed the duties of that office so ably and with so much zeal; for he could testify with great satisfaction that a more honest and upright man had never filled the office of President of the Board of Control than the gentleman in whose favour he had the honour to move a vote of thanks.

The motion was seconded by General Wilson, and carried unanimously.

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Three Unpublished Works on Falconry. Edited by Baron Hammer-Purgstall. In Greek, Turkish, and German. 8vo. Vienna, 1840 - - - - -	*Editor.*
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The Old Testament, in Modern Greek. 8vo. London, 1840	*British and Foreign Bible Society.*

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